

Alpha Alpha Alpha Male: Relations among Fraternity Membership, Traditional Masculine

Gender Roles, and Sexual Violence

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology and Women's Studies)
in the University of Michigan
2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most heartfelt thank you goes to my advisor, Dr. Monique Ward. I hit the mentor jackpot with you. You have always been patient, caring, supportive, and never too busy for me. You have the best interests of your students in mind and I cannot thank you enough for your mentorship. It is an honor to be your student.

Thank you to my committee members, Elizabeth Armstrong, Lilia Cortina, and Sarah Murnen. I am so honored to work with such an amazing group of feminist scholars. Thank you also to Devin Berghorst at the Office of Greek Life for helping me collect my data.

To my partner Lia, thank you for your love, support, and flexibility as I made my way through graduate school. Your willingness to come with me for the next stage of my career means so much to me. Your love, your goofy humor, and your cooking propelled me through graduate school. Thank you for allowing us to adopt two cats and a dog. It has certainly been an adventure and I look forward to many more with you (and Batido, Luther, and Spy).

Thank you to my best friend, my nobody, Jessie Meyer. I am so thankful to you for teaching me to be a runner because without running I probably would have lost my mind by now. I am so glad we had to work on a group project about crab flavored potato chips in undergraduate statistics. Your positive attitude and laid-back nature have made me a better person. Life would be a lot less fun without you in it.

Thank you to Sarah Murnen for exposing me to feminism in *Psychology of Women*. Not only did that class and your mentorship inspire me to go to graduate school, it also made me a better and more confident person. I do not know where or who I would be without feminism and

I will always be thankful to you for bringing that into my life. And, thank you staying in touch with me after I graduated and serving on my dissertation committee.

Thank you to my cohort mate, Veronica Rabelo, for allowing me to be glued to your side (despite your natural introvert tendencies) for our first two years of graduate school. I cannot imagine going through this program without you. Thank you also to Ali Ziegler and Brandon Valentine for helping me see the light at the end of the graduate school tunnel and for being the best happy hour buddies. I never laugh as hard as I do when I am with you.

Thank you to the Media and Sexual Socialization lab for being such a supportive and welcoming place to discuss new ideas and give practice talks. I am especially thankful to Morgan and Soraya for their good humor, their support, and their statistics help.

Last but certainly not least, I am thankful to my mom, Mary Louise Cantillon, for giving me my sense of humor; to my dad, Brent Seabrook, for instilling me with progressive values and a good work ethic; and to my Aunt Annie who, in many ways, saved my life.

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ABSTRACT

One in four women experiences sexual assault during her time in college (e.g., Cantor et al., 2015). Fraternity membership has been associated with greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence, as has endorsement of traditional masculinity (e.g., Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). In this dissertation, I explore mechanisms by which fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence, whether prospective fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence, and whether fraternity members are more likely than other college men to be excused for sexual violence.

In Study 1, I used Structural Equation Modeling to test whether endorsement of traditional masculinity explains how fraternity membership is associated with greater rape myth acceptance and more sexually deceptive behavior in a sample of 365 undergraduate men. Assessments of traditional masculinity included conformity to masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women. Results suggest that conformity to masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women, together, mediate the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence. Universities should include discussions of masculinity and the pressure men feel to uphold it in their sexual assault prevention programs, especially those delivered to fraternity members.

In Study 2, I surveyed 88 men interested in Greek life before the rush process (T1) and again 4 months later (T2) to examine predictors and consequences of fraternity membership. Participants completed measures of endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, hostile

and benevolent sexism, and acceptance of rape myths. Among men interested in joining a fraternity, none of the measures were associated with whether or not they joined a fraternity. From T1 to T2, men who joined a fraternity maintained similar levels of endorsement of masculine gender roles, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance, whereas men who did not join a fraternity decreased in their endorsement. Results suggest that joining a fraternity prevented decreases in endorsement of traditional gender roles and acceptance of sexual violence. These results lend support to the hypothesis that fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence over time.

In Study 3, I examined the influence of fraternity membership on perceptions of guilt in a sexual assault scenario. A sample of 408 undergraduate students listened to a podcast in which a female student describes an ambiguous sexual assault scenario. In the experimental condition, the female student reveals that the perpetrator is a fraternity member. In the control condition, no information is given about his fraternity affiliation. Participants then filled out measures of perceptions of the perpetrator and victim (perpetrator culpability, victim culpability, perpetrator guilt, and victim credibility), as well as semantic differentials for the perpetrator and victim (e.g., responsible, attractive, chaste). Results indicate that male participants rated a perpetrator as less guilty, and a victim as more culpable, less credible, and more negative when the perpetrator was a fraternity member compared to when no information was given about his fraternity status. There were no differences in perceptions of the victim and perpetrator among female participants. These results suggest that fraternity members are less likely to be blamed by other men for their sexual aggression. This leniency may contribute to high rates of sexual assault on college campuses by creating a cycle in which fraternity members perpetrate more sexual aggression, but are less likely to be punished, thus reinforcing sexually aggressive behaviors.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

When I was a junior in college, I enrolled in *Psychology of Women*. One of our class assignments was to read Boswell and Spade's (1996) article on fraternities and rape culture, and then to analyze whether our campus was relatively "rape free" or "rape prone." This was an eye-opening experience for me, as I realized that all-male organizations, such as fraternities, were contributing to sexual assault on our campus. After reading Boswell and Spade's article and writing my analysis I was inspired to publish an editorial in our school's newspaper about how fraternities contribute to a rape culture on our campus. This dissertation was inspired (though I did not know it at the time) by my editorial and the reaction it received.

The fraternities on campus did not appreciate my editorial. One fraternity member emailed my picture and phone number to the entire student body, encouraging students to call and harass me. Another fraternity member sexually harassed me by pulling down his pants in front of me while I was out with friends. One fraternity alumnus and father of a current fraternity member stormed out of a meeting about women's issues on campus because of my presence. Campus security increased patrol around my apartment complex and I refused to walk alone, anywhere, for several weeks. Though unpleasant, the reaction I received proved the point I was making in my editorial: fraternities contribute to a rape culture on campus by normalizing sexual violence and making survivors afraid to come forward.

Since my experience publishing the editorial, I have been interested in how all-male organizations contribute to sexual violence. During the time I was mulling over dissertation topics (my graduate work up to this point had focused on media and gender roles), Caitlin

Flanagan published her piece titled, “The Dark Power of Fraternities” in *The Atlantic*. In this piece, Flanagan discusses how and why fraternities maintain power on college campuses, despite incidents of alcohol abuse, vandalism, and sexual violence associated with fraternity culture. After reading the piece and reflecting on my own experiences, I decided to use my dissertation to study masculinity and sexual violence in fraternities.

The sexual assault crisis on college campuses

Between one in three and one in four college women experiences sexual assault during her college career (Cantor et al., 2015; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). Sexual assault is defined as nonconsensual sexual contact through force or threat of force, incapacitation, non-physical threats, or lack of consent. Researchers have been studying sexual violence on college campuses for many years (e.g., Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998; Koss & Gaines, 1993), and it has recently re-captured the attention of both the mainstream media and the U.S. government.

Media outlets including *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The New York Times*, and ABC have featured stories about campus sexual assault in the past few years. For example, Time.com devoted a section of their website to campus sexual assault. In 2015, bestselling author John Kraukauer published *Missoula: Rape and the Justice System in a College Town*, in which he details how universities handle sexual assault cases. *The Hunting Ground*, a documentary about the college sexual assault crisis and the extent to which universities handle (or fail to handle) sexual assault, also premiered in 2015 at the Sundance Film Festival and aired on CNN later that year. For those of us studying campus sexual assault, the attention of the mainstream media has been exciting.

In addition to mainstream media coverage, the U.S. Government, under the Obama administration, took up the issue of campus sexual assault. In 2011, the Office for Civil Rights published the “Dear Colleague” letter, which reminded colleges and universities that sexual

violence is a form of sex discrimination under Title IX, which guarantees the right to an education regardless of sex. The letter also provided guidance for how universities should handle sexual violence. For example, any college or university that receives federal funding must have a Title IX coordinator on staff and must have a procedure in place for reporting sexual harassment and sexual violence (Ali, 2011, April 4).

As a result of both student activism (e.g., Know Your IX, End Rape on Campus) and the Dear Colleague letter, many universities are now under investigation for Title IX violations. As of March 24, 2017, there are 314 open investigations into colleges and universities for mishandling sexual harassment and sexual assault investigations under Title IX (The Chronicle of Higher Ed). The University of Michigan is under investigation as a result of a complaint filed with the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, on January 16, 2014 (Yarab, 2014, February 21). With the increase in attention to sexual assault comes an opportunity for researchers to investigate the causes of sexual violence on college campuses.

Rape culture

Many researchers studying sexual assault argue that we live in a rape culture (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Herman, 1988; Sanday, 1996, 2007). Rape culture is defined as an environment in which male sexual violence against women is normalized or trivialized (Herman, 1988). Herman (1988) argues that heterosexual sex in our society is often associated with violence; as a result, it is difficult to know the difference between normal heterosexual sex and sexual violence. The confluence of sexuality and violence can be seen in pop culture. For example, in the hit song “Blurred Lines,” Robin Thicke repeats the line, “I know you want it,” suggesting that a woman’s refusal of sex is both insincere and a ‘turn on.’ Everyday language used to describe sex (e.g., ‘hit that’ or ‘tap that’) uses violent terms to describe a sexual act.

Researchers have documented the confluence of sex and violence, as well (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008; Wolf, 1991). For example, Stankiewicz and Rosselli (2008) conducted a content analysis of advertisements in women's and men's magazines. They found that 73% of advertisements depicted women simultaneously as sex objects and victims. A content analysis of pornography revealed that physical or verbal aggression occurred in 88% of pornography scenes, and when met with aggression, 95% of recipients responded with either pleasurable or neutral expressions (Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010). Conflating violence with sexuality contributes to rape culture by suggesting that violent sex is normal.

In addition to conflating sex with violence, Herman (1988) argues that rape culture results from and is sustained by traditional gender roles that place women in submissive positions and men in dominant positions. Traditional masculine gender roles include being dominant, aggressive, and pursuing sex with women, while traditional feminine gender roles include being submissive, prioritizing others' needs, and using physical appearance and sexiness to attract men (Kim et al., 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003; Mahalik et al., 2005). Traditional sexual scripts encourage sexual violence because they place

the oversexed, aggressive, emotionally insensitive male initiator who is enhanced by each sexual conquest and taught not to accept 'no' for an answer against the unassertive, passive woman who is trying to protect her worth by restricting access to her sexuality while still appearing interested, sexy, and concerned about the man's needs. Sexual coercion is believed to be learned and maintained through widespread socialization for this behavioral sexual script, traditional gender roles, and attitudes and beliefs that support, condone, and legitimize sexual coercion in at least some circumstances (Byers, 1996, p. 11).

In summary, traditional gender roles normalize sexual violence by suggesting that male aggression and female submissiveness is normal, natural, and inevitable.

Rape culture on college campuses

Many researchers (e.g., Burnett et al., 2009; Sanday, 1996) have argued that college campuses constitute a rape culture. Several elements of the social culture on college campuses contribute to rape culture, including alcohol use, lack of reporting, and presence of sex-segregated groups (Burnett et al., 2009). Alcohol use is a risk factor for experiencing sexual assault (for a review, see Abbey, 2002) and perpetrating sexual assault (for a review, see Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004). For example, in a national sample of women from 119 colleges and universities, Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss, and Wechsler (2004) found that over 70% of women who experienced sexual assault were intoxicated. About 50% of male perpetrators report drinking alcohol prior to committing sexual assault (Abbey et al., 2004). In addition to being a risk factor for experiencing sexual assault, alcohol use also affects perceived victim and perpetrator blame for sexual assault. Whereas victims of sexual assault are blamed more when they are intoxicated (Cameron & Stritzke, 2003; Ferguson & Ireland, 2012), perpetrators are blamed less for committing sexual assault if they are intoxicated (Grubb & Turner, 2012). Alcohol use contributes to rape culture by increasing the likelihood that women experience sexual assault and are blamed for it.

Despite high rates of sexual assault on college campuses, most go unreported to the authorities. In a national survey of 27 colleges, Cantor and colleagues (2015) found that only 25.5% of women who experienced physically forced penetration reported it to authorities, and 5-7% who experienced sexual touching involving physical force or incapacitation reported it to authorities. Evidence of the normalization of sexual violence that defines rape culture can be

seen in the reasons women give for not reporting sexual assault: over 50% of women said they did not report a sexual assault because they did not think it was serious enough (Cantor et al., 2015). Women who experience assault due to intoxication may be even less likely to report the assault to the authorities because alcohol use on the part of the female victim increases the likelihood that she is blamed (Cameron & Stritzke, 2003; Ferguson & Ireland, 2012). Indeed, among women who experienced unwanted sexual touching involving incapacitation, only 5% reported the experience to an authority figure (Cantor et al., 2015).

Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006) argue that alcohol use and party rape on college campuses must be examined through a gendered lens. Party rape is defined as sexual assault that “occurs at an off-campus house or on- or off-campus fraternity and involves the offender's plying a woman with alcohol or targeting an intoxicated woman” (Sampson, 2002, p. 6). The cultural expectations surrounding college parties are gendered. For example, women are expected to dress sexy in order to be noticed by men, and men are expected to provide alcohol and a place to party (e.g., a fraternity house). Because of gender-segregated dormitories and large classes, parties are often the primary method for women and men to meet. However, parties often occur in male-controlled spaces. For example, fraternity parties are held in fraternity houses where men control access to the space and the alcohol. Therefore, women, and especially underage women with no other means to access alcohol, party in spaces in which men have control over them (Armstrong et al., 2006). Sex-segregated social groups, such as fraternities and sports teams, reinforce the gendered nature of the college party scene (Armstrong et al., 2006; Burnett et al., 2009). In my dissertation I focus on how a particular sex-segregated social group, fraternities, contribute to rape culture on college campuses.

Fraternities and sexual assault

The focus of this and many other studies on sexual violence in fraternity culture is social fraternities, as opposed to multicultural fraternities (e.g., Black fraternities), or honor societies (e.g., Phi Beta Kappa). Social fraternities are the “typical” fraternities, composed of mostly white, middle and upperclass, cisgendered male students. These fraternities fall under the Interfraternity Council, which is the local governing body of the North-American Interfraternity Conference. The North-American Interfraternity Conference represents 66 fraternities across 800 campuses (North-American Interfraternity Conference, 2017). Within the category of social fraternities, organizations vary in size, demographic makeup of the students, and reputation. Some fraternities are large national organizations with individual chapters on campuses across the country, whereas other fraternities are local (i.e., they have only one chapter). Many fraternities own a house close to the university where members (usually sophomores) can live and where meetings and parties are held.

There have been several, highly publicized incidents of social fraternities engaging in sexually violent behaviors. For example, in 2013, a fraternity at University of Texas – Arlington had three reports of sexual assaults within one month (Jacobs, 2013, September 18), and another fraternity at Georgia Tech was suspended for sending an email with the subject line, “how to lure your rape bait” (Ryan, 2013, October 7). In 2010, a fraternity at Yale University surrounded a women’s dormitory and chanted, “no means yes, yes means anal” (Clark-Flory, 2010, October 15). More recently, a Penn State fraternity was suspended for posting pictures of naked, unconscious women to their Facebook page (Associated Press, 2015, March 20). Although these are extreme examples, they represent a deeper systemic problem of rape culture on college campuses that appears to be tied to male-dominated organizations.

Empirical evidence supports these anecdotes by demonstrating consistent links between fraternity membership and sexual violence. Across several studies, fraternity membership has been linked to acceptance of sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; McMahon, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007) and perpetration of sexual violence (Boeringer, Shehan, & Akers, 1991; Brown, Sumner, & Nocera, 2002; Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). For example, Bleecker and Murnen (2005) found that fraternity members more strongly endorsed rape myths than non-members, and Foubert, Newberry, and Tatum (2007) found that men in fraternities were three times more likely than other men on campus to commit rape.

Objectives

Despite evidence that fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence, less is known about *how* fraternity membership is related to greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence. Further, we do not know if fraternity membership is associated with an increase in acceptance of sexual violence, or whether men who are accepting of sexual violence are more likely to join fraternities. Finally, there is little research on *perceptions of sexual assault perpetrators*. Are fraternity members more or less likely to be held responsible for sexual assault? My dissertation seeks to address these gaps in the current scholarship on fraternity membership and sexual violence.

Theories used

I draw on several theories, which I present in more detail in the subsequent chapters, to inform my dissertation studies. Here, I offer a brief summary of the theories used. First, I draw on the heterosexual script (Kim et al., 2007) to understand cultural expectations for women's and men's behaviors in sexual interactions. According to the heterosexual script, men are expected to

be powerful, dominant, and persistently pursue sex with women, whereas women are expected to be submissive, sexy-but-chaste, and to please others (Kim et al., 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003; Mahalik et al., 2005). Men who endorse traditional sexual scripts may be more tolerant of sexual violence because it conforms to cultural expectations for male behavior. Traditional masculine gender scripts as conceptualized by Kim and colleagues (2007) and Mahalik and colleagues (2003) are based largely on Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity refers to the idealized form of masculinity and includes the traits listed above, such as being powerful, dominant, having several sexual partners, objectifying women, and avoiding any action that could be perceived as non-heterosexual (Mahalik et al., 2003; Pascoe, 2011). Hegemonic masculinity reinforces the gender hierarchy by subordinating women and other more effeminate forms of masculinity (e.g., non-heterosexuality; Connell, 1987). In my dissertation, I explore the role of masculine gender scripts in predicting acceptance of sexual violence among both fraternity members and non-members.

I draw on the precarious manhood thesis (Vandello & Bosson, 2013) to understand the pressure men feel to uphold gendered scripts. According to the precarious manhood thesis, manhood is an earned status. In other words, a man is not a man simply by being born male. Instead, he must prove his manhood by upholding masculine scripts. Further, manhood can be lost at any time by engaging in activities that are deemed not 'manly enough' (e.g., non-heterosexuality). Finally, manhood is bestowed on men by men, so performances of masculinity must be conducted in the presence of other men.

The precarious manhood thesis illuminates why men in fraternities are especially prone to engage in sexual violence. Membership in all-male organizations creates unique pressure on men

to assert their masculinity because fraternities frequently engage in homoerotic bonding rituals. For example, in her ethnography of fraternity culture, Peggy Sanday (2007) noted that fraternity brothers often watched porn together, masturbated in groups, and watched other brothers have sex. Because having sex with women is a defining aspect of masculinity (Mahalik et al., 2003), such homoerotic behaviors could call into question the heterosexuality, and therefore the very manhood, of the participants (i.e., several men masturbating together may challenge heterosexual identity). Therefore, men in all-male organizations need to assert their heterosexuality in order to “make up” for their participation in these homoerotic bonding rituals (Kimmel, 2008; Sanday, 1996). Kimmel (2008) theorizes that men in all-male organizations are more inclined to engage in sexual violence against women in order to assert their heterosexuality and therefore their status as men.

Finally, I draw on the culture of protection (Kimmel, 2008) to explore whether men in fraternities are protected from the consequences of engaging in sexual violence. According to the culture of protection, our society “protects” men from privileged backgrounds by blaming them less for deviant or dangerous behavior. Small (2015) notes in her study of in-depth interviews with 30 prosecutors and defense attorneys in Michigan that they, “...conflate sex offenders with men they perceive to be of a lower class status... it may be that their belief is a cultural stereotype, which would mean that they are overlooking or downplaying allegations made against class privileged offenders” (p. 122). In popular culture we see the culture of protection at work through cases such as the case of Brock Turner, who was sentenced to only 6 months in prison (and served only 3) after being convicted of three felonies for sexually assaulting an unconscious woman (Gagnon & Grinberg, 2016, September 4). Brock Turner is from a privileged background: he is White, attended Stanford, and was a Division I swimmer. Brock

Turner's case is not an anomaly; there are several cases of young male athletes who receive lenient or no sentences for sexual assault. One study found that 31% of athletes arrested for rape were convicted, versus 54% of arrests in a national sample (Benedict & Klein, 1998). The difference in conviction may be attributed to their "athletic privilege." In my dissertation I argue that fraternity membership affords a similar privilege as social class or athletic status and protects fraternity members from being blamed for sexual assault.

Originality, significance, and contribution to the field

Much of the research on and interventions for preventing sexual assault is targeted at women (e.g., do not leave drinks unattended, do not attend parties alone). However, we cannot effectively address sexual assault on college campuses without considering the ways in which men (who are overwhelmingly the perpetrators) come to adopt attitudes that contribute to rape culture. My dissertation examines how fraternity membership contributes to sexual violence on college campuses. By examining how fraternity membership leads to sexual violence, demonstrating a causal link between fraternity membership and sexual violence, and showing that fraternity members are less likely to be punished for sexual assault, I hope my research will inform interventions and policies to reduce sexual violence on college campuses.

**CHAPTER 2: (Study 1) How is Fraternity Membership Associated with Sexual Assault?
Exploring the Roles of Conformity to Masculine Norms, Pressure to Uphold Masculinity,
and Objectification of Women**

Between one in three and one in four college women experience sexual assault during their college careers (Cantor et al., 2015; Fisher et al., 2000). Sexual assault is defined as nonconsensual sexual contact through force or threat of force, incapacitation, non-physical threats, or lack of consent. Many researchers working to investigate predictors have focused on characteristics of the victim that make her more likely to experience assault (e.g., alcohol or drug use, non-heterosexual identity; Cantor et al., 2015). Fewer studies have focused on factors associated with the perpetrators of sexual violence. Those that have tend to find that alcohol use, rape supportive attitudes, and previous perpetration are all associated with greater likelihood to perpetrate sexual assault (Abbey et al., 1998; Cantor et al., 2015; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005). In addition to these factors, previous studies (e.g., interviews, ethnographies, and some survey research) have found that all-male organizations, such as fraternities, often establish cultures that endorse violence against women. For example, fraternity membership is consistently associated with more accepting attitudes towards sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; McMahon, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007) and greater perpetration of sexual violence (Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Franklin et al., 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007).

Despite consistent evidence that fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence, less is known about *how* fraternity membership is related to greater acceptance and

perpetration of sexual violence. In order to develop effective intervention programs, we need to understand how fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence. In other words, what is it about being in a fraternity that may contribute to acceptance of sexual violence? The purpose of the current study is to investigate the mechanisms by which fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of sexual violence against women. We are specifically interested in the role of traditional gender and sexual scripts for men as possible mediators in the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence. We draw on scripting theory (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) and the precarious manhood thesis (Vandello & Bosson, 2013) to explain the relations between fraternity membership, masculinity beliefs, and acceptance of sexual violence.

Theoretical Rationale

Scripting theory (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) suggests that women and men follow culturally sanctioned scripts in their romantic relationships. These scripts are socially accepted, easily recognized, and serve as a guide for how to behave in sexual encounters. Traditional sexual scripts vary by gender; men's roles are characterized by dominance, whereas women's roles are passive (Sanchez, Fetterolf, & Rudman, 2012). Men are expected to initiate and persistently pursue sex, never turn down the opportunity for sex, prioritize sexual pleasure and performance, value women mainly for their sexual appeal, and avoid anything that could be construed as 'gay'. Having (heterosexual) sex is a defining aspect of being a man. The scripts for men to follow in romantic relationships are directly related to traditional gender roles, more generally. For example, traditional gender roles for men include exercising power over women and engaging in physical aggression and violence, as well as prioritizing winning, demonstrating emotional control, engaging in risky behaviors, and prioritizing work and/or money (Mahalik et

al., 2003).

However, manhood is not an inherent consequence of being born male. Instead, to “be a man” requires displaying traditional masculine behaviors. The precarious manhood thesis (Vandello & Bosson, 2013) refers to the idea that manhood is a status that must be achieved and can be lost at any time. Because heterosexual sex is a defining aspect of masculinity, it offers men a way to achieve manhood. Men who have several sexual partners are lauded as “real men,” whereas men who fail to uphold traditional masculine norms are bullied (Toomey, Card, & Casper, 2014), and their very manhood is called into question (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). As a result, there is a great deal of pressure on men to have (heterosexual) sex in order to prove that they are “real men.” Such displays of masculinity are done to impress other men, because manhood is a status that is bestowed on men *only* by other men (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Therefore, membership in all-male organizations may create extra pressure on men to assert their masculinity. Anthropologist Peggy Sanday (2007) and sociologist Michael Kimmel (2008) theorize that men in all-male organizations are more inclined to engage in sexual violence against women in order to assert their heterosexuality and therefore their status as men.

Fraternity membership and sexual violence

Consistent with Sanday and Kimmel’s hypotheses, previous research demonstrates that all-male organizations, such as fraternities, tend to establish cultures that endorse violence against women (e.g., (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Several studies on fraternity members’ attitudes towards sexual violence have focused on endorsement of rape myths (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; McMahon, 2010). Rape myths are “attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). Common rape myths include the idea

that women say 'no' when they really mean 'yes' or that some women are more deserving of rape because of how they behave or what they wear. Those who endorse rape myths are more likely to commit sexual assault, less likely to believe a sexual assault victim, and less likely to intervene on behalf of a sexual assault victim (Grubb & Turner, 2012; McMahon, 2010).

A meta-analysis of 13 studies revealed a moderate effect size ($d = .31$) for the association between fraternity membership and rape myth acceptance (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Studies also show relations between fraternity membership and acceptance of violence against women, more generally. For example, in their study of undergraduate men, Corprew and Mitchell (2014) found that fraternity members exhibited more sexually aggressive attitudes towards women than did non-members.

In addition to greater acceptance of sexual violence, fraternity membership is associated with actual perpetration of sexual aggression (Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Foubert et al., 2007; Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). In their study of first-year undergraduate men, Foubert and colleagues (2007) found that men who joined a fraternity were three times more likely to commit sexual assault than men who did not join a fraternity. In general, belonging to a fraternity is associated with greater perpetration of sexual aggression (Brown et al., 2002) and nonphysical sexual coercion (Boeringer et al., 1991).

Fraternity membership and endorsement of masculine gender norms

Fraternity members likely experience a great deal of pressure from their male peers to engage in masculine norms, and especially to have heterosexual sex. Having sex with several different women is a way for fraternity men to gain respect from their peers, and members who fail to have sex are often teased (Sanday, 2007). Indeed, fraternity members report greater peer pressure to have sex (Franklin et al., 2012; Kingree & Thompson, 2013) and greater peer

approval of forced sex (Kingree & Thompson, 2013) than do non-members.

Sweeney (2014b) refers to the pressure men feel to assert their masculinity and specifically their heterosexuality as “compelled masculinity” and notes that it often takes the form of objectification of women (i.e., viewing women as an object that exists for sexual pleasure, rather than as a human with thoughts and feelings; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Ray & Rosow, 2010; Sweeney, 2014b). Research suggests that fraternity members are more likely to objectify women than non-members. For example, Bleecker and Murnen (2005) analyzed the décor in male students’ dorm rooms and found that fraternity members had significantly more objectifying and degrading images of women (e.g., *Playboy* pin-up posters) displayed on their walls than non-fraternity men. Additionally, Martin and Hummer (1989) documented that the promise of having access to women is used as “bait” to attract new fraternity members. Ethnographies and interviews with fraternity members reveal that members assign point values to women based on their attractiveness. Brothers earn points by sleeping with women, and compete with one another for who can earn the most points (Sanday, 2007; Sweeney, 2014b). Taken together, this research suggests that women often serve as objects on which fraternity men can assert their heterosexuality (Sanday, 1996).

In addition to feeling pressure to uphold masculine norms, including the objectification of women, fraternity membership is associated with greater endorsement and enactment of these norms (Iwamoto, Corbin, Lejuez, & MacPherson, 2014; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Robinson, Gibson-Beverly, & Schwartz, 2004). Scholars argue that men in fraternities have a narrow definition of masculinity that includes rejecting anything perceived as feminine, as well as being able to “score” with women, drinking large amounts of alcohol, being “tough,” and having money (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Rhoads, 1995). These characteristics map on to traditional

masculine gender roles such as risk taking (Mahalik et al., 2003) and onto traditional sexual scripts, such as prioritizing sex over emotion (Kim et al., 2007). Among college men, membership in a fraternity is associated with greater conformity to masculine norms (Iwamoto et al., 2014). Moreover, fraternity members endorse gender stereotypes and gender roles more strongly than sorority members (Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Robinson et al., 2004), suggesting that the association between fraternity membership and masculinity is unique to fraternity membership, rather than participation in Greek life more generally.

Masculine gender norms and sexual violence

Endorsement of traditional gender norms may partially explain why fraternity members tend to be more accepting of sexual violence because two prominent pillars of masculinity are demonstrating power over women and engaging in aggression (Mahalik et al., 2003). There is empirical evidence that traditional masculinity is associated with acceptance of sexual violence (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Eaton & Matamala, 2014; Lutz-Zois, Moler, & Brown, 2015). For example, among college students, endorsement of traditional masculinity is related to stronger endorsement of rape myths (Lutz-Zois et al., 2015), and endorsement of heteronormative beliefs (e.g., men should be dominant, men are always after sex) is associated with greater acceptance of verbal sexual coercion (Eaton & Matamala, 2014).

Studies of masculinity and sexual violence *perpetration* find positive associations, as well (Lackie & de Man, 1997; Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002; Thompson, Swartout, & Koss, 2013). Indeed, a meta analysis of masculine ideology and sexual aggression found that out of 11 different measures of masculinity, all but one showed a significant effect size in predicting perpetration of sexual aggression (Murnen et al., 2002); the effect sizes were larger for hypermasculinity than for general measures of endorsement of gender norms. A more recent

longitudinal study of college men found that higher levels of hostile masculinity (i.e., desire to control women and a general distrust of women (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, & Tanaka, 1991) throughout college predicted perpetration of sexual aggression (Thompson et al., 2013).

Because masculinity is a performance done by men for other men (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), the presence of male peers likely places increased pressure on men to uphold masculine stereotypes, such as engaging in sex. The pressure from one's peers to "be a man" by having several sexual partners may contribute to the perpetration of sexual violence. For example, a longitudinal study of fraternity membership (Kingree & Thompson, 2013) revealed that fraternity members reported more approval from their friends to engage in forced sex (e.g., use drugs and alcohol to convince a woman to have sex); peer approval of forced sex, in turn, predicted greater perpetration of sexual violence. Another study found that fraternity membership was related to perpetration of sexual assault because fraternity members reported greater peer pressure to engage in sex, and this pressure predicted perpetration of sexual assault (Franklin et al., 2012). In their ethnographic study of party culture on college campuses, Armstrong and colleagues (2006) suggest that "social pressure to 'have fun,' prove one's social competency, or adhere to traditional gender expectations are also predicted to increase rates of sexual assault within a social scene" (p. 495). Together, these studies lend support to the idea that men in fraternities experience pressure from other men to engage in heterosexual sex in order to prove their masculinity, and that this pressure to engage in sex contributes to perpetration of sexual assault.

Finally, objectification of women is theorized to contribute to sexual violence against women, because objectified women are perceived cognitively to be less like people and more like objects, and, thus devoid of feelings or humanity (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Despite the

theoretical link, few studies have examined the associations between men's objectification of women and their attitudes towards and perpetration of sexual violence. Those that have do find that objectification of women is associated with greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence (Aubrey, Hopper, & Mbure, 2011; Gervais, DiLillo, & McChargue, 2014; Jacques-Tiura et al., 2015; Rudman & Mescher, 2012). For example, men who implicitly associated women with objects were more likely to report sexually aggressive attitudes towards women (Rudman & Mescher, 2012). Men who had perpetrated sexual aggression in the past year generated more objectifying statements about women and were more comfortable with their friends' objectifying statements about women, as compared to non-perpetrators (Jacques-Tiura et al., 2015). Together, these results suggest that men's objectification of women is related to acceptance of sexual violence; however, no studies have examined this link in a fraternity context. More generally, pressure to engage in masculine norms is associated with sexual violence and may also help explain the link between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence.

Summary and Purpose

Although research demonstrates that fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of traditional masculine gender norms, and that endorsing masculine gender norms is associated with acceptance of sexual violence, few studies have examined whether traditional masculine gender norms and pressure to uphold them mediate the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence. Further, despite evidence that fraternity membership is associated with the objectification of women, and that objectification is associated with acceptance of sexual violence, no studies have examined objectification of women as the mechanism by which fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of sexual violence.

We seek to address these limitations in the current study and believe that investigating these potential connections may provide useful information for university administrators and fraternity leaders as they develop programs to reduce sexual assault on campus.

Further, several studies have focused on either attitudes towards sexual violence (e.g., rape myth acceptance, attitudes towards a rape victim) or perpetration of sexual violence. We expand on these measures by including a behavioral measure of sexual deception (i.e., lying in order to have sex), which may be perceived as less serious than sexual assault, but is still an important indicator of malicious sexual behavior. Although no studies have examined the relation between sexual deception and sexual violence specifically, sexual deception behaviors are associated with using drugs and alcohol during sex and desiring a partner who can be manipulated (Marelich, Lundquist, Painter, & Mechanic, 2008). Moreover, although sexual assault by deception does not meet the legal criteria for rape, some legal scholars (e.g., Rubinfeld, 2012) have argued that sexual assault by deception should be considered a crime because deception in other criminal acts is considered a crime (e.g., pretending to be a valet attendant in order to steal a car).

We offer the following hypotheses (see Figure 2.1):

H1: Fraternity members will more strongly endorse masculine norms, report more pressure from their friends to uphold masculinity, and be more accepting of objectification of women and sexual violence (i.e., more rape myth acceptance, greater frequency of sexual deception) than non-members.

H2: Endorsement of masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculinity, and objectification of women will each mediate the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence.

Method

Procedures

The sample was recruited from a population of 9,521 undergraduate men at a large public university in the Midwest. Recruitment began in mid-September 2014 and continued for three weeks. We recruited participants through email messages. Emails were sent directly to fraternity officers (presidents and point-of-contacts provided by the Office of Greek Life) and to a random sample of 1,973 male undergraduates in their first, second, or third year of school. The recruitment emails asked participants to complete a survey about “men's experiences with media use, dating, and sexual health at college” in exchange for a \$10 gift card to Starbucks. The survey was part of a larger study that included measures of media use, life satisfaction, romantic relationships, and sexual behaviors.

Participants

Five hundred twenty two men completed the survey. Fifty-two participants were deleted for spending less than six minutes on the survey (more than one standard deviation below average completion time). Another 19 were deleted for failing all three validity checks (e.g., failed to select ‘strongly agree’ when requested). Because we were interested in traditional masculine norms about gender and sexuality, we excluded two participants who identified as gender-queer and one participant who did not indicate a gender. We also excluded 10 participants who answered less than 50% of the questions for which they were eligible. Finally, we removed 61 participants who did not indicate their fraternity status and 12 participants who indicated they were in the process of joining a fraternity (but not yet members). We were left with a total sample of 365 undergraduate men.

Most of the sample identified as white and heterosexual and were 19.34 years of age on

average (see Table 2.1 for detailed demographic information). They came from well-educated backgrounds (on average their parents had completed over 20 years of education, equating to some master's degree work). Our sample consisted of 26.3% ($n = 96$) first years, 35.9% ($n = 131$) sophomores, 34.2% ($n = 125$) juniors, 3.0% ($n = 11$) seniors, and 0.5% ($n = 2$) fifth years or beyond (because this study was part of a larger longitudinal study designed to follow-up with participants after 1 year, we purposefully did not target seniors). Compared to non-members, fraternity members were slightly older, had parents with higher education levels, and were more likely to identify as heterosexual than non-members (See Table 2.1).

Measures

Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA; Burt, 1980). In order to measure endorsement of rape myths, participants' rated their agreement with 10 statements using a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Sample items include, "When a girl goes to a guy's house on the first date, it means she is willing to have sex" and, "Girls have a secret wish to be raped." The RMA scale was validated on a sample of adult men and women (Burt, 1980). Internal consistency in our sample was good ($\alpha = .87$).

Sexual deception. Using deception in order to have sex was measured using the Blatant Lying subscale of the Sexual Deception Scale (Marellich et al., 2008). Participants indicate whether they have ever done 7 different behaviors by responding either *Yes* or *No*. Participants were instructed that sex could refer to intercourse, oral sex, or manual stimulation. Examples include, "Told someone 'I love you' but really didn't just to have sex with them" and, "Had sex with someone just so you could tell your friends about it." *Yes* responses were coded as 1 and *No* responses as zero. Sum scores were calculated across the 7 items such that higher scores indicate more deception. The Sexual Deception Scale was validated on a sample of sexually active

university students (Marelich et al., 2008). Internal consistency was good ($\alpha = .81$).

Objectification of women. Acceptance of objectification of women was measured using a modified version of the Sexual Objectification Scale (Morse, 2007). We selected the 12 items that loaded most strongly onto one factor for inclusion in the study. We removed one item (“Women who wear tight clothes or low cut shirts are asking to be hit on by men”) because the language overlapped with an item in the RMA Scale (“Girls who don’t wear bras or who wear short skirts and tight tops are asking for trouble”). We were left with 11 items. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with the 11 items on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Sample items included, “It is okay for a guy to stare at the body of an attractive woman he doesn’t know” and, “It is fun to rate women based on the attractiveness of their bodies.” The original Sexual Objectification Scale was validated on a sample of university men (Morse, 2007). Internal consistency was good ($\alpha = .86$).

Conformity to masculine norms. The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2011, based on Mahalik et al., 2003) was used to assess the extent to which participants adhere to masculine norms. The CMNI-46 contains 46 total items and 11 subscales (Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Power Over Women, Disdain for Non-heterosexuals, and Pursuit of Status). Participants rate their agreement with each statement on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Sample items included, “If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners” (*Playboy*) and, “I would be furious if someone thought I was gay” (*Heterosexual self-presentation*). For the purpose of this study, we computed the average score over all 46 items ($\alpha = .88$). The CMNI-46 was validated on a sample of college men (Parent & Moradi, 2011).

Pressure to conform to masculine stereotypes. Perceived pressure to conform to masculine stereotypes was measured using a 10-item, modified version of the Pressure to Conform to Masculine Stereotypes Scale (PCMS; Epstein, 2009). Participants rated perceived pressure from their male friends on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *1 = I don't feel any pressure* to *5 = I feel a lot of pressure*. Sample items include, "Act like I want sex all the time" and, "Avoid doing anything that is girly." We also added three items to assess pressure to drink alcohol, such as, "Do shots of alcohol" and, "Hold my liquor." Mean scores were calculated ($\alpha = .92$). The original PCMS was validated on a sample of emerging adult men (Epstein, 2009).

Fraternity membership. Participants indicated whether they were a fraternity member (23.3%; $n = 85$) or non-member (76.7%; $n = 280$).

Results

Preliminary analysis

Descriptive statistics for the outcome variables are presented in Table 2.2. Participants scored near the midpoint for conformity to masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women, indicating moderate endorsement of these constructs. Participants scored below the midpoint on both rape myth acceptance and sexual deception, although nearly half (49.3%) of participants reported engaging in at least one sexual deception behavior. There were no differences by race on conformity to masculine norms, $F(6,337) = 1.40, p = .22$, pressure to uphold masculine norms, $F(6,337) = 2.12, p = .05$, acceptance of objectification of women, $F(6,337) = .98, p = .44$, rape myth acceptance, $F(6,337) = 1.19, p = .31$, or sexual deception, $F(6,337) = .65, p = .69$. Men who identified as heterosexual scored significantly higher than men who identified as non-heterosexual on conformity to

masculine norms, $F(1,343) = 10.80, p = .001$, acceptance of objectification of women, $F(1,343) = 15.72, p < .001$, and rape myth acceptance, $F(1,343) = 15.33, p < .001$. There were no differences between men who identified as heterosexual and those who identified as non-heterosexual on pressure to uphold masculine norms, $F(1,343) = .57, p = .45$, or sexual deception, $F(1,343) = .00, p = .97$. Parental education level was not related to conformity to masculine norms, $r(365) = -.05, p = .31$, pressure to uphold masculine norms, $r(356) = .03, p = .61$, acceptance of objectification of women, $r(357) = -.01, p = .93$, rape myth acceptance, $r(356) = -.07, p = .16$, or sexual deception, $r(364) = -.01, p = .91$. We also ran zero-order correlations for the variables of interest (see Table 2.3). With the exception of the relation between pressure to uphold masculinity and RMA ($r = .09$), all variables were significantly correlated with each other, and correlations ranged from .24 to .58.

Testing the main research question

In order to examine whether fraternity members are more accepting of sexual violence than non-members, we conducted a series of independent t-tests comparing fraternity members and non-members on each of these constructs. Consistent with our hypotheses, fraternity members more strongly endorsed masculine norms, reported feeling more pressure from their friends to uphold masculine norms, were more accepting of objectification of women, more strongly endorsed rape myths, and engaged in more sexual deception behaviors on average than non-members; the effect sizes ranged from small to medium (see Table 2.2). Thus, hypothesis H1 was confirmed.

We employed Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with maximum likelihood estimation using MPlus to examine whether endorsement of masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and objectification of women mediate the relations between fraternity membership and

acceptance of sexual violence. We followed the item-to-parcel balance technique (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002) to create indicators for each of our latent variables. Using this technique, a factor analysis with one factor is conducted for each scale, and individual scale items are distributed across three parcels according to their factor loadings (e.g., the highest loading item on Parcel 1, second highest on Parcel 2, third highest on Parcel 3, fourth highest on Parcel 1, and so on) until all items are distributed across the three parcels. The three parcels are used as indicators of each of the latent constructs.

We followed the recommendations of Anderson and Gerbing (1988) to test our proposed model. First, we tested a measurement model for the latent constructs in which each latent construct is permitted to vary freely with all other latent constructs. If the measurement model provides an adequate fit to the data, it is acceptable to proceed with a structural model. We use guidelines described by Kline (2011) and Little (2013) to gauge model fit: RMSEA and 90% CI that fall below .10, a CFI above .95, and SRMR below .06 all represent good/acceptable fit. Based on these criteria, our measurement model provided an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(80, N = 365) = 145.84, p < .001$, RMSEA = .05 with 90% CI [.04, .06], CFI = .98, SRMR = .04. Factor loadings loaded significantly on their latent constructs at $\alpha = .001$.

Next, we tested our proposed structural model. In the structural model we allowed our proposed mediators to correlate because we expect the masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification are related even after accounting for the other constructs in the model. Our proposed model provided an adequate fit for the data, $\chi^2(93, N = 365) = 179.04$; RMSEA = .05 with 90% CI [.04, .06]; CFI = .97, SRMR = .04 (see Figure 2.2). The model also explained a significant portion of the variance in both RMA, $R^2 = .26, p < .001$, and Sexual Deception, $R^2 = .24, p < .001$. As expected, fraternity membership was associated

with endorsement of masculine norms, pressure from friends to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women. Also, as expected, endorsement of masculine norms, pressure from friends to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women was each, in turn, related to at least one measure of acceptance of sexual violence. Specifically, greater conformity to masculine norms and greater acceptance of objectification of women was each associated with greater rape myth acceptance. More pressure from male friends to uphold masculine stereotypes and more acceptance of objectification of women was each associated with more frequent sexual deception behaviors.

Finally, in order to determine whether endorsement of masculine norms, pressure from friends to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women mediate the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence, we calculated the bootstrapped (1,000 draws) indirect effects and 95% confidence intervals for those effects. If the 95% confidence interval does not contain zero, there is evidence of mediation (i.e., a significant indirect effect). The total unstandardized indirect effect (with all mediators) for the relation between fraternity membership and RMA, $B = .19$ with 95% CI [.11, .29], and the unstandardized indirect effect for the relation between fraternity membership and sexual deception, $B = .05$ with 95% CI [.02, .07], were both statistically significant. Thus, our second hypothesis was supported. We conclude that there is evidence that the relation between fraternity membership and rape myth acceptance, and fraternity membership and sexual deception, is mediated by endorsement of masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and acceptance of objectification of women.

Alternative Models

To support our proposed model, we also tested an alternative model in which CMNI,

pressure to uphold masculinity, and acceptance of objectification predict fraternity membership, and fraternity membership in turn predicts RMA and sexual deception. Because fraternity membership is a categorical variable we used the weighted least squares with mean and variance adjustment (WLSMV) estimator (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2015). The alternative model did not provide an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(96, N = 365) = 419.33$; RMSEA = .10, 90% CI [.09, .11]; CFI = .74, WRMR = 1.49, lending further support to our proposed structural model.

Discussion

Our results support previous research demonstrating that fraternity membership is associated with greater acceptance of sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Kingree & Thompson, 2013; McMahon, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007), and add to the current literature in two important ways. First, despite evidence that fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence, less is known about *how* fraternity membership is related to greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence. Our results suggest that fraternity members are more accepting of sexual violence against women in part because they more strongly endorse traditional masculine norms, feel pressure from their friends to uphold masculine norms, and more readily view women as sexual objects. Although the effect sizes for the differences between fraternity members and non-members ranged from small to medium, the explanatory power of our model was good: our model explained about 25% of the variance in RMA and sexual deception. Considering all the possible influences that contribute to acceptance of sexual violence, our model provides good explanatory power. Second, our study expands on current measures of sexual violence by including a measure of sexual deception. We find that fraternity members are more likely than non-members to use deception to have sex.

Explaining how fraternity membership is associated with sexual violence

Some previous research has documented that fraternity members report feeling pressure to engage in some masculine norms, such as having sex (Franklin et al., 2012; Kingree & Thompson, 2013). Our results support these findings: in our study, fraternity members reported more pressure to engage in masculine norms and more endorsement of these norms. Although all men likely feel pressure to uphold masculinity (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), the pressure appears to be even greater in the fraternity context. Because masculinity is a status that men prove to other men, simply being in an all-male group may exacerbate pressure to uphold masculinity (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Having sex with women is one way to achieve masculinity, and fraternity members may engage in sexually deceptive behaviors in order to have sex and therefore prove themselves “real men.” Our results support this conclusion by demonstrating that pressure to uphold masculinity helps explain the relation between fraternity membership and sexual deception behaviors.

Our results also support previous findings that fraternity members more readily objectify women (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sweeney, 2014b), and that this objectification of women is associated with sexual violence (Aubrey et al., 2011; Gervais et al., 2014; Jacques-Tiura et al., 2015; Rudman & Mescher, 2012). Objectification dehumanizes women and reduces them to objects, devoid of thought and feeling (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). When men view women as objects devoid of feelings and thoughts, it is likely easier to treat those “objects” with disrespect and violence.

Ethnographic accounts of fraternities document bonding rituals in which men objectify women (e.g., rating women’s attractiveness, scoring ‘points’ for having sex with attractive women (Sanday, 2007; Sweeney, 2014b). Some may see these behaviors simply as bonding rituals done for fun or in jest. However, men’s objectification of women has negative

consequences for men. For example, Zurbriggen, Ramsey, and Jaworski (2011) found that among men, objectification of one's romantic partner was associated with lower relationship and sexual satisfaction. Besides the obvious consequences for women who are the victims of men's sexually violent attitudes and behaviors, men may also have trouble establishing meaningful and satisfying relationships with women if they see women as sexual objects.

Although our overall hypothesized mediation model provided a good fit to the data, only acceptance of objectification was related to both rape myth acceptance and sexual deception. Endorsement of masculine norms was related to rape myth acceptance only (but not sexual deception), and pressure to uphold masculine norms was related to sexual deception only (but not rape myth acceptance). Perhaps pressure from male friends to engage in stereotypical behaviors (e.g., having sex, drinking alcohol) affects men's behaviors towards women, but not their attitudes. Many of the pressures we measured were behaviors (e.g., have sex with multiple women, do shots of alcohol); it follows that these behavioral pressures are more strongly related to other behaviors, and not attitudes. Similarly, endorsement of masculine norms (which measures cognitions about masculinity) may more easily relate to other cognitions (rape myth acceptance) but not behaviors.

Sexual deception

We expand on the current literature on fraternity membership and sexual violence attitudes and behaviors by incorporating a measure of sexual deception. We found that fraternity members engage in more sexual deception behaviors than non-members. Although previous studies have examined fraternity members' beliefs about sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Kingree & Thompson, 2013) and their perpetration of sexual violence (Franklin et al., 2012; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007), no one has examined fraternity members' use of sexually

deceptive behaviors. Most of these behaviors do not meet the criteria for sexual assault (e.g., telling someone ‘I love you’ in order to have sex is not assault), yet the behaviors do reflect a general disrespect for one’s sexual partner. Because the behaviors are not sexual assault, participants may be more willing to admit to the behaviors, providing a more accurate estimate of disrespectful behaviors towards one’s sexual partner. Indeed, nearly half of our sample (49.3%) admitted to engaging in at least one sexual deception behavior.

Sexual deception behaviors may fall outside the usual interventions targeted at sexual violence because they are not sexual assault. However, we found that sexual deception was positively correlated with rape myth acceptance, suggesting that sexual deception may be a useful predictor of other sexual assault attitudes and behaviors. Sexual deception behaviors can also help us think more broadly about the definition of consent beyond a simple “yes/no” dichotomy (Roffee, 2015). For example, if someone agreed to sex because the other person lied about who they are or how they feel, is that consensual sex? Interventions targeted at fostering respectful and mutually consensual sexual relationships may want to address sexual deception behaviors, especially among fraternity members.

Limitations

We acknowledge some limitations to our study. First, because our data are cross-sectional, we cannot make conclusions about the direction of the relations in our model. Just as fraternity membership may lead to endorsement of masculine norms, pressure to uphold masculine norms, and objectification of women, it is also possible that men who endorse masculine norms, feel pressure to uphold masculinity, and objectify women are more likely to join a fraternity. Similarly, fraternity membership may cause increased acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence, but it is also possible that men who are more accepting of sexual

violence and who engage in more sexual violence are more likely to join a fraternity. However, our alternative model that tested this relation did not provide an acceptable fit to our data.

Further, evidence from longitudinal studies suggests that prospective fraternity membership is associated with an increase in acceptance of sexual violence, and that men who perceive greater peer approval of forced sex are more likely to join a fraternity (Kingree & Thompson, 2013).

More longitudinal studies are needed to confirm the direction of the relations tested in the current study.

We tested three mediators for the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence in our study, but there are likely other mediators that may help explain how fraternity membership is linked to acceptance of sexual violence. For example, holding sexist and hostile beliefs about women has been associated with both fraternity membership (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993) and sexual violence (Dardis, Murphy, Bill, & Gidycz, 2016; Eaton & Matamala, 2014), and thus may help explain the associations tested here. Further, other theories may help to explain the relations between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence. For example, sexual strategies theorists (Buss & Schmitt, 1993) suggest that when engaging in short-term sexual relationships, men have evolved to avoid women who require long-term commitments. Perhaps men use sexual deception to engage such women in sex (e.g., saying ‘I love you’ without meaning it in order to obtain sex), though it is not clear why such a strategy would be more common in fraternities unless we also consider the pressure that fraternity men feel to uphold masculinity. Social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986) may also be useful for understanding sexual violence in the fraternity setting. Social identity theorists argue that mistreatment of out-group members occurs because in-group members want to boost the status of their group. In other words, fraternity members may treat

women (the out-group) poorly in order to boost the status and power of the fraternity (the in-group).

Third, our measure of rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980) is dated and may not reflect current beliefs about sexual violence. Indeed, RMA scores were low in our sample ($M = 2.05$ on a scale from 1 to 6), which may reflect changing conceptions of rape myths. Similar to sexism and racism, beliefs about sexual violence have become subtler (Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007). Rather than endorsing obvious myths about rape, such as “when women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble” from Burt’s Rape Myth Acceptance scale (1980), participants may be more likely to endorse more subtle rape myths, such as “nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women’s shelters, therapy offers, and support groups” (Gerger et al., 2007). Future studies should consider using more modern measures of rape myth acceptance such as the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance scale (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999) or the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression scale (Gerger et al., 2007).

Finally, we know that not all fraternity members engage in objectification of women, endorsement of masculine norms, or sexual violence. Certain characteristics of the fraternity organization, such as members’ ideas about masculinity, reputation on campus, and racial composition, likely influence the attitudes of its members. For example, a qualitative study of 50 fraternity members across the U.S. and Canada documented fraternity organizations that engaged in “productive masculinity” in which members felt it was important to uphold their stated values by intervening when something racist, sexist, or homophobic happened (Harris & Harper, 2014). Similarly, Anderson (2008) conducted an ethnography with a large national fraternity chapter that actively rejected traditional forms of masculinity and instead embraced gay men, women,

and racial minorities. We expect fraternities that actively critique masculinity may not instill the same problematic attitudes towards women and sexual violence as might more traditional social fraternities. Second, a fraternity's reputation on campus likely affects its members' attitudes. For example, in an ethnographic study, Boswell and Spade (1996) classified fraternities as either high-risk of sexual assault or low-risk, depending on their perceived reputation from other students. Parties at high-risk fraternities tended to have more objectification of women through explicit judgments of female partygoers' appearances and discussions of sexual exploits (Boswell & Spade, 1996). Work is needed investigating whether individual fraternity members' attitudes differ based on the reputation of their fraternity. Finally, the racial composition of the fraternity likely influences members' attitudes. For example, Ray and Rosow (2010) found that Black fraternities were perceived to be more gender egalitarian, and members were more concerned with maintaining a positive reputation on campus because they felt their behavior reflected on the entire Black community on their campus. Our sample of fraternity members was predominantly White, and all were in school at a predominantly White institution. Our results cannot be generalized to other types of fraternities (e.g., Black fraternities, Latino fraternities) or other types of higher education institutions (e.g., historically Black colleges and universities).

Conclusions

Our results suggest that the pressure men feel to uphold masculine norms, their endorsement of these norms, and their acceptance of objectification of women help explain how fraternity members are more accepting of sexual violence. Although several studies have documented that fraternity members are more accepting of sexual violence, ours is one of the first to propose a model that explains *how* that difference comes to be. We suspect that the pressure men feel to uphold masculinity may generalize to other all-male contexts. Future studies

should investigate whether this pressure is associated with acceptance of sexual violence in athletic teams or military units, both of which report higher rates of sexual violence than the general population (e.g., Gage, 2008; McMahon, 2010; Turchik & Wilson, 2010). Such research could provide further evidence that the pressure men feel to uphold and prove their masculinity, especially in all male environments, contributes to sexual violence against women.

Table 2.1

Demographic characteristics of sample

	Full sample	Frat. Members (<i>N</i> = 85)	Non-members (<i>N</i> = 280)	<i>t</i> (df) / χ^2 (df)
Age	19.37	19.71	19.27	2.62(361)**
Parents' education	5.74	6.23	5.59	2.76(363)**
White	68.5%	71.8%	67.5%	.49(1, <i>N</i> = 364)
Asian/Asian-American	18.1%	12.9%	19.6%	2.01(1, <i>N</i> = 364)
Latino	2.2%	2.4%	2.1%	^a
African-American	1.9%	2.4%	1.8%	^a
Multiracial	4.7%	8.2%	3.6%	^a
Middle Eastern	3.3%	2.4%	3.6%	^a
Heterosexual	90.7%	96.5%	88.9%	11.88(1, <i>N</i> = 365)**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ^a Insufficient cell count for comparison.

Table 2.2

Descriptive statistics for fraternity members and non-members on variables of interest

	Fraternity members		Non-members		<i>t</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>	
	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>			<i>SD</i>
1. Conformity to Masculine Norms	1-6	3.47	.39	3.27	.54	3.06 ^{***}	.41
2. Pressure to Uphold Masculinity	1-4	2.31	.80	2.02	.77	2.88 ^{**}	.36
3. Acceptance of Objectification	1-6	3.26	.82	2.79	.87	4.42 ^{***}	.56
4. Rape Myth Acceptance	1-6	2.05	.80	1.84	.77	2.18 [*]	.27
5. Sexual Deception	0 - 7	.98	1.45	.53	1.30	2.72 [*]	.33

Note. ^{*} $p < .05$; ^{**} $p < .01$; ^{***} $p < .001$; [†] $p < .10$

Table 2.3

Zero-order correlations between variables of interest (N = 347 - 365)

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Conformity to Masculine Norms	--			
2. Pressure to Uphold Masculinity	.25 ^{***}	--		
3. Acceptance of Objectification	.58 ^{***}	.35 ^{***}	--	
4. Rape Myth Acceptance	.37 ^{***}	.09	.42 ^{***}	--
5. Sexual Deception	.24 ^{***}	.26 ^{***}	.37 ^{***}	.28 ^{***}

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

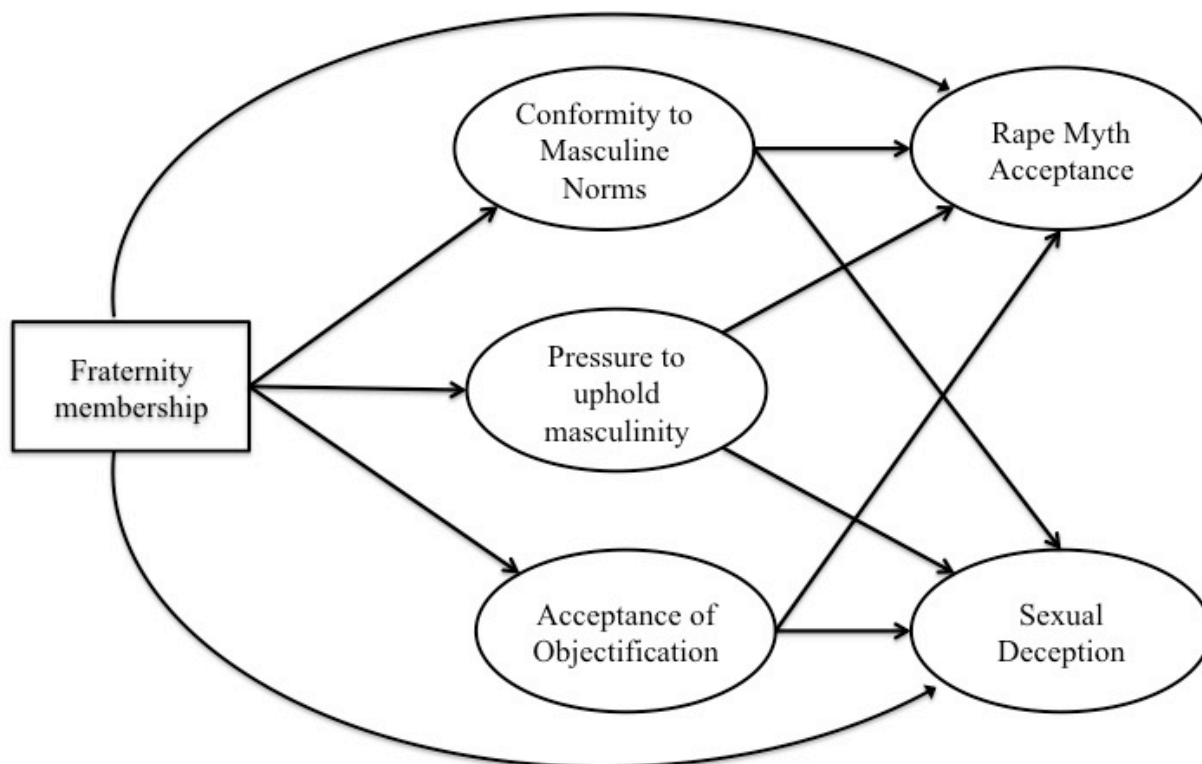


Figure 2.1. Hypothesized model. Although the arrows imply directionality, our data do not allow conclusions about the causal direction of any relations depicted here.

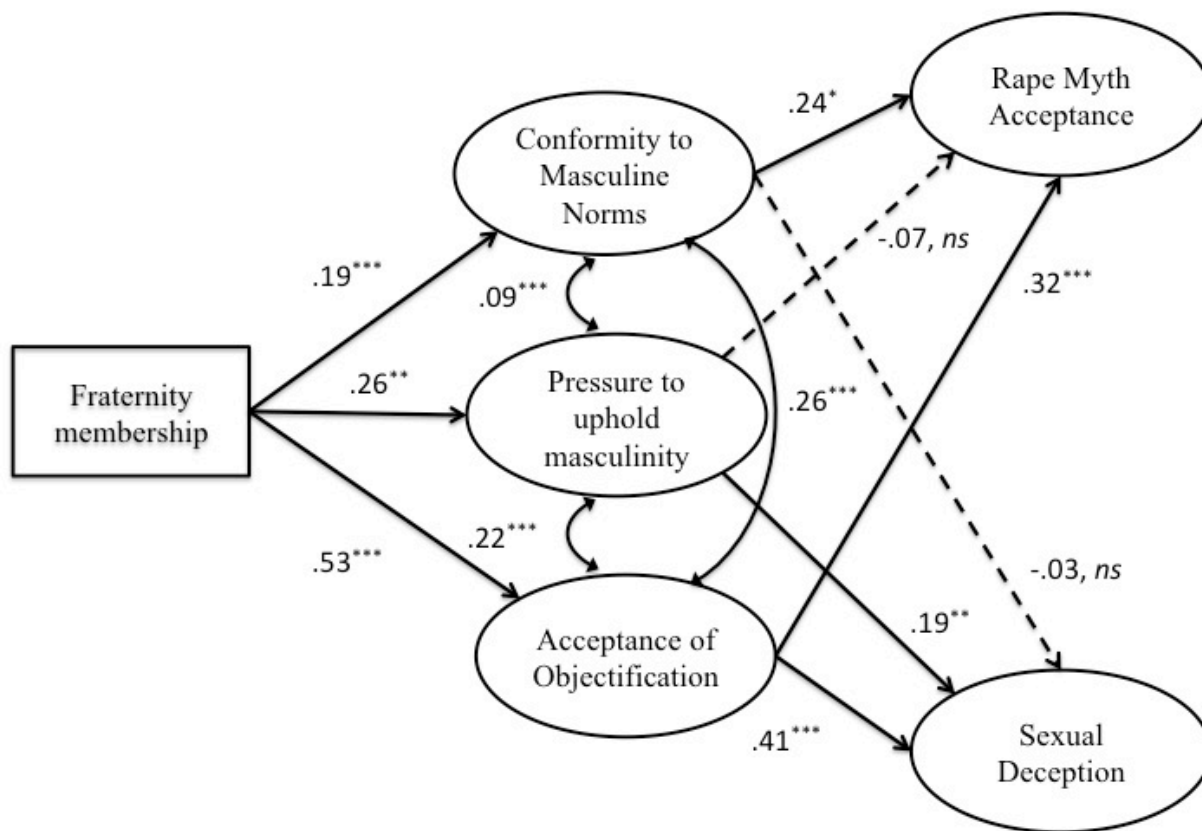


Figure 2.2. Final structural model with unstandardized coefficients

Note. $^* p < .05$; $^{**} p < .01$; $^{***} p < .001$. Dashed lines indicate non-significant pathways.

Fraternity membership coded such that 1 = member and 0 = non-member. Although the arrows imply directionality, our data do not allow conclusions about the causal direction of any relations depicted here.

CHAPTER 3: (Study 2) A Longitudinal Study of Fraternity Membership, Masculine Gender Roles, and Acceptance of Sexual Violence

Sexual assault on college campuses is a complex problem likely caused and perpetuated by several sociocultural factors. Some factors demonstrated to contribute to higher levels of male perpetration of sexual violence on college campuses include alcohol use, traditional sexual scripts for men that encourage dominance and aggression, male peer support of sexual violence, pornography consumption, and childhood experiences of sexual abuse (for a review, see Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). One factor believed to play a role in sexual assault on college campuses is membership in a fraternity. Although there is a great deal of research documenting an association between fraternity membership and sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Franklin et al., 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; McMahan, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007), the majority of this research has been cross-sectional. To my knowledge, only two studies (Kingree & Thompson, 2013; Loh et al., 2005) used a longitudinal approach to study sexual aggression and fraternity membership. As such, the direction of the relation between fraternity membership and sexual violence is unclear: does fraternity membership lead to an increase in acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence, or are men who are more accepting of sexual violence simply more likely to join fraternities? Indeed, there is evidence that men who plan to pledge a fraternity are more accepting of rape myths than men who do not plan to pledge (McMahan, 2010). The purpose of Study 2 is to use a longitudinal approach to explore the direction of the relation between fraternity membership and acceptance of sexual violence.

The two longitudinal studies that have been done suggest that joining a fraternity leads to greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence. More specifically, Loh and colleagues (2005) recruited 220 undergraduate men at a large university and followed up with them after three months and again after seven months. The authors assessed the men's endorsement of traditional gender norms and sexual scripts, acceptance of rape myths and perception of their peers' acceptance of rape myths, willingness to confront other men's sexist behaviors, prosocial personality characteristics, alcohol use, use of token resistance (saying no to sex when you were in fact willing to have sex), perceptions that a sexual partner had used token resistance, and perpetration of sexual aggression. Men who identified as fraternity members at Time 1 were three times more likely to have perpetrated sexual aggression three months later. The only other significant predictor of sexual aggression at the three-month follow-up was history of previous perpetration.

Kingree and Thompson (2013) recruited 424 first-year men at a large university and followed up with them after one year and again after two years. Participants reported their attitudes towards women, acceptance of rape myths, peer pressure to have sex, peer acceptance of forced sex (e.g., using drugs or alcohol to convince a woman to have sex), alcohol use, and perpetration of sexual aggression. The authors found that joining a fraternity between Time 1 and Time 2 was associated with increased peer pressure to have sex and increased perceived peer approval of forced sex at Time 2; perceived peer approval of forced sex, in turn, was associated with perpetration of sexual aggression at the two year follow up. However, both studies have flaws that call into question the validity of their results.

Loh and colleagues (2005) did not collect data on men's sexual assault perpetration before joining a fraternity. In order to establish a causal link it is necessary to examine men's

attitudes towards sexual violence *before* they join a fraternity. Thus, it is unclear if the relation between fraternity membership at T1 and sexual assault at T2 is explained by fraternity membership, or by the attitudes and behaviors of fraternity members prior to joining a fraternity. Although Kingree and Thompson (2013) did measure attitudes about and perpetration of sexual assault prior to joining a fraternity, their results were based on a small sample. Of the 424 men who participated in their study, only 28 men (7% of the sample) joined a fraternity between T1 and T2. The remaining participants were non-members at both time points. Although the results provide evidence of a causal relation between fraternity membership and attitudes towards sexual violence, more research is needed to replicate these findings.

Additionally, researchers who examine prospective fraternity membership need to use an appropriate comparison group in order to rule out the possibility that attitudes predict membership, and not the other way around. For example, Kingree and Thompson (2013) compared men who joined a fraternity to men who did not join. However, we do not know whether these non-joiners were ever interested in joining a fraternity. It would be more appropriate to compare men who joined a fraternity to men who were interested in joining a fraternity but ultimately decided not to pledge. Using non-interested non-members as a comparison group does not preclude the possibility that men who are interested in fraternity membership are also more likely to hold more accepting attitudes towards sexual violence, and that these more accepting attitudes prior to membership explain the differences between fraternity members and non-members.

Therefore, in the current study I examine acceptance of sexual violence as both a predictor and outcome of fraternity membership. I use acceptance of rape myths as a proxy for acceptance of sexual violence. Although not identical constructs, rape myth acceptance is closely

related to perpetration of sexual violence (Malamuth, 1981; Mouilso & Calhoun, 2013). In addition to exploring, longitudinally, the relations between fraternity membership and rape myth acceptance, I also included three correlates of both fraternity membership and sexual violence: masculine gender roles, masculine gender role stress, and ambivalent sexism. Because masculinity, gender role stress, and sexism are related to both fraternity membership and sexual violence (Franchina, Eisler, & Moore, 2001; Iwamoto et al., 2014; Lutz-Zois et al., 2015; Masser, Lee, & McKimmie, 2010; Sanday, 2007), I explore their role in the relation between fraternity membership and rape myth acceptance. Specifically, in the current study I use a prospective design to examine whether endorsement of masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and sexism is associated with joining a fraternity; whether fraternity membership is associated with an increase in endorsement of masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and sexism; and, whether masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and ambivalent sexism are associated with greater rape myth acceptance.

Masculine gender roles

According to traditional masculine gender roles, men are expected to be dominant, have several sexual partners, value women for their sexual appeal, be willing and able to engage in violence, and not be afraid to take risks (Mahalik et al., 2003). Several researchers have documented that fraternity membership is associated with endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles (Iwamoto et al., 2014; Kalof & Cargill, 1991; Robinson et al., 2004). For example, among 804 college men, fraternity membership was significantly associated with several aspects of traditional masculine gender roles, including being a playboy, taking risks, and placing importance on winning (Iwamoto et al., 2014). Fraternity members also report greater pressure from their male friends to uphold masculine gender roles, such as having sex and drinking

alcohol, compared to non-members (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2016). However, most of the studies on fraternity membership and masculine gender roles are cross-sectional. Therefore, it is unclear whether endorsement of masculine gender role increases as a result of fraternity membership, or whether men who more strongly endorse traditional masculine gender roles are more likely to join a fraternity. We seek to address this limitation in the current study.

Given that traditional masculine gender roles include being dominant over women and engaging in violence, it is not surprising that greater endorsement of these gender roles is associated with acceptance of sexual violence (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Eaton & Matamala, 2014; Lutz-Zois et al., 2015). For example, among 100 college men, endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles was significantly associated with greater acceptance of rape myths (Lutz-Zois et al., 2015). Endorsement of specific masculine gender roles, such as being dominant and always ready for sex, was associated with greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual coercion (Eaton & Matamala, 2014). However, most of the research on masculine gender roles and sexual violence is cross-sectional. It is unclear whether masculine gender roles predict sexual violence, or whether engaging in sexual violence increases endorsement of masculine gender roles. I aim to explore in this study whether endorsement of masculine gender roles is associated with rape myth acceptance over time.

Masculine Gender Role Stress

A second potential construct that is linked both to fraternity membership and sexual violence is gender role stress. Masculine gender role stress refers to the anxiety a man feels about his achievement (or lack thereof) of traditional masculine gender norms (Thompson & Pleck, 1995). Masculine gender role stress is different from pressure to engage in masculine stereotypes because not all men who experience pressure to engage in masculine stereotypes necessarily feel

stress as a result of their ability to achieve these stereotypes. For example, a man may report a great deal of pressure from his friends to engage in masculine stereotypes, but if he is able to achieve these stereotypes relatively easily (e.g., he is athletic, has several sexual partners), he may not feel much stress about his ability to do so. Men who experience a high degree of gender role stress tend to avoid 'feminine' behaviors, enact dominant and assertive behaviors, and feel a great deal of stress when they deviate from traditional masculine behaviors (Swartout, Parrott, Cohn, Hagman, & Gallagher, 2015).

It is argued that membership in a fraternity is a way for some men to relieve the anxiety they feel about their achievement of masculinity, because the fraternity provides a 'short cut' for anxious young men who have strived to "display a unified, heterosexual self" (Sanday, 2007, p. 180). And yet, at the same time that fraternity membership promises to relieve the anxieties young men face, it also creates them. The pledging process, which frequently involves intense emasculation and humiliation of pledges (e.g., by being forced to touch each others' genitals and masturbate together), serves to exacerbate the anxieties young men feel about their ability to be 'real men' (Kimmel, 2008; Sanday, 2007). The anxiety surrounding one's masculinity does not end with the pledging process. Simply by being a member of a homosocial organization and engaging in homoerotic bonding (e.g., group masturbation, viewing pornography together; Sanday, 2007), a fraternity member's heterosexuality and therefore his masculinity is regularly called into question. However, to my knowledge, no published studies have examined gender role stress among prospective or fraternity members. I suspect that men who experience masculine gender role stress may be more likely to join a fraternity in an attempt alleviate gender role stress. However, because the pledging process is designed to create anxiety about one's masculinity, I expect to find an increase in masculine gender role stress among men who join a

fraternity compared to men who do not join.

Men, especially those who endorse traditional gender norms, may feel stress when they fail to uphold masculine gender norms or when they are required to do something ‘unmanly’ or feminine (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Such stress results from the intense pressure on men to uphold masculine gender norms and the consequences for failing to do so (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). Because violence and dominance over women are parts of traditional masculine gender norms, engaging in violence against women can be a way for men to regain their masculinity in the face of gender role stress and situations that call into question men’s masculinity (Franchina et al., 2001; Moore et al., 2008).

Researchers have linked gender role stress to acceptance and perpetration of intimate partner violence (IPV; Eisler, Franchina, Moore, Honeycutt, & Rhatigan, 2000; Franchina et al., 2001; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002; McDermott & Lopez, 2013; Moore et al., 2008; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013; Reidy, Berke, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014) and to violence more generally (Reidy et al., 2014). Intimate partner violence is defined as physical, sexual, or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner (e.g., a boyfriend, spouse, or sexual partner; Breiding, Basile, Smith, Black, & Mahendra, 2015). Franchina and colleagues (2001) exposed 72 college-aged men to vignettes depicting an argument between a woman and a man. Men high in masculine gender role stress were more likely to anticipate responding with verbal aggression, and this effect was especially true in scenarios where gender roles were relevant (e.g., a man and a woman on a date) compared to irrelevant (e.g., a man and a woman studying), and when the woman in the story reacted in a gender threatening manner (by questioning the man’s authority) compared to a non-threatening manner (by giving in to the man’s wishes). Researchers have demonstrated similar patterns regarding perpetration of IPV. Among both undergraduate and

adult men, gender role stress was associated with greater perpetration of IPV (Jakupcak et al., 2002; Reidy et al., 2014). The association between gender role stress and perpetration of sexual violence is especially strong for men who adhere to masculine norms (Jakupcak et al., 2002). Overall, results of these studies suggest that men who experience gender role stress may engage in violence against women, perhaps as a way to reassert their masculinity.

Despite evidence that gender role stress may predict who joins a fraternity, and may increase after joining a fraternity, no studies have examined gender role stress as a factor that contributes to sexual violence among men interested in fraternity membership. I seek to address this limitation by examining whether masculine gender role stress is associated with joining a fraternity and whether masculine gender role stress increases among men who join a fraternity compared to those who do not. Additionally, I will explore, longitudinally, whether masculine gender role stress is associated with rape myth acceptance over time.

Ambivalent Sexism

A third potential correlate that is linked both to fraternity membership and to sexual violence is ambivalent sexism. As conceptualized by Glick and Fiske (1996), ambivalent sexism is comprised of two components: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is defined as prejudice towards women that is obvious, derogatory, and negative (e.g., believing that women try to control men). Hostile sexism reflects most “classic” examples of sexism. Benevolent sexism is defined as, “a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)” (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 491). Although benevolent sexism seems kind or helpful on the surface, it serves to undermine

women's competence and power. For example, the idea that women should be treated like princesses may be perceived as kind and can even invoke helpful behaviors (e.g., holding open doors, carrying heavy objects), but still serves to delegitimize women's strength and independence. Whereas hostile sexism is often easy to recognize, benevolent sexism may be more difficult to pinpoint as sexism because of its prosocial appearance (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Because fraternity membership is associated with holding more traditional beliefs about gender roles, specifically endorsement of masculine gender norms, (e.g., Iwamoto et al., 2014) and hostility towards women (Koss & Gaines, 1993), we might expect men who join a fraternity to demonstrate an increase in their endorsement of sexist beliefs. However, some studies have failed to document a relation between fraternity membership and attitudes towards women. For example, Brown and colleagues (2002) did not find a significant relation between fraternity membership and stereotypical attitudes towards women. Similarly, Corprew and Mitchell (2014) did not find a relation between fraternity membership and hostility towards women. Given the conflicting findings in the literature, we sought to further explore the relation between fraternity membership and sexist beliefs.

The relation between hostile attitudes towards women and attitudes towards sexual violence has been well-documented (Caron, Halteman, & Stacy, 1997; Renzetti, Lynch, & DeWall, 2015). For example, both women and men who endorse hostile sexism are more likely to blame a rape victim (Masser et al., 2010; Yamawaki, Darby, & Queiroz, 2007) and to more strongly endorse rape myths (Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Masser et al., 2010). However, the relation between benevolent sexism and attitudes towards sexual violence is less clear. Some studies have documented a positive association between benevolent sexism and blaming a rape victim (e.g., Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). Others have found no relation

between benevolent sexism and acceptance or perpetration of sexual violence (e.g., Cohn, Dupuis, & Brown, 2009; Ferguson & Ireland, 2012; Renzetti et al., 2015), or have found a negative association between benevolent sexism and acceptance of sexual violence (e.g., Chapleau et al., 2007). Benevolent sexism encompasses the idea that women should be protected, so it is possible that endorsing benevolent sexism may be associated with less acceptance of sexual violence, based on the belief that women should be protected. As such, we seek to explore the relation between both hostile and benevolent sexism and rape myth acceptance over time.

Fraternity status

The focus of this and many other studies on sexual violence in fraternity culture is social fraternities, as opposed to multicultural fraternities, (e.g., Black fraternities), or honor societies, (e.g., Phi Beta Kappa). Social fraternities vary in the extent to which they accept and perpetuate sexual violence. Some researchers have divided fraternities into those that are relatively rape-free compared to those that are rape-prone. For example, Humphrey and Kahn (2000) compared fraternities that students perceived carry a high likelihood of being assaulted at one of their parties, to fraternities with a perceived lower likelihood of being assaulted. Their results indicated that members of high-risk fraternities demonstrated more hostile attitudes towards women than members of low-risk fraternities. Additionally, parties at high-risk fraternities tend to have more objectification of women through explicit judgments of female partygoers' appearances and discussions of sexual exploits (Boswell & Spade, 1996). Overall, those fraternities perceived by students as more prone to sexual assault demonstrate less respect for women.

The extent to which fraternities are rape-prone may be related to an individual fraternity's

social status on campus. Social fraternities are informally classified into “tiers.” Top tier fraternities are the most difficult to join and have the most social status on campus, whereas low tier fraternities are relatively easy to join and do not hold much social status on campus (D. Berghorst, personal communication, May 28, 2015).

The influence of social status on sexual violence has been examined among college athletes. Shavers, Baghurst, and Finkelstein (2015) interviewed 15 college football players (a high-status sport) regarding their attitudes towards women and their sexual behaviors. They found that football players reported feeling “better than” other students on campus and had a sense of entitlement to women and sex. For example, many of their participants reported that they could have sex with women whenever they wanted and could manipulate women into having sex with them. Status may function similarly in fraternity culture. In this study, I examine whether perceived fraternity tier is associated with members’ attitudes towards women (i.e., ambivalent sexism) and rape myth acceptance.

Summary and Purpose of Study 2

There is evidence that fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of sexual violence, but the majority of this research is cross-sectional. The two longitudinal studies of fraternity membership are potentially hindered by their failure to measure acceptance of sexual violence prior to fraternity membership (e.g., Loh et al., 2005) and lack of an appropriate comparison group (e.g., Kingree & Thompson, 2013). We sought to address this limitation by using a prospective design to examine men’s attitudes towards traditional masculine gender roles, sexism, and sexual violence before undergoing the pledging process and again after becoming full members of a fraternity. Specifically, I examine whether endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, masculine gender role stress, sexism, and rape myth

acceptance is associated with likelihood to join a fraternity. I also compare changes in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, gender roles stress, sexism, and rape myth acceptance between men who join a fraternity and men interested in joining a fraternity who ultimately do not join. Third, I examine whether endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and ambivalent sexism are associated with rape myth acceptance over time. Finally, I examine the role of perceived fraternity tier in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and ambivalent sexism.

I offer the following hypotheses:

H1: Men who join a fraternity will demonstrate stronger endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, higher gender role stress, higher ambivalent sexism, and greater rape myth acceptance than men who are interested in joining a fraternity but do not join (see Figure 3.1).

H2: Joining a fraternity between T1 and T2 will be associated with greater endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, greater gender role stress, higher ambivalent sexism, and greater rape myth acceptance at T2 (see Figure 3.2).

H3: Greater endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, greater gender role stress, and higher ambivalent sexism at T1 will be associated with greater rape myth acceptance at T2 (see Figure 3.3).

H4: Higher fraternity tier will be associated with an increase in endorsement of ambivalent sexism and rape myth acceptance among fraternity members between T1 and T2.

Method

Procedure and Participants

The sample was recruited from a pool of 704 men who indicated to the Office of Greek Life that there were interested in joining a fraternity either by registering for recruitment through an online portal, or by attending one of two in-person recruitment events. Recruitment for the study occurred before the start of the rushing process (on September 9, 2015) and ended on September 27, 2015. We recruited participants by handing out flyers and candy at two in-person recruitment events sponsored by the Office of Greek Life. We also sent four emails to students interested in Greek life. The flyers and emails asked students to participate in a survey for first-year men interested in Greek life, and offered them the chance to win one of five \$100 Amazon.com giftcards in exchange for their participation. In total, 146 participants followed the link to the survey at T1. Most men begin the process of joining a fraternity in their first year. Therefore, our sample was mostly first-years ($N = 133$; 91%), with 10 sophomores (7%) and 3 juniors (2%). Participants ranged in age from 17 to 23, with an average age of 18.18 ($SD = .75$). The majority of the sample identified as white ($N = 115$, 79%), followed by Asian ($N = 21$, 14%), Latino ($N = 4$, 3%), middle eastern ($N = 3$, 2%), black ($N = 1$, 1%), multiracial ($N = 1$, 1%), and other ($N = 1$, 1%). Compared to the undergraduate population at the university, our sample was more likely to identify as white (79% v. 66%, $X^2 = 10.71$, $p = .001$; U-M Office of the Registrar, 2017). Most participants identified as exclusively or predominantly heterosexual ($N = 140$, 96%), and 3 identified as bisexual (2%) and 3 as predominately gay/queer (2%). The majority reported they were not receiving financial aid ($N = 88$, 60%), 45 reported they were receiving financial aid (31%), and 13 (9%) did not indicate whether or not they were receiving financial aid. Compared to the undergraduate population at the university, our sample was less likely to report receiving financial aid (33.83% of our sample who reported financial aid status v.

60% of undergraduate students at the university, $X^2 = 37.74$, $p < .001$; U-M Office of Budget and Planning, 2017).

A similar data collection procedure was used at Time 2. The same pool of 704 men was emailed beginning on January 13, 2016. Recruitment ended on January 31, 2016. This time frame was chosen because all fraternities on campus had completed their new-member orientation by early January. Therefore, participants in the survey were either official fraternity members or non-members; no one was in the process of joining. The recruitment email invited the men to participate in a follow-up study. Participants were given a \$20 Amazon.com gift card for completing the survey. In total, 117 men completed the survey at T2. Similar to T1, most men who completed the survey at T2 were first-years ($N = 98$, 84%), and 16% ($N = 19$) were sophomores. Participants' ages ranged from 17-20 with an average age of 18.47 years ($SD = .67$). The majority of the sample identified as white, ($N = 85$, 73%), followed by Asian ($N = 24$, 21%), multiracial ($N = 5$, 4%), latino ($N = 1$, 1%), middle eastern ($N = 1$, 1%), and other ($N = 1$, 1%). Most participants identified as heterosexual ($N = 113$, 97%), 3 participants (3%) identified as predominantly gay/queer. One participant indicated he was 'not sure' about his sexuality (1%).

Measures

Male Role Attitudes Scale. Endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles was measured using the Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994). The MRAS contains eight items on which participants rate their agreements on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 = *Disagree a lot* to 4 = *Agree a lot*. Sample items include, "Men are always ready for sex," and "A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems." An average score is calculated across all items. Internal consistency was acceptable at T1 ($\alpha = .68$) and T2 ($\alpha = .71$).

Masculine gender role stress. The Abbreviated Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (MGRS; Swartout et al., 2015) contains 15 items that measure participants' perceived stress associated with failing to achieve masculine gender norms. Participants rate their perceived stress associated with each situation on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from *1=Not at all stressful* to *6=Very stressful*. Sample situations include, "Losing in a sports competition" and "Being perceived as having feminine traits." An average score is calculated across all items. Internal consistency was excellent at T1 (alpha = .87) and T2 (alpha = .90).

Sexism. Participants' endorsement of sexist beliefs was measured using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory – Short Form (ASI; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014). The ASI-SF contains two subscales that measure Hostile Sexism (HS; 6 items) and Benevolent Sexism (BS; 6 items). An example item for HS is, "Women exaggerate problems they have at work or school." An example item for BS is "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess." Participants rate their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *1 = Strongly disagree* to *5 = Strongly agree*. Averaging the scores of each item on the corresponding subscale creates subscale scores for HS and BS. Internal consistency for HS was excellent at T1 (alpha = .85) and T2 (alpha = .87). Internal consistency for BS was good at T1 (alpha = .74) and T2 (alpha = .75).

Rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance was measured using the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance – Short Form (IRMA; Payne et al., 1999). Although the rape myth acceptance scale we used in Study 1 (Burt, 1980) is still widely used, we opted to use the IRMA-SF because it provides a more well-rounded measure of rape myth acceptance. For example, the Burt (1980) scale focuses on characteristics of the victim, whereas the IRMA-SF includes other components of rape myths such as victim enjoyment and definitions of rape (Payne et al., 1999).

Additionally, Burt's (1980) measure contains some outdated language (e.g., "necking"). The IRMA-SF contains 20 items designed to assess one's endorsement of common rape myths. Sample items include, "A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex" and "When women are raped, it's often because the way they said no was ambiguous." Participants rate their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. Average scores are calculated across all items. Internal consistency was excellent at T1 (alpha = .93) and T2 (alpha = .93).

Fraternity status. Participants responded to several questions regarding their membership in and affiliation with fraternities. First, participants indicated whether they were members of a fraternity (*Yes, No, or In the process of joining*). At T1, 47 participants indicated they were not fraternity members and 80 indicated they were in the process of joining (i.e., had started the rush process). At T2, 58 participants indicated they were fraternity members, 41 were non-members, and 17 indicated they were in the process of joining. Because all new-member orientations had been completed by T2 data collection, participants who indicated they were in the process of joining at T2 was recoded as a fraternity member. Participants who did not join a fraternity between T1 and T2 were asked why they did not join. Participants could select any of the following options that applied to them: too expensive ($N = 15$), cut from desired house(s) ($N = 8$), disagree with fraternity values ($N = 5$), wanted to concentrate on academics ($N = 23$), became involved in other clubs that interested me more ($N = 15$), made friends outside of Greek life ($N = 19$), and did not like the fraternity members ($N = 6$).

Participants who joined a fraternity between T1 and T2 were asked at T2 to rate how others would perceive the tier of their fraternity on a scale from 1 (*lower tier*) to 5 (*top tier*). On

average, participants rated their fraternity at 3.66 ($SD = 1.20$), which corresponds to mid-top tier.

Participants also indicated what percentage of their friends were members of a fraternity (0-100%). At T1, participants averaged 35.75% of their friends in fraternities ($SD = 27.15$). At T2, participants averaged 50.55% of their friends in fraternities ($SD = 30.43$). Those who joined a fraternity between T1 and T2 reported significantly higher percentage of friends in fraternities at T1, $M = 38.22$, $SD = 27.99$, than those who did not join, $M = 26.48$, $SD = 19.63$, $t(44.43) = 2.20$, $p = .03$, and a significantly higher percentage of friends in fraternities at T2, $M = 62.77$, $SD = 26.12$, than those who did not join, $M = 30.48$, $SD = 17.02$, $t(52.50) = 6.55$, $p < .001$.

Attrition

Our overall sample consisted of 179 men: 88 completed T1 and T2, 62 completed T1 only, and 29 completed T2 only. There were no differences between men who completed both time points and men who completed only T1 on: age at T1, Masculine Gender Role Stress at T1, Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance at T1, Hostile Sexism at T1, Benevolent Sexism at T1, Male Role Attitudes Scale at T1, percentage of friends in a fraternity at T1, joining a fraternity between T1 and T2, identifying as white at T1, or receiving financial aid at T1. Our sample size was not large enough to compare sexual orientation between those who completed both time points and those who completed only T1. Compared to those who completed both time points, men who completed T2 only scored lower on Benevolent Sexism at T2, $t(114) = 2.28$, $p = .03$, had fewer friends in a fraternity at T2, $t(114) = 2.92$, $p = .004$, and were less likely to join a fraternity between T1 and T2, $X^2 = 18.55$, $p < .001$.

Results

Preliminary analysis

First, I examined inter-correlations among the outcome variables at T1 and T2 (see Table 3.1). Each outcome variable was significantly correlated with other outcome variables at both T1 (correlations ranged between .24 and .61) and T2 (correlations ranged between .33 and .66). Next, I examined relations among demographic variables and outcome variables at T1 and T2 using MANOVA because the outcome variables were significantly correlated. At T1, men who identified as white scored significantly lower on IRMA, $M = 1.90$, $SD = .55$ than men who identified as an ethnic minority, $M = 2.29$, $SD = .81$, $F(1,127) = 8.71$, $p = .004$. There were no significant differences between men who identified as white and an ethnic minority on MRAS, MGRS, HS, or BS at T1. There were no significant differences between men who identified as heterosexual and those who identified as bisexual/queer/gay on MRAS, MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T1. Men who reported receiving financial aid scored significantly higher on MGRS, $M = 2.90$, $SD = .98$, than men who were not on financial aid, $M = 2.60$, $SD = .62$, $F(1,126) = 4.64$, $p = .03$ at T1. There were no differences between men receiving financial aid and men not receiving financial aid on MRAS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T1. Participants' age was not related to MRAS, MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T1. First-year men scored significantly higher on MRAS at T1, $M = 2.51$, $SD = .41$, than sophomores or above, $M = 2.17$, $SD = .68$, $F(1,127) = 6.51$, $p = .01$. There were no significant differences by class year on MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA.

Men who identified as white scored significantly lower on MGRS at T2, $M = 2.74$, $SD = .89$, than men who identified as an ethnic minority, $M = 3.28$, $SD = .87$, $F(1,84) = 4.42$, $p = .04$. There were no differences between men who identified as white and those who identified as an ethnic minority on MRAS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T2. Men who identified as heterosexual scored significantly higher on BS at T2, $M = 3.00$, $SD = .66$, than men who identified as bisexual/queer/gay, $M = 2.43$, $SD = .84$, $F(1,84) = 4.65$, $p = .03$. There were no significant

differences between heterosexual and bisexual/gay/queer men on MRAS, MGRS, HS, or IRMA. There were no significant differences between men on financial aid and those not on financial aid on MRAS, MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T2. There were no differences between class years on MRAS, MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA. Age was not significantly related to MRAS, MGRS, HS, BS, or IRMA at T2.

Associations among traditional gender beliefs, rape myth acceptance, and joining a fraternity (H1)

I used a series of logistic regressions to examine whether traditional gender beliefs and rape myth acceptance are associated with joining a fraternity. In each regression, the beliefs at T1 serve as the predictor and joining a fraternity between T1 and T2 (yes/no) is the dependent variable. Results are presented in Table 3.2. My hypothesis was not supported: neither traditional gender roles nor rape myth acceptance were related to joining a fraternity between T1 and T2.

Associations among fraternity membership, endorsement of traditional gender roles, and rape myth acceptance over time (H2)

I used linear mixed models to examine the association between joining a fraternity between T1 and T2 and endorsement of traditional gender beliefs and rape myth acceptance. Linear mixed models allow for fixed effects (e.g., fraternity membership) and random effects (e.g., variations within an individual) and are useful for repeated measures analysis because they can be used with missing data. In each linear mixed model, time point (T1 or T2), fraternity status (joined between T1 and T2 or did not join) and the interaction of time and fraternity membership serve as predictors. A significant interaction between fraternity membership and time suggests that the rate of change in endorsement of traditional gender beliefs/sexual violence varies between those who joined a fraternity and those who did not.

Results for hypothesis 2 are presented in Table 3.3. There was a marginally significant interaction between fraternity membership and time in predicting endorsement of masculine gender roles. This interaction is depicted graphically in Figure 3.4. Whereas men who did not join a fraternity decreased in endorsement of masculine gender roles from T1 to T2, men who did join a fraternity maintained similar levels of endorsement from T1 to T2 (see Figure 3.4). At T1 there was no difference on endorsement of masculine gender roles between those who joined a fraternity and those who did not, whereas at T2 men who did not join a fraternity scored marginally significantly lower on endorsement of masculine gender roles than men who did join, $t(101) = 1.81, p = .07$. However, time, joining a fraternity between T1 and T2, and their interaction were not associated with endorsement of masculine gender role stress or hostile sexism.

There was a statistically significant interaction between time and fraternity membership in predicting benevolent sexism. Men who joined a fraternity maintained similar levels of benevolent sexism at T1 and T2, whereas men who did not join a fraternity decreased in endorsement of benevolent sexism (see Figure 3.5). At T1 there was no difference between those who joined a fraternity and those who did not on benevolent sexism, whereas at T2 men who did not join a fraternity scored significantly lower on benevolent sexism than men who did join, $t(101) = 2.38, p = .02$.

Finally, there was a marginally significant interaction between fraternity membership and time in predicting rape myth acceptance. Similar to masculine gender roles and benevolent sexism, men who joined a fraternity maintained similar levels of endorsement of rape myth acceptance from T1 to T2, whereas men who did not join a fraternity decreased in endorsement of rape myth acceptance (see Figure 3.6). Although the interaction was marginally significant,

there were no statistically significant differences in rape myth acceptance between those who joined a fraternity and those who did not at T1 or T2.

Although I did find significant interactions between time and joining a fraternity, my hypothesis that fraternity members would demonstrate increased endorsement of traditional gender roles and sexual violence compared to non-members was not supported. Instead, fraternity members maintained similar levels of endorsement from T1 to T2 whereas non-members decreased in endorsement.

Association among traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance over time (H3)

Next, I examined whether traditional masculine gender roles, gender role stress, and ambivalent sexism at T1 were associated with rape myth acceptance at T2 among the 88 men who completed both T1 and T2 surveys. I conducted four hierarchical linear regressions in which I entered rape myth acceptance at T1 on the first step to control for baseline rape myth acceptance. I also controlled for fraternity membership in the first step. I then entered masculine gender roles, gender role stress, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism on the second step (each in their own regression). Results are presented in Table 3.4.

As expected, rape myth acceptance at T1 was highly correlated with rape myth acceptance at T2. After controlling for baseline levels of rape myth acceptance and fraternity membership, hostile sexism at T1 was associated with rape myth acceptance at T2 such that men who more strongly endorsed hostile sexism at T1 also more strongly endorsed rape myth acceptance at T2. None of the other predictors (masculine gender roles, gender role stress, or benevolent sexism) were significantly associated with rape myth acceptance at T2.

Associations among fraternity tier, endorsement of traditional gender roles, and rape myth acceptance (H4)

Finally, I examined associations among perceived tier of one's fraternity and endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles and rape myth acceptance among the 62 participants who joined a fraternity and completed T1 and T2 (see Table 3.5). First, I split the sample into those who believed others perceived their fraternity as mid-top or top tier ($N = 26$) and those who believed others perceived their fraternity as mid, low-mid, or low tier ($N = 36$). Second, I calculated change scores for each outcome variable by subtracting scores at T1 from scores at T2; a positive change score indicates an increase in endorsement of that belief.

To examine whether perceived tier of fraternity was related to changes in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles and rape myth acceptance, I conducted a MANOVA (see Table 3.5). Those who perceived themselves in mid-top and top tier fraternities increased in their endorsement of rape myth acceptance from T1 to T2 compared to those in mid and low-tier fraternities. There were no other differences between mid-top/top tier fraternity members and low/mid tier fraternity members.

Posthoc analysis

In addition to examining the associations among fraternity membership, endorsement of traditional gender roles, and rape myth acceptance over time, I also examined the role of peer group in endorsement of traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance. Specifically, I examined whether an increase in percentage of friends in a fraternity from T1 to T2 was associated with an increase in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, masculine gender role stress, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance, after controlling for fraternity membership among men who completed both T1 and T2. I conducted five hierarchical linear regressions (one for each outcome) in which fraternity membership was entered on step one as a control, and change in percentage of friends in a fraternity was entered

on step two. There was a significant association between change in percentage of friends in a fraternity and change in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, $beta = .27, p = .02$, and endorsement of hostile sexism, $beta = .29, p = .02$, such that men who reported an increase in percentage of friends in a fraternity also demonstrated an increase in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles and hostile sexism, regardless of whether they were fraternity members themselves. Change in percentage of friends in a fraternity was not related to change in endorsement of masculine gender role stress, benevolent sexism, or rape myth acceptance.

Discussion

Previous research has consistently demonstrated relations between fraternity membership and sexual violence (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Franklin et al., 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; McMahan, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). However, most of the research has assumed a causal relation despite using cross-sectional data (with Kingree & Thompson, 2013, and Loh et al., 2005, as notable exceptions). My study adds to the literature on fraternity membership and sexual violence by using longitudinal methods to examine associations among fraternity membership, attitudes towards traditional masculine gender roles, and rape myth acceptance. Although I found no significant predictors of fraternity membership, I did find differences between fraternity members and non-members on their beliefs about gender roles and sexual violence over time. My results also revealed that fraternity tier, or status, is associated with attitudes towards sexual violence.

Associations among fraternity membership, endorsement of traditional gender roles, and rape myth acceptance over time

I hypothesized that men who join a fraternity would demonstrate an increase in endorsement of traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance from the beginning of the school year to after new member orientation, as compared to men who did not join a fraternity. This hypothesis was not supported; instead, I found that men who did not join a fraternity tended to decrease in their endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance, while those who did join a fraternity maintained similar levels of endorsement from T1 to T2.

Men who arrive at college may experience a change in their belief systems as a result of being in a more liberal environment. For example, Bryant (2003) found that women and men tend to show less support for traditional gender roles over the course of their college careers. My results suggest that men who join fraternities may not experience the same shift towards more liberal attitudes. Rather than be associated with an increase in traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance, fraternity membership may instead prevent men from adopting more egalitarian attitudes during college.

In addition to examining fraternity membership, I also examined perceived fraternity tier (i.e., reputation and status on campus). I hypothesized that men from higher tier fraternities (e.g., more selective, better known) would demonstrate more sexist attitudes towards women and greater rape myth acceptance. Although I found no relation between fraternity tier and sexist attitudes, I did find that men in mid-top and top tier fraternities reported a greater increase in endorsement of rape myths than men in low and mid tier fraternities. This result is in line with research on male athletes; high-status athletes such as football players demonstrate a greater sense of entitlement to women and sex (Shavers et al., 2015). Given that men in higher tier

fraternities demonstrate greater rape myth acceptance, we might expect those fraternities to be more dangerous places for women.

Why is fraternity status related to sexual violence? Kimmel (2008) argues that privilege is key to understanding which fraternities are rape-prone, and which are relatively rape-free. An organization's privileged status on campus is associated with race, socioeconomic status, and reputation. In general, the behavior of less privileged students is more heavily scrutinized (Sweeney, 2014a). For example, Ray and Rosow (2012) examined both black and white fraternities on college campuses and found that white fraternity members were generally less concerned with their reputation on campus because they had wealthy alumni and donors who could support them. Black fraternities, on the other hand, reported feeling hypervisible such that any action they took reflected the black community at large. As such, black fraternities were aware of and concerned with maintaining a positive reputation on campus. Overall, fraternities with relative privilege (through racial, SES, or social status) can maintain more dangerous attitudes and reputations because their privilege protects them from repercussions.

Finally, to examine the associations among fraternity culture and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and sexual violence, I examined the role of one's peer group. Specifically, I examined whether having a higher percentage of friends in a fraternity, regardless of one's own fraternity status, was associated with endorsement of traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance. In their study of fraternity membership and sexual violence, Kingree and Thompson (2013) highlight the need for future studies not to dichotomize fraternity membership into yes/no but to also consider involvement in fraternity culture through having friends in fraternities. I found that regardless of one's own fraternity status, simply increasing one's

percentage of friends in a fraternity was associated with an increase in endorsement of masculine gender roles and hostile sexism over the same period of time.

The attitudes of one's peers are important predictors of one's own attitudes and behaviors (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1988; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Thompson et al., 2013). For example, DeKeseredy and Kelly (1995) found that male peer support of sexual violence was associated with perpetration of sexual assault. Men with a higher percentage of friends in fraternities likely participate in peer groups that more strongly endorse traditional masculine norms and sexual violence. The results of my study suggest that fraternities may be associated with attitudes towards gender directly via membership, but also indirectly through their members' peer groups.

Associations among traditional masculine gender roles and rape myth acceptance over time

In addition to examining the associations among fraternity membership and traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance, I also examined associations among traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance, regardless of fraternity membership. I found that after controlling for baseline levels of rape myth acceptance, hostile sexism at T1 was associated with greater endorsement of rape myths at T2. Several researchers have documented relations between traditional gender roles and sexual violence (Corprew & Mitchell, 2014; Eaton & Matamala, 2014; Lutz-Zois et al., 2015), but most studies have been cross-sectional. My results suggest that endorsement of hostile sexist beliefs is associated with an increase in acceptance of sexual violence over time.

Despite ample research demonstrating relations between gender roles and sexual violence, I did not find significant relations over time between men's rape myth acceptance and their endorsement of masculine gender roles or masculine gender role stress. The lack of significant relations may be because my outcome measure was a belief (rape myth acceptance)

rather than a behavior (perpetration of sexual violence). Although they are malleable, ideologies about gender and sexual violence are formed before entering college (Leaper & Farkas, 2015; McMahon, 2010; Proto-Campise, Belknap, & Wooldredge, 1998). The college environment may present opportunities to perpetrate sexual violence that did not exist in high school because students are engaging in more sex and alcohol/drug use than in high school (Fromme, Corbin, & Kruse, 2008). Therefore, endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles at the beginning of college may be associated with perpetration of sexual violence, but not changes in attitudes towards sexual violence.

Associations among traditional gender roles, rape myth acceptance, and joining a fraternity

Several researchers examining the influence of fraternity membership have compared fraternity members to non-interested, non-members. However, using non-interested, non-members as a comparison group does not rule out the possibility that differences in attitudes existed prior to joining a fraternity. Therefore, I purposefully chose men interested in fraternity life who did not join a fraternity as a comparison group for men who did join a fraternity.

I hypothesized that men who reported stronger endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles, gender role stress, ambivalent sexism, and rape myth acceptance at T1 would be more likely to join a fraternity between T1 and T2. However, this hypothesis was not supported. Among men who expressed interest in joining a fraternity, none of the gender or sexual violence attitudes was associated with joining a fraternity.

There are (at least) two explanations for the lack of significant differences between those who joined and those who did not join a fraternity. One reason for the null result may be that men who express interest in joining a fraternity already demonstrate higher endorsement of

traditional gender roles and rape myth acceptance before they participate in the pledging process. Therefore, we see no differences in attitudes between men who are interested in fraternity membership and ultimately decide to join and men who are interested but ultimately decide not to join. Such an explanation is consistent with previous research in which men who plan to pledge a fraternity report higher endorsement of rape myths than men who do not plan to pledge (McMahon, 2010).

A second explanation for the non-significant differences between fraternity joiners and interested non-joiners is that differences in attitudes towards gender and sexual violence develop as a result of joining a fraternity. Our results, in which we found that fraternity members maintained similar levels of masculine gender roles, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance, whereas non-members declined in their endorsement, supports the assertion that differences between members and non-members are not pre-existing conditions but instead develop as a result of joining a fraternity.

Limitations

This study is limited by a small sample size; only 88 men provided complete data at T1 and T2. As a result, the study was likely underpowered. With a larger sample size I would expect the marginally significant interactions predicting acceptance of traditional gender roles and sexual violence to emerge as statistically significant. In addition to being underpowered, the small sample size may reflect a bias in response rate. Participants were incentivized with an opportunity to win a \$100 Amazon.com gift card. However, because fraternity members in my sample came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than the average student (U-M Office of Budget and Planning, 2017), the incentive might not have been compelling for fraternity members, and especially members from the most elite fraternities. Because we expect fraternity

members in elite fraternities to display the most problematic attitudes, the results of this study may actually underestimate the associations between fraternity membership, traditional gender roles, and rape myth acceptance.

A second limitation is the lack of a non-interested, non-joiner comparison group. In retrospect, I should have included non-interested, non-joiners in my study in order to compare their attitudes to those of the men who were interested in joining but did not, and the men who ultimately did join. Differences between non-interested and interested men (both those who joined a fraternity and those that did not) would suggest that differences in attitudes exist before joining a fraternity. Additionally, including a group of non-interested, non-joiners could have proven useful to examine whether men who were interested in joining a fraternity but did not join demonstrate a similar developmental trajectory as men who were not interested in joining a fraternity. Such a finding would support the conclusion that differences between members and non-members are a result of joining a fraternity and not a pre-existing difference.

A third limitation is the spacing of data collection. T1 data were collected at the beginning of the school year and T2 data were collected at the end of the pledging process (approximately four months later). Therefore, I cannot make conclusions about how attitudes towards gender and sexual violence change over the course of one's membership in a fraternity; I can only make conclusions about how the pledging process changes attitudes towards gender and sexual violence. Despite this limitation, there is value in examining the pledging process specifically because the pledging process is when future fraternity members learn about their fraternity's values, mission, and culture. Additionally, many fraternities engage in activities to emasculate and humiliate pledges, which may exacerbate the anxieties young men feel about their ability to be 'real men' (Kimmel, 2008; Sanday, 2007). Therefore, we might expect that the

largest change in attitudes towards gender roles and sexual violence develops over the course of the pledging process.

Conclusion

This study adds to the body of literature on fraternity membership, traditional gender roles, and sexual violence by using longitudinal data to examine the association among fraternity membership, endorsement of traditional gender roles, and acceptance of sexual violence. I found that men who do not join fraternities show a decrease in endorsement of masculine gender roles and sexual violence during their first four months of college, whereas men who join a fraternity maintain similar levels of endorsement over the same period of time.

Additionally, this study adds nuance to the research on fraternity membership and sexual violence by examining associations among fraternity status/tier on campus and having friends in a fraternity, and endorsement of gender roles and sexual violence. Men who joined mid-top tier fraternities reported a greater increase in acceptance of sexual violence than men in low-mid tier fraternities. Regardless of an individual's fraternity membership, having more friends in fraternities was associated with increases in endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles and hostile sexism. Future studies on the effects of fraternity membership should consider not just membership (yes/no), but also the social status of a fraternity and the peer group of the participants.

Table 3.1

Intercorrelations among outcome variables at T1 (above diagonal) and T2 (below diagonal)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. MRAS	--	.41 ^{***}	.61 ^{***}	.46 ^{***}	.41 ^{***}
2. MGRS	.44 ^{***}	--	.43 ^{***}	.24 ^{**}	.38 ^{***}
3. HS	.60 ^{***}	.40 ^{**}	--	.53 ^{***}	.63 ^{***}
4. BS	.49 ^{***}	.33 ^{**}	.52 ^{***}	--	.32 ^{***}
5. IRMA	.59 ^{***}	.42 ^{***}	.66 ^{***}	.52 ^{***}	--

Note. ^{**} $p < .01$; ^{***} $p < .001$

Table 3.2

Results of logistic regression predicting joining a fraternity between T1 and T2

Predictor at T1	B	SE	Exp(B)
Masculine Gender Role Stress	-.03	.29	.97
Hostile Sexism	.06	.30	1.06
Benevolent Sexism	-.26	.34	.77
Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance	-.24	.35	.78
Male Role Attitudes Scale	-.24	.52	.79

Table 3.3

Results of linear mixed models examining change in beliefs over time between fraternity members and non-members

Outcome	Predictor	B	SE	t
Male Role Attitudes Scale	Frat member	-0.03	0.10	-0.30
	Time	-0.21	0.10	-2.19*
	Frat member X Time	0.19	0.11	1.67 [†]
Masculine Gender Role Stress	Frat member	0.04	0.18	0.25
	Time	0.13	0.14	0.96
	Frat member X Time	-0.04	0.16	-0.23
Hostile Sexism	Frat member	0.04	0.16	0.27
	Time	-0.11	0.12	-0.96
	Frat member X Time	0.12	0.14	0.85
Benevolent Sexism	Frat member	-0.09	0.16	-0.56
	Time	-0.29	0.16	-1.82 [†]
	Frat member X Time	0.39	0.18	2.13*
Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance	Frat member	-0.10	0.13	-0.76
	Time	-0.22	0.11	-2.11*
	Frat member X Time	0.20	0.12	1.68 [†]

Note. Non-members and T1 serve as reference group. [†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$.

Table 3.4

Stepwise regressions predicting rape myth acceptance at T2 by beliefs at T1

Variable	Step 1				Step 2			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	Adj. <i>R</i> ²	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	Adj. <i>R</i> ²
IRMA T1	.76	.08	8.97***	.48	.71	.10	7.14***	.48
Frat member	.18	.12	1.46		.18	.12	1.41	
MRAS T1					.13	.15	.88	
IRMA T1	.76	.08	8.97***	.48	.72	.09	8.00***	.48
Frat member	.18	.12	1.46		.18	.12	1.46	
MGRS T1					.08	.07	1.05	
IRMA T1	.77	.08	9.23***	.50	.55	.11	4.97***	.54
Frat member	.17	.12	1.38		.12	.12	1.02	
HS T1					.26	.09	2.84**	
IRMA T1	.77	.08	9.23***	.50	.75	.09	8.27***	.50
Frat member	.17	.12	1.38		.17	.12	1.34	
BS T1					.06	.09	.63	

Note. ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. IRMA = Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance; Frat member = Joined a fraternity between T1 and T2 (1 = yes, 0 = no); MRAS = Male Role Attitudes Scale; MGRS = Masculine Gender Role Stress; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.

Table 3.5

Results of MANOVA examining change in beliefs over time between members of mid-top/top tier fraternities and low/mid tier fraternities

Variable	Mid-top/top tier (N = 27)		Low/mid tier (N = 36)		F(1,60)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Δ_{T2T1} HS	-.11	.47	.09	.65	1.80
Δ_{T2T1} BS	.11	.77	.09	.81	.01
Δ_{T2T1} IRMA	.15	.42	-.14	.50	4.90*

Note. * $p < .05$. IRMA = Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance; MRAS = Male Role Attitudes Scale; MGRS = Masculine Gender Role Stress; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism.

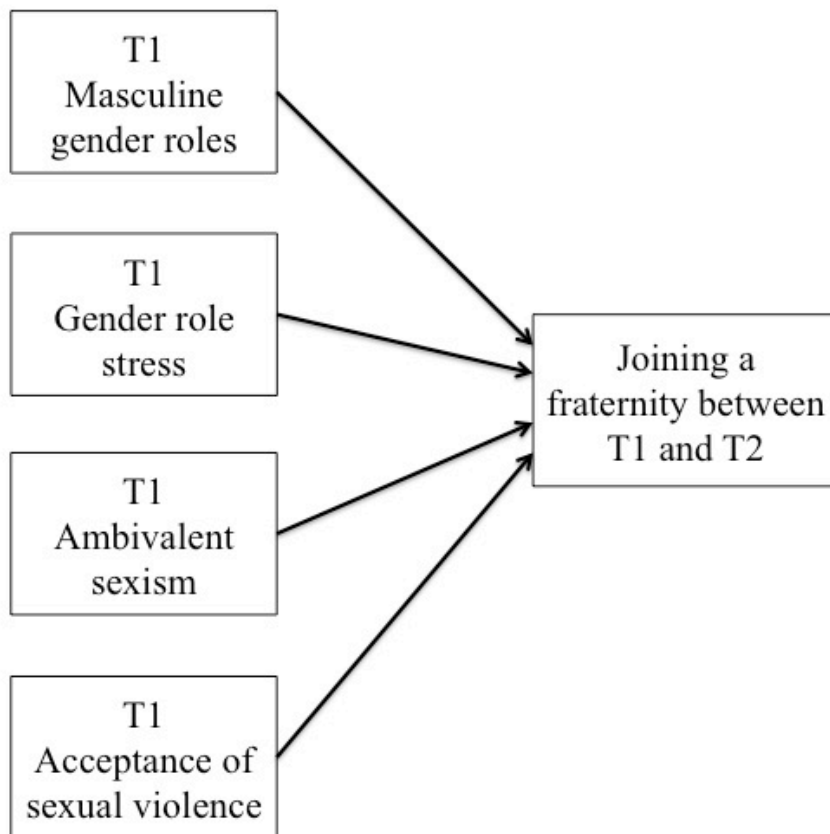


Figure 3.1. Pictorial depiction of H1

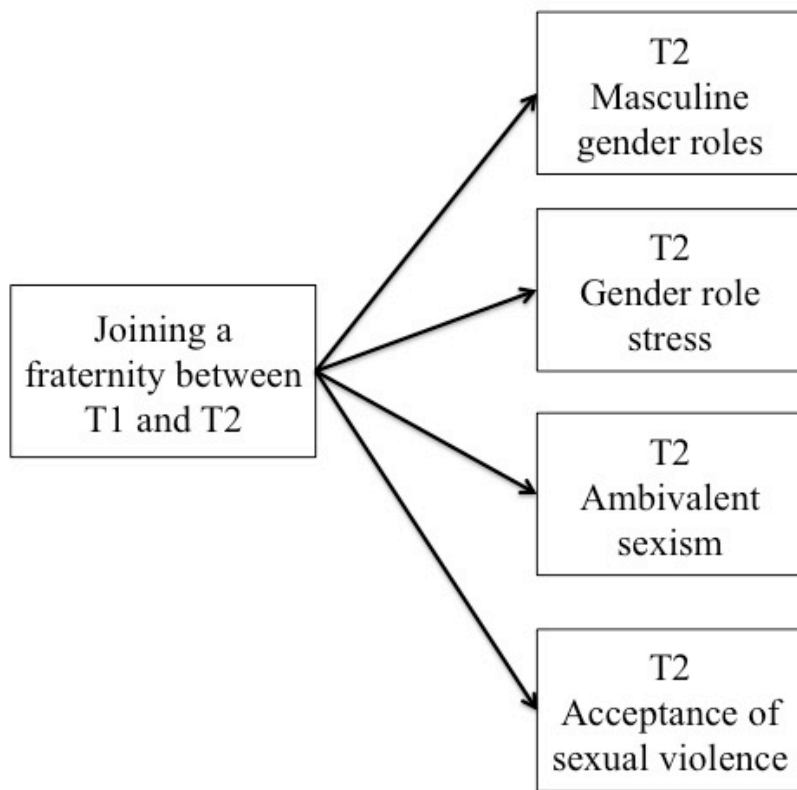


Figure 3.2. Pictorial depiction of H2

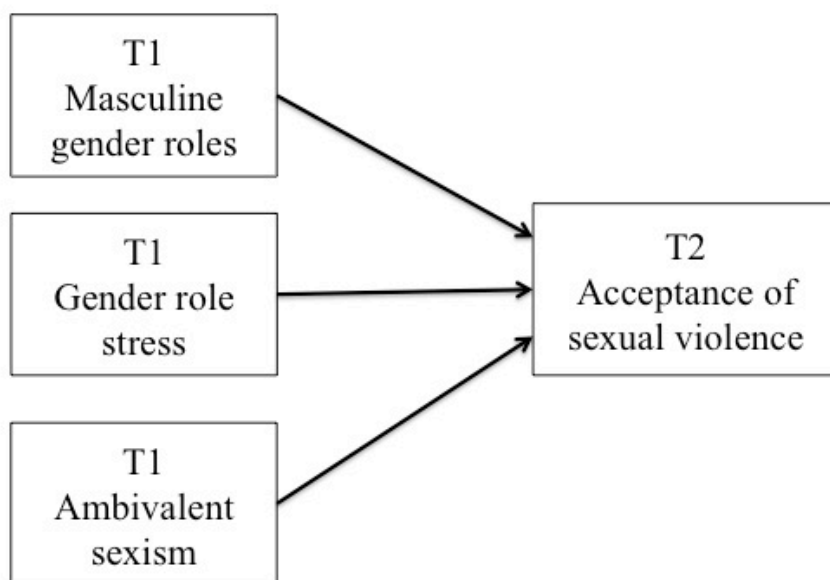


Figure 3.3. Pictorial depiction of H3

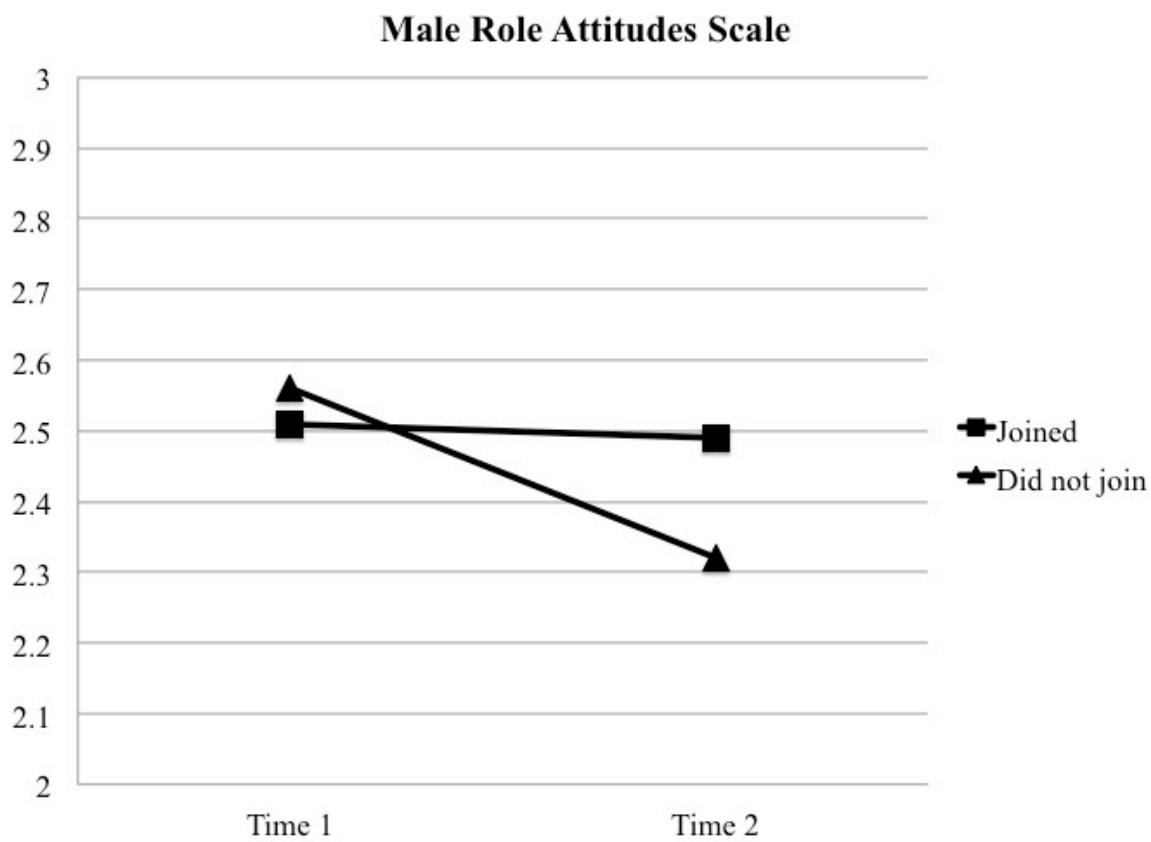


Figure 3.4. Graph of interaction between fraternity membership and time, predicting endorsement of traditional masculine gender roles

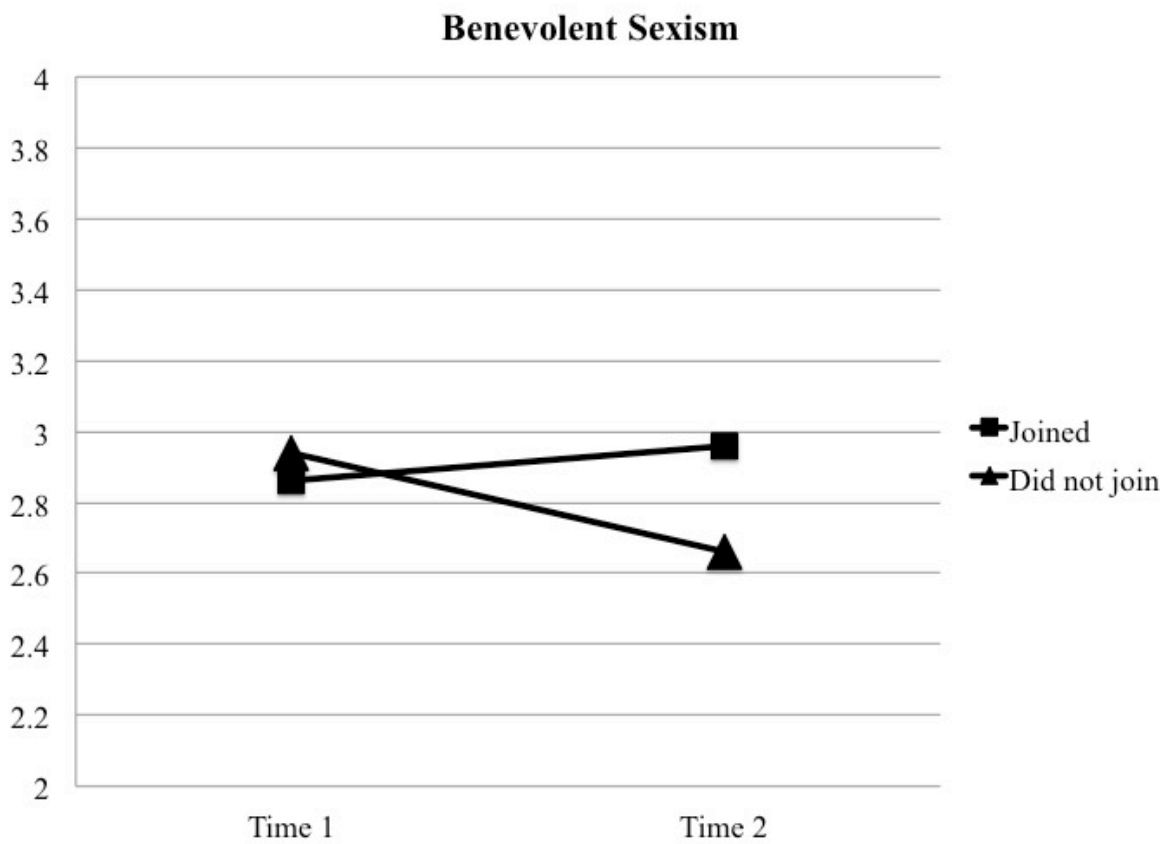


Figure 3.5. Graph of interaction between fraternity membership and time, predicting endorsement of benevolent sexism

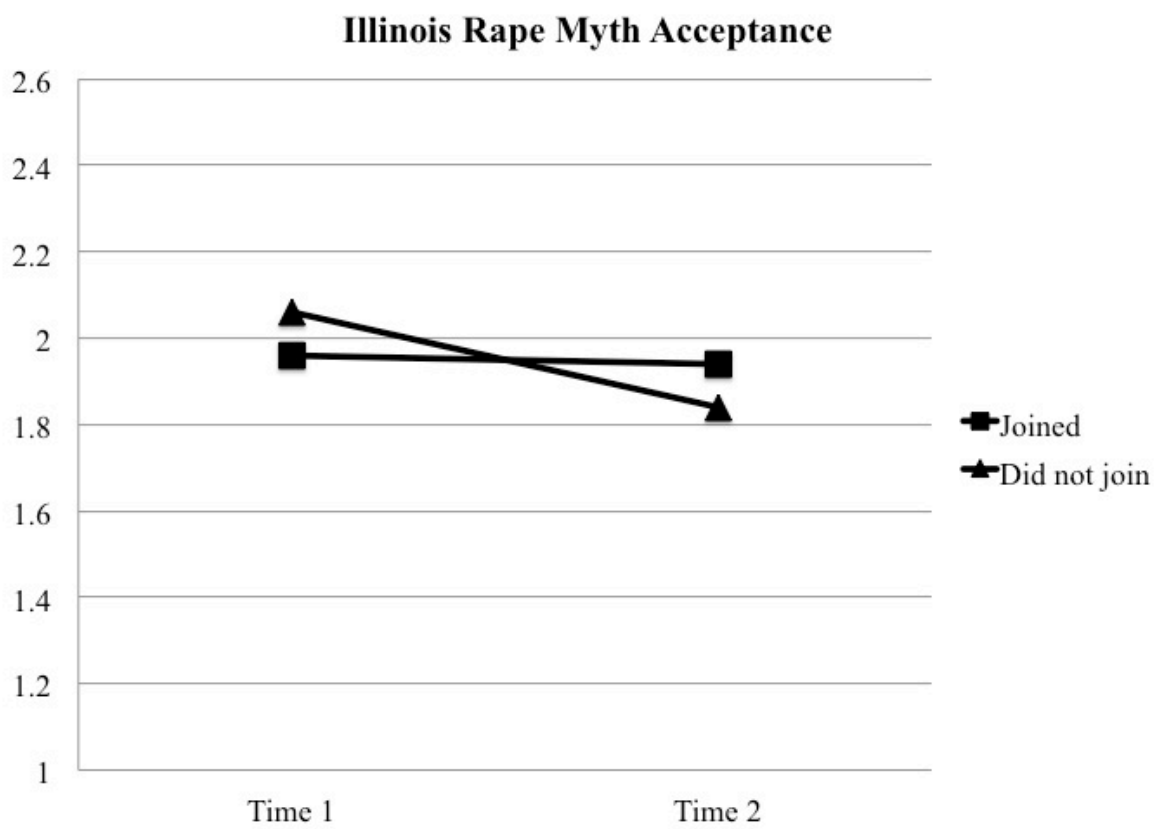


Figure 3.6. Graph of interaction between fraternity membership and time, predicting endorsement of rape myths

CHAPTER 4: (Study 3) Bros Will Be Bros? The Effect of Fraternity Membership on Perceived Culpability for Sexual Assault

Sexual assault is a major problem on college campuses. Reports estimate that between 20-25% of college women are sexually assaulted during their time in college (Black et al., 2011; Cantor et al., 2015). Several researchers (e.g., Armstrong et al., 2006; Burnett et al., 2009; Sanday, 1996) have argued that the social environment on college campuses creates and maintains a rape culture, or a culture in which male sexual violence against women is normalized and women are blamed for experiencing sexual assault (Herman, 1988). Evidence of rape culture can be seen in both the reporting and punishment rates for sexual assault. In a study of sexual assault on college campuses, Cantor and colleagues (2015) found that only 25.5% of women who experienced physically forced penetration reported it to authorities, and 5-7% who experienced sexual touching involving physical force or incapacitation reported it to authorities. Among women who did not report, over half said they did not report because they believed the incident was not serious enough, and over one-third believed nothing would be done if they did report (Cantor et al., 2015). Moreover, in 478 sanctions issued for sexual assault across 100 universities between 2012 and 2013, only 12% resulted in expulsions and 28% in suspensions (Anderson, 2014 December 14).

What factors allow rape culture to flourish on college campuses? Many researchers have argued that social fraternities (i.e., organizations of male students, typically associated with parties and communal housing; DeSantis, 2007) contribute to rape culture on campus. Fraternity membership is consistently related to greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence

(Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Franklin et al., 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; McMahon, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). For example, Foubert and colleagues (2007) found that fraternity members were three times more likely to commit sexual assault than non-members. In their meta analysis of 29 studies, Murnen and Kohlman (2007) found significant effects of fraternity membership on both acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence.

To examine *why* fraternity membership contributes to sexual violence, researchers have studied elements of fraternity membership that may contribute to sexual aggression. For example, in her ethnography of fraternity culture, Peggy Sanday (2007) argues that men in fraternities use violence against women as a way to assert their masculinity in the face of homosocial fraternity bonding rituals (e.g., watching porn together, group masturbation). In another study, Seabrook and colleagues (2016) found that the pressure to uphold masculine gender norms (e.g., having several sexual partners, displaying dominance) explains the relation between fraternity membership and sexual aggression. These studies highlight the internal elements of fraternity culture that contribute to sexual violence. In the current study, we sought to examine how external perceptions' of fraternity members might contribute to rape culture. Specifically, we examined whether perceptions of guilt for both the victim and perpetrator of sexual assault would be affected by a perpetrator's fraternity status. If fraternity members are blamed less for sexual assault than non-members, this disparity could contribute to rape culture by allowing fraternity members to "get away with" sexual violence.

Victim characteristics and blame attributions

We know very little about factors that affect perceived perpetrator blame because most research on blame attributions has focused on victims. Overall, researchers have found that victim intoxication, relationship with the perpetrator, and resistance style affect her perceived

culpability. For example, compared to victims who did not consume alcohol, victims who did consume alcohol were held more responsible for their sexual assault (Cameron & Stritzke, 2003; Ferguson & Ireland, 2012) and were less liked by participants (Hammock & Richardson, 1997). Generally, a closer relationship between victim and perpetrator predicts more victim blame and less perpetrator blame (Bieneck & Krahe, 2011; Krahe, Temkin, & Bieneck, 2007). For example, vignette studies reveal that victims of sexual assault by a dating partner or ex-partner are blamed more than victims of both ‘stranger rape’ (in which the perpetrator is unknown to the assailant) and victims of ‘date’ or ‘acquaintance rape’ (in which the victim is casually acquainted with the perpetrator; Cowan, 2000; Krahe et al., 2007). Finally, a victim’s behavior during a sexual assault predicts her perceived culpability. Victims who resist the perpetrator are generally blamed less than those who do not resist, especially among male participants (McCaul, Veltum, Boyechko, & Crawford, 1990; van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014). Timing and type of resistance may also affect victim and perpetrator blame. For example, Kopper (1996) found that observers blamed the victim less when she demonstrated resistance early on in the assault scenario as compared to later in the scenario. In general, female victims are held more responsible when the victim is drinking, knows the perpetrator, and does not physically resist the perpetrator.

Perpetrator characteristics and blame attributions

Less research has focused on characteristics of the perpetrator that predict culpability. Studies that examine perpetrator behavior tend to focus on alcohol and drug use, and tactics used to commit sexual assault. Whereas intoxicated victims are blamed for putting themselves in harms’ way, intoxicated perpetrators are excused for not being able to control their actions (Grubb & Turner, 2012). However, perpetrator blame appears to be affected by the voluntariness of the victim’s intoxication. For example, Girard and Senn (2008) found that perpetrators were

blamed more when they either made the victim's drink three times stronger than she requested or when they spiked her drink with a date rape drug, as compared to when the victim voluntarily consumed drugs. Additionally, the type of intoxicant affects perpetrator blame, such that observers readily classify the use of 'roofies' (a date rape drug) as sexual assault, but do not assign the same label to incidents in which the perpetrator uses alcohol or ecstasy to coerce the victim, despite the fact that in all three scenarios the victim is unable to consent (Finch & Munro, 2004).

Overall, perpetrators who use physical force to coerce a victim are seen as more culpable than those who do not (Bieneck & Krahe, 2011; Romero-Sanchez, Megias, & Krahe, 2012; for null results see Sasson & Paul, 2014). Perpetrators who used physical force to coerce a victim were considered more responsible than those who used alcohol (Bieneck & Krahe, 2011; Romero-Sanchez et al., 2012), and victims were perceived as more likeable when perpetrators used physical coercion than verbal coercion (Hockett, Saucier, & Badke, 2016). Overall, perpetrators are blamed most when they use physical force, as compared to other forms of coercion. Such findings are consistent with state laws: over half of states require the use of physical force in order to qualify an incident as rape (Tuerkheimer, 2014 January 12).

Theoretical rationale for why perpetrators are blamed less than victims

In addition to the individual factors (e.g., alcohol use, physical resistance/force) that affect perceptions of blame, the type of crime also affects perpetrator blame. For example, Bieneck and Krahe (2011) conducted an experimental study in which they found that victims of sexual assault were blamed more than victims of robbery. Among actual rape and robbery cases in Missouri's juvenile system, perpetrators of rape received less severe sanctions than perpetrators of robbery (McGuire, Donner, & Callahan, 2012). Sexual assault is unique in that

victims tend to be blamed more, and perpetrators blamed less, than in other crimes.

Kimmel (2008) identifies three cultures that can illuminate why male perpetrators are blamed less than female victims: the cultures of entitlement, silence, and protection. The culture of entitlement refers to the idea that men who adhere to traditional masculinity (e.g., are tough, stoic, and unemotional) deserve the power associated with masculinity (e.g., money, access to and control of women). The culture of silence describes the ways in which people who witness risky or deleterious behaviors associated with masculinity (e.g., hazing, sexual assault, reckless driving) are forced to stay silent or else risk being labeled a ‘tattle tail’ (at best) or physically assaulted (at worst). Finally, the culture of protection refers to the ways in which society at large ‘protects’ men who behave badly. For example, reckless behavior among young men is explained away with the phrase ‘boys will be boys.’ It is important to note that both women and men uphold these three cultures. For example, women who stay silent when witnessing a young boy being bullied for doing something less than masculine are complicit in the culture of silence. Women, as well as men, who rally around high school football players accused of sexual assault, saying that their lives were ‘ruined’ from the accusations (e.g., Steubenville, OH rape case), are enacting the culture of protection.

Rather than assigning blame to the perpetrator, the culture of protection shields perpetrators by placing blame on their victims. Rape myths serve to perpetuate victim blaming by promoting false notions that victims of rape are somehow deserving of what happened to them (e.g., “she asked for it”) and thus excusing male sexual violence (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Such victim blaming is one example of the culture of protection.

Gendered power dynamics are essential to understanding the culture of protection as it relates to sexual assault. Protection is afforded to male perpetrators of sexual assault in a way

that it is not afforded to perpetrators of gender-neutral crimes (e.g., robberies; Bieneck & Krahe, 2011; Kanekar, Pinto, & Mazumdar, 1985). For example, Bieneck and Krahe (2011) found that university students rates male perpetrators of rape as less blameworthy than male perpetrators of robbery. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that among felony defendants in large urban counties in 2006, 71% of those accused of robbery were convicted compared to 62% of those accused of rape. Defendants were more likely to be convicted of fraud, larceny/theft, forgery, robbery, vehicle theft, drug trafficking, burglary, and murder than of rape (Cohen & Kyckelhahn, 2010). In general, perpetrators of rape are held less responsible than perpetrators of other crimes.

Rape is different from other crimes in that it involves male dominance and power over women. In patriarchal societies, rape and the threat of rape serve as tools to impede women's upward mobility. As Johnson (2014, p. 1113) notes,

[r]ape not only forces the individual victim into male submission. As news of the rape spreads, other women are reminded of their vulnerability to male aggression and their need to rely upon men for protection (Brownmiller, 1975). The result is often that women are more likely to curtail any personal activities that may be seen as provocative, or potentially put them at risk for victimization, such as going out alone, going to certain parts of town, speaking out publicly, or sometimes even seeking employment (Brownmiller, 1975; Clark, 1987; Riger & Gordon, 1981). Rape may be seen, therefore, as a method of informal social control of women, intended to negate feminist success toward gender equality (Smart & Smart, 1978).

Rape is a tool of the patriarchy and the culture of protection further maintains the patriarchy by protecting men from accusations of sexual assault.

However, the cultures of entitlement, silence, and protection are not applied equally to all

men. Rather, men who are members of a privileged group tend to have a greater sense of entitlement and are afforded more protection. For example, journalist Robert Lipsyte (as cited in Kimmel, 2008) discusses the “jockocracy” whereby (male) athletes feel entitled to and receive special treatment because of their prestigious status, both on college campuses and in the professional world. As such, I expect men who have a privileged status on campus will be afforded more protection in the form of less perpetrator blame and more victim blame.

Fraternity status as privilege

The culture of protection may serve to shelter fraternity members from being held responsible for incidents of sexual assault, despite evidence that fraternity members perpetrate more incidents of sexual assault (e.g., Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Foubert et al., 2007; Lackie & de Man, 1997), because fraternity status on most college campuses is a position of privilege. Fraternities have special privilege on college campuses because of their access to and control of party spaces. Fraternities host parties in their houses where they can control “the appearance, movement, and behavior of female guests” (Armstrong et al., 2006, p. 495). Fraternities also control access to alcohol, especially for under-aged students who have no other reliable way of obtaining alcohol. Fraternity control over party spaces, guests, and alcohol gives them a privileged status in the college party context (Armstrong et al., 2006).

In addition to control of campus party spaces, members of Greek organizations tend to come from privileged backgrounds. For example, non-working class students are more likely to be enrolled in Greek life than working class students (Stuber, Klugman, & Daniel, 2011), and white and higher income (\$500k and above) students are more likely to be in fraternities and sororities than non-white students and those from lower incomes (Working Group on Campus Social and Residential Life, 2011). After graduation, fraternity members continue to occupy

positions of privilege. For example, fraternity alumni are disproportionately represented in the upper echelons of society. For example, 76% of U.S. Senators, 85% of Fortune 500 executives, and 85% of Supreme Court justices since 1910 are alumni of fraternities (Center for the Study of the College Fraternity, as cited in DeSantis, 2007).

In summary, fraternity members often come from privileged backgrounds, maintain that privilege by controlling campus spaces, and tend to retain that privilege after graduation. Given the culture of protection that operates for men in privileged positions, I expect observers to blame fraternity members less for sexual assault and hold less negative opinions of fraternity members who commit sexual assault as compared to non-members.

Summary and Purpose

Research on perceptions of perpetrators and victims in a sexual assault scenario have largely focused on characteristics of the victim that make her more or less culpable. Less research has focused on characteristics of the perpetrator. The culture of protection (Kimmel, 2008) suggests that communities tend to rally around young men who commit sexual assault, especially privileged young men, to excuse their behavior. As such, I aim to explore whether young men on a college campus who have relative privilege through their fraternity membership will be held less accountable for sexual assault perpetration than young men who are not fraternity members. I hypothesized:

H1: A perpetrator will be perceived as less responsible for sexual assault when he is a member of a fraternity compared to when no information is given about his fraternity status.

H2: Participants will rate a sexual assault perpetrator more favorably when he is a member of a fraternity compared to when no information is given about his fraternity status.

H3: A victim of sexual assault will be perceived as more responsible when her

perpetrator is a member of a fraternity compared to when no information is given about the perpetrator's fraternity status.

H4: Participants will rate a sexual assault victim less favorably when her perpetrator is a member of a fraternity compared to when no information is given about the perpetrator's fraternity status.

Method

Participants and procedures

Participants were 408 undergraduates (61.3% women, $N = 250$) recruited from an undergraduate Psychology subject pool. The majority of the sample identified as White (70.1%), followed by Asian (23.0%), Black (5.1%), Latino/a (3.9%), Middle-eastern (3.7%), multiracial (1.2%), and Native American (1.2%). Participants were 18.54 years-of-age on average and the majority identified as heterosexual (95.3%).

We brought participants into a lab room to complete the study. Up to eight participants were in each testing session. The study lasted approximately 30 minutes in duration and was administered on individual Kindle tablets. Participants were supplied with headphones to complete the study.

Once they arrived in the testing room, participants were told that they were participating in a study to gather opinions about a new podcast designed for college students titled *College Life*. Participants listened to two excerpts from the podcast. The first excerpt was a decoy to maintain the deception, in which a college male describes an incident of bike theft. The second excerpt served as the manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to listen to one of two versions of the second excerpt. In each version, a college woman named Ashley describes an ambiguous sexual assault scenario with a man named Chris whom she met at a birthday party. In

the experimental condition, Ashley notes that Chris is a member of a fraternity. In the control condition, no information is given about Chris's fraternity affiliation. Ashley tells the interviewer that she and Chris were hooking up and "he even got a condom out. But even though I felt connected to him it was too fast for me so I told him I really thought we should wait...at first he was okay with [waiting] but he kept reaching for the condom. I still didn't want to have sex and I told him I really thought we should wait. But he kept going and we ended up having sex." At the end of the podcast excerpt Ashley tells the interviewer, "he borrowed a car from one of his friends [control condition] / fraternity brothers [experimental condition] and drove me home."

After listening to the podcast participants answered several questions about their perceptions of Chris and Ashley, as well as some filler questions to maintain the deception. The terms 'victim' and 'perpetrator' were never used with the participants. At the end of the study, participants were debriefed using a written debriefing form on the Kindle. Participants were told the true intention of the study and were given a list of resources on campus, such as the Counseling Center and the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center. The Institutional Review Board approved all procedures for the study, including our use of deception.

Measures

Perpetrator attributions. We measured perceived *perpetrator culpability* using seven items taken from Angelone, Mitchell, and Grossi (2015), such as, "How capable was Chris of changing what happened in the podcast you listened to?" and "How much choice did Chris have about what happened in the podcast you listened to?" One item was removed because it substantially reduced reliability. The remaining six items had adequate internal reliability ($\alpha = .72$). Participants indicated the extent of Chris's culpability on each of these items using a 10-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 10 = very much. We measured perceived

perpetrator guilt by asking participants, “To what extent would you describe the behavior of Chris towards Ashley as sexual assault?” Participants responded on a 10-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 10 = very much.

Victim attributions. As with perpetrator culpability, we measured *victim culpability* using seven items taken from Angelone and colleagues (2015), such as, “How capable was Ashley of changing what happened in the podcast you listened to” and, “How much choice did Ashley have about what happened in the podcast you listened to?” (alpha = .83). Participants indicated the extent of Ashley’s culpability on each of these items using a 10-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 10 = very much. *Victim credibility* was measured using 3 items such as, “How much did Ashley really want Chris to stop his behavior?” and, “How definite was Ashley in her refusal?” (alpha = .56). Participants indicated the *credibility of Ashley’s refusal* on a 10-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 10 = very much.

Semantic differentials. In order to assess general attitudes towards the victim and perpetrator, participants responded to 11 semantic differentials for both Chris and Ashley. Participants rated Chris and Ashley on characteristics such as Unattractive-Attractive and Flirtatious-Not flirtatious on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from -2 to +2. We conducted a principle components factor analysis using oblimin rotation of the 11 semantic differentials separately for Chris and Ashley.

For Chris, two subscales emerged. *Chris – Good* was made up of Unattractive-Attractive, Unlikeable-Likeable, Immoral-Moral, Insincere-Sincere, Not trustworthy-Trustworthy, Irresponsible-Responsible, Undesirable-Desirable, and Awful-Nice (alpha = .87). *Chris – Chaste* consisted of Promiscuous-Chaste, Flirtatious-Not flirtatious, and Seductive-Not seductive (alpha = .79). For each subscale, a higher score indicates a more positive attitude towards Chris.

For Ashley, three subscales emerged. *Ashley - Good* consisted of Immoral-Moral, Insincere-Sincere, Not trustworthy-Trustworthy, Irresponsible-Responsible, Awful-Nice (alpha = .82). *Ashley – Attractive* was made up of Unattractive-Attractive, Unlikeable-Likeable, Undesirable-Desirable (alpha = .77). *Ashley – Chaste* was made up of Promiscuous-Chaste, Flirtatious-Not flirtatious, and Seductive-Not seductive (alpha = .60). For each subscale, a higher score indicates a more positive attitude towards Ashley.

Greek affiliation. Participants indicated whether or not they were members of a fraternity or sorority on campus. In our sample, 28.9% of participants indicated they were members of a fraternity or sorority.

Prior perpetration. Prior sexual assault perpetration was assessed using a modified version of the Sexual Experiences Survey – Short Form Perpetration (SES-SFP; Koss et al., 2007). Participants indicated how many times in their lifetime they had tried to have sex, or had oral, vaginal, or anal sex with someone by: 1) overwhelming them with arguments or pressure, 2) using authority status, 3) getting them drunk or stoned, or 4) threatening/using force. Participants indicated whether they had used each of these four tactics 0, 1, 2, or 3+ times during their lifetime. Because of the relatively low rates of perpetration, we recoded prior perpetration into a dichotomous variable: *never perpetrated* using any of the four tactics, or *perpetrated at least once* using at least one of the four tactics. In our sample, 2.9% of the population reported that they had perpetrated such behavior at least once.

Results

Analysis

First, we examined zero-order correlations among control and dependent variables (Table 4.1). Because the dependent variables were significantly correlated, we used MANOVA in

subsequent analyses. Next, we conducted two MANOVAs to test for differences between women and men on 1) perceptions of the perpetrator and victim and 2) semantic differentials (see Table 4.2). Men rated the perpetrator as less culpable and less guilty, and rated the victim as more culpable and less credible than did women. Based on these differences, we conducted subsequent analyses separately for women and men. In order to determine whether perceptions of the perpetrator and victim varied based on the experimental condition, we conducted a MANCOVA for both women and men, controlling for Greek affiliation and prior perpetration experience.

Results for women

Results and marginal means for women are displayed in Table 4.3. There were no significant differences in perceptions of perpetrator culpability, perpetrator guilt, victim culpability, or victim credibility between women in the control condition and women in the experimental condition. Regarding the semantic differentials, women rated Chris lower on *Chris – Chaste* when he was a fraternity member compared to the control condition. There were no significant differences on any other semantic differential subscales.

Results for men

Results and marginal means for men are displayed in Table 4.3. Compared to men in the control condition, men in the experimental condition rated the perpetrator as less guilty, and the victim as more culpable and less credible. There were no significant differences between the control and experimental conditions on perpetrator culpability. Regarding semantic differentials, men rated Ashley lower on *Ashley – Good* when Chris was in a fraternity compared to the control condition. There were no significant differences on any other semantic differential subscales.

Discussion

Sexual assault on college campuses is a major problem, and fraternities have been identified as risk factors for sexual assault perpetration (e.g., Foubert et al., 2007; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). However, we do not know how fraternity status affects perceived blame. In fact, most studies of perceived blame in sexual assault scenarios focus on characteristics of the victim, rather than the perpetrator (for reviews see Grubb & Turner, 2012; van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014). Our study addressed this limitation by examining how fraternity status affects perceptions of blame for the perpetrator and victim in a sexual assault scenario. As hypothesized based on the culture of protection (Kimmel, 2008), fraternity members were relatively “protected” from blame.

Our results demonstrate that among male participants, perpetrators of sexual assault are blamed less, and victims blamed more, when the perpetrator is a member of a fraternity. Specifically, male observers rated a perpetrator as less guilty and a victim as more culpable and less credible when the perpetrator was a fraternity member compared to when no information was given about his fraternity status. Further, male observers rated a sexual assault victim more negatively (e.g., less moral, less responsible) when her perpetrator was a fraternity member than when no information was given about his fraternity status. Thus, for male observers, fraternity members are afforded more “protection” than non-members in cases of sexual assault.

Although our hypotheses were largely supported for male participants, we found almost no differences between the fraternity and control condition for female participants. We suspect that female participants may not be affected by perpetrator characteristics because they are generally more supportive of victims and less supportive of perpetrators. In our study, female participants rated the victim as less responsible and more credible, and the perpetrator as more culpable and more guilty, than did male participants. Women are more likely to experience

sexual assault than men (Black et al., 2011) and thus may be more sympathetic towards a sexual assault victim, regardless of the circumstances of the assault.

Focus on perpetrators

Across several decades, many researchers have examined characteristics and behaviors of rape victims that affect their perceived culpability. Such research is important, but we also need to examine characteristics of the perpetrator. Examining characteristics of the perpetrator allows us to see who is more likely to be blamed for sexual assault, and who is more likely to get away with it. Further, to examine characteristics of the perpetrator is one way to re-center the conversation about sexual assault prevention off of victims and on to perpetrators. Such re-centering is an important step in combatting victim-blaming policies and interventions that target victim's behaviors, rather than focusing on perpetrators. The current study adds to the literature on victim blaming by examining fraternity status as a perpetrator characteristic that affects perceived culpability for sexual assault.

Culture of protection

Despite the recent media attention focused on sexual assault perpetrated by fraternities (e.g., North, January 29, 2015; Valenti, September 24, 2014), observers were not more likely to hold them accountable for sexual assault. Thus, the culture of protection appears to apply to fraternity members because they are "protected" by being perceived as less responsible for sexual assault, and their victim perceived as more responsible, than non-members.

One way in which the culture of protection operates is by blaming sexual assault victims for their own assault (Kimmel, 2008). Although we do not know exactly what participants were thinking when they assigned guilt to Chris and Ashley, we suspect that observers blamed the sexual assault victim more when assaulted by a fraternity member because fraternity members

are stereotyped as engaging in rampant sexual escapades (Fouts, 2010). Indeed, women participants in our study rated the perpetrator as less chaste when he was in a fraternity than when no information was given about his fraternity status. Thus, perceivers may think that the victim should have ‘known better’ than to be with a fraternity member. For example, in their ethnographic study of the college party scene, Armstrong and colleagues (2006) found that both women and men commonly explained incidents of sexual assault by blaming the female victim for associating with men who were “bad news to start off with...a shady character” (p. 493). Women recognize parties, and specifically fraternity parties, as potentially dangerous places (Burnett et al., 2009; Sanday, 2007), and thus women who associate with fraternity members may be perceived as more culpable for their assault because they put themselves in a known dangerous environment. Among male participants in our study, Ashley was perceived as less good (e.g., less moral, less responsible) in the fraternity condition, lending support to the idea that observers blame Ashley’s perceived immorality and irresponsibility for her assault.

Implications for college campuses

Previous studies indicate that fraternity members perpetrate more sexual aggression than non-members (Boeringer et al., 1991; Brown et al., 2002; Franklin et al., 2012; Lackie & de Man, 1997; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007), yet the results of this study suggest that fraternity members are less likely to be blamed for their sexual aggression. Thus, we might expect that in cases of sexual assault on college campuses, the people deciding on the verdict and punishment for a sexual assault perpetrator may be less likely to blame fraternity members. Giving fraternity members more leniency in cases of sexual assault may create a cycle in which fraternity members perpetrate more sexual aggression, but are less likely to be punished, thus reinforcing their sexually aggressive behaviors.

It is important for university administrators to understand this potential bias in favor of fraternity members as they move forward adjudicating cases of sexual misconduct. Because our sample consisted of college students, it is important to repeat the experiment in a population of people who are in charge of jurisdiction (e.g., campus administrators, police officers). However, some schools do have undergraduates serving on their disciplinary boards. Moreover, although undergraduate students may not always have a role in *formal* jurisdiction, many sexual assault victims disclose their experiences of sexual assault to their peers (Orchowski & Gidycz, 2012). For example, in a recent study conducted by the University of Michigan, researchers found that of those students that disclosed a nonconsensual sexual experience, 93.9% told a friend, compared to 3.6% who told an official university resource or law enforcement personnel (University of Michigan, 2015). Given the rate at which sexual assault victims disclose to their peers it is important to understand how peers might perceive the responsibility of both the victim and the perpetrators in cases of sexual assault.

Limitations

Given that our sample consisted of undergraduate students, we cannot generalize to other populations. As mentioned above, it is important to repeat this experiment in a sample of people who are in charge of overseeing sexual assault cases on college campuses in order to assess whether the same biases exist.

Our sample was collected at a predominantly white institution. Given the makeup of the student body and the typical fraternities at the university, we expect that when participants listened to the podcast they pictured Chris as a white male in a social fraternity. However, not all fraternities have the same reputation or exhibit the same problematic behaviors towards women. For example, predominantly black fraternities are perceived as more gender egalitarian and tend

to maintain a more positive reputation on campus (Ray & Rosow, 2012). Additionally, although the “typical” fraternity is a social fraternity made up of male members, there are other types of fraternities that are coeducational and not based on social activities. For example, professional fraternities bring students together based on their professional interests (e.g., Phi Delta Phi for law students; DeSantis, 2007) and honor societies organize students that have achieved excellence in scholarship (e.g., Phi Beta Kappa; DeSantis, 2007). The results of our study cannot be generalized to these other types of fraternities.

We expect that other privileged statuses on campus might elicit the same results. For example, athletes on high-status university teams (e.g., football, basketball) may be perceived as less guilty than non-athletes. Additionally, socioeconomic status may affect perceived blame such that men from working class backgrounds are held more responsible for sexual assault (e.g., Small, 2015). We are currently collecting data to address these characteristics.

Conclusion

The results of our study suggest that among male undergraduates, fraternity members are blamed less and their victims blamed more for sexual assault than are non-fraternity members. This study is one of relatively few to manipulate characteristics of the perpetrator, rather than the victim, to assess culpability for sexual assault. Our results highlight the importance of the culture of protection (Kimmel, 2008) afforded to men in fraternities. College administrators tasked with combatting rape culture on college campuses should consider the ways in which fraternity members are less likely to be held responsible for sexual assault.

Table 4.1

Correlations between dependent variables and covariates

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Greek affiliation	--	0.14*	0.02	-0.04	-0.20**	-0.14	0.08	0.17*	0.00	0.10	0.04
2. Prior perpetration	0.12	--	0.05	-0.06	0.06	0.00	-0.01	-0.03	0.07	-0.02	-0.06
3. Victim culpability	-0.05	0.02	--	-0.03	-0.26***	-0.35***	-0.22**	0.00	-0.20**	0.12	-0.06
4. Perpetrator culpability	-0.07	-0.04	-0.08	--	0.21**	0.41***	0.13*	0.10	-0.04	-0.37***	-0.20**
5. Victim credibility	0.05	0.04	-0.60***	0.22*	--	0.44***	0.19**	0.01	0.10	-0.26***	0.03
6. Perpetrator guilt	-0.07	0.01	-0.51***	0.26**	0.54***	--	0.19**	-0.02	0.05	-0.49***	-0.10
7. Ashley-Good	0.07	0.10	-0.32***	0.10	0.35***	0.33***	--	0.48***	0.27***	-0.17**	-0.11
8. Ashley-Attractive	0.23*	0.06	-0.02	0.06	0.00	0.11	0.39***	--	-0.01	0.06	-0.25***
9. Ashley-Chaste	0.10	0.08	-0.15	-0.07	0.06	0.02	0.23**	0.04	--	0.07	0.26***
10. Chris-Good	0.05	0.11	0.38***	-0.25**	-0.36***	-0.43***	-0.14	0.13	-0.09	--	0.30***
11. Chris-Chaste	-0.03	0.33***	0.07	-0.22**	-0.13	-0.19*	-0.07	-0.05	0.31***	0.35***	--

Note. Correlations for men are below the diagonal; correlations for women are above the diagonal.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.2

T-tests comparing women and men on dependent variables

Outcome	Men		Women		F(df)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Victim culpability	4.83	1.62	4.49	1.65	3.98(1,401)*
Perpetrator culpability	8.78	.94	9.12	.92	13.40(1,401)***
Victim credibility	6.63	1.61	7.09	1.63	7.74(1,401)**
Perpetrator guilt	6.77	2.46	7.42	2.27	7.36(1,401)**
Ashley-Good	0.60	0.68	0.66	0.74	.54(1,372)
Ashley-Attractive	0.83	0.66	0.85	0.68	.05(1,372)
Ashley-Chaste	-0.23	0.75	-0.23	0.76	.00(1,372)
Chris-Good	-0.62	0.72	-0.78	0.84	3.65(1,372)†
Chris-Chaste	-1.03	0.83	-0.93	1.01	.88(1,372)

† $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.3

Multivariate Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) results and estimated marginal means

DV	Condition	Women				Men			
		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i> (df)	Partial η^2	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>F</i> (df)	Partial η^2
Victim culpability	Control	4.55	.18	.09(1,185)	.00	4.54	.23	5.93(1,98)*	.06
	Frat member	4.47	.17			5.33	.24		
Perpetrator culpability	Control	9.13	.10	.01(1,185)	.00	8.89	.14	3.40(1,98) [†]	.03
	Frat member	9.14	.09			8.52	.14		
Victim credibility	Control	7.28	.17	.15(1,185)	.00	6.96	.22	6.36(1,98)*	.06
	Frat member	7.19	.16			6.15	.23		
Perpetrator guilt	Control	7.46	.24	.02(1,185)	.00	7.06	.35	8.01(1,98)**	.08
	Frat member	7.50	.23			5.63	.36		
Ashley - Good	Control	.60	.08	.45(1,175)	.00	.80	.10	9.96(1,87)**	.10
	Frat member	.68	.08			.36	.10		
Ashley - Attractive	Control	.87	.08	.09(1,175)	.00	.83	.10	.02(1,87)	.00
	Frat member	.84	.07			.81	.11		
Ashley - Chaste	Control	-.25	.09	.01(1,175)	.00	-.09	.10	3.85(1,87)	.04
	Frat member	-.24	.08			-.38	.11		
Chris - Good	Control	-.71	.09	.36(1,175)	.00	-.66	.11	1.88(1,87)	.02
	Frat member	-.79	.09			-.45	.11		
Chris - Chaste	Control	-.75	.11	4.43(1,175)*	.03	-1.02	.11	.00(1,87)	.00
	Frat member	-1.08	.11			-1.02	.12		

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion

I had three objectives for my dissertation: 1) to explore how fraternity membership is related to greater acceptance and perpetration of sexual violence, 2) to examine whether fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of sexual violence over time, and 3) to explore whether fraternity members are more or less likely than other men to be held responsible for sexual assault. I found that fraternity membership is associated with acceptance of sexual violence because men feel pressure to uphold masculine norms, adhere to masculine norms, and are accepting of sexually objectifying constructions of women. I also demonstrated that whereas men who do not join a fraternity decrease in their acceptance of masculine norms, benevolent sexism, and rape myths over their first four months in college, men who do join a fraternity maintain similar levels of acceptance. Finally, I found that sexual assault perpetrators were held less responsible, and their victims more responsible, by male students when they were members of a fraternity compared to when no information was given about their fraternity status. There are several important implications of my research that I discuss below.

Effective interventions

The Dear Colleague letter published in 2011 by the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Department of Education recommended that all schools implement sexual violence prevention programs on their campuses. Then, in 2013, the Campus Save Act mandated that any college or university receiving federal funds facilitate sexual assault prevention and awareness programs. As a result, nearly every college campus runs some kind of sexual assault prevention program. In a meta analysis of over 100 such programs, Anderson and Whiston (2005) noted that the content

of sexual assault prevention programs tend to fall into one (or more) of the following categories: information (e.g., providing statistics, dispelling myths); empathy (e.g., encouraging participants to be empathetic towards sexual assault victims); socialization (e.g., education about traditional gender roles and how they relate to sexual assault); and risk reduction (e.g., strategies for avoiding assault, such as watching one's drink). More recently, bystander intervention programs have become popular. Bystander intervention programs teach participants to intervene on behalf of a potential victim by increasing participants' prosocial attitudes (Katz & Moore, 2016). Despite the plethora of intervention programs, sexual assault remains a major issue on college campuses.

Given the relation between masculinity and sexual violence that I found in my first and second dissertation study, I believe that prevention programs for men, and especially men in fraternities, should focus on traditional masculinity. Previous research has found that prevention programs that include units on gender socialization are effective at reducing sexism and rape myth acceptance (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Choate, 2003; Davis & Liddell, 2002; Eckstein & Pinto, 2013; Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011; Hong, 2000; Stewart, 2014). For example, the Men's Project, which includes gender role socialization and male privilege in its curriculum, was found to reduce men's endorsement of sexism and rape myths (Stewart, 2014).

Among fraternity members, specifically, programs that include units on gender socialization have been effective. For example, the Men Against Violence project encourages men to challenge masculine gender roles and helps men form a peer group of like-minded men (Hong, 2000). An evaluation of the Men Against Violence project among fraternity members revealed that most men enjoyed the program, would recommend it to other Greek organizations, and felt that their participation in the program affected their behaviors surrounding sex and

sexual assault (Choate, 2003). Davis and Liddell (2002) administered a violence prevention program with fraternity members that included a unit on gender socialization and found their program reduced rape myth acceptance. In summary, programs that encourage men to challenge traditional masculinity seem to be effective in reducing acceptance of sexual violence.

In addition to programs that focus on men's own endorsement of masculine norms, prevention programs that focus on perceived peer attitudes towards women and sexual aggression have been effective at reducing sexist beliefs and increasing willingness to intervene in a sexual assault scenario (Gidycz et al., 2011; Kilmartin et al., 2008). These programs use the social norms approach to correct false assumptions about peers' beliefs (Berkowitz, 2010). For example, Kilmartin and colleagues (2008) found that men tend to overestimate the extent to which their peers support sexist beliefs. Because men engage in masculine behaviors, including sexism, in order to impress other men, they may engage in sexist behaviors to impress their male friends, who they assume are supportive of these sexist beliefs. Kilmartin and colleagues (2008) developed an intervention that addressed the discrepancy between perceived peer beliefs and actual peer beliefs. Men's sexist attitudes were reduced when their overestimation of peer attitudes was addressed. Similarly, Gidycz and colleagues (2011) included a social norms component in their prevention program and found that it led to less sexual assault perpetration at a 4-month follow up (although this effect disappeared at the 7-month follow up).

Although addressing peer attitudes is effective, it can be difficult for fraternity members to confront problematic behaviors among their brothers. For example, Wantland (2008) designed an intervention in which individual members of a fraternity participated in a sexual violence prevention program and then facilitated the program within their fraternities. Some fraternities were receptive to the program, whereas other members struggled when their fraternities did not

take the program seriously, or when they realized that such a program changes the nature of the bonds between members (e.g., members can no longer bond over rating women's bodies).

In addition to utilizing prevention programs that focus on masculinity and the pressure men feel to uphold it, university administrators should look to fraternities who engage in inclusive masculinity for ideas on how to reduce sexual violence. Anderson (2008) defines inclusive masculinity as that which, "is predicated on social inclusion of those traditionally marginalized by contemporary notions of hegemonic masculinity" (p. 617). Both Anderson (2008) and Harris and Harper (2014) identified several conditions that help fraternity men engage in inclusive masculinity. For example, developing mission statements that include phrases such as "treating others with respect" and upholding those mission statements helped members engage in inclusive masculinity (Harris & Harper, 2014). One fraternity demonstrated inclusive masculinity by embracing a political stance that was inclusive of sexual and racial minorities. Homophobic and misogynistic language was not tolerated among members, and the fraternity had at least one openly gay member (Anderson, 2008). Because engagement in inclusive masculinity is uncommon in social fraternities, members of fraternities that engaged in inclusive masculinity found it helpful to connect with other like-minded chapters across the country (Harris & Harper, 2014). University administrators should facilitate connections between chapters that are already engaging in inclusive masculinity and develop mentorship programs that match chapters that engage in traditional masculinity with chapters that engage in more inclusive forms of masculinity.

Finally, in addition to facilitating sexual assault prevention programs, colleges and universities need to provide effective training on how to handle sexual assault disclosures. The results of my third dissertation study suggest that perpetrators of sexual assault are blamed less,

and their victims more, when they are fraternity members. This finding has serious implications for reporting rates on college campuses because research suggests that victim blaming deters survivors from reporting sexual assault. “Negative reactions such as being blamed, being denied help, or being told to stop talking about the assault may effectively quash rape survivors’ voices, rendering them silent and powerless” (Ahrens, 2006, p. 264). In an interview study of eight sexual assault survivors, participants identified negative reactions from professionals, friends, and family, as reasons for their silence after initial disclosure (Ahrens, 2006). Therefore, it is essential that training programs that address rape myths and victim-blaming are administered to all members of the university community, including students, staff, and faculty.

Other all-male organizations

Fraternities are not the only organizations that contribute to sexual violence on college campuses. Other all-male organizations, such as male athletic teams, are also associated with sexual violence. There are several recent news stories about college athletes accused of sexual assault. For example, Florida State University student Erica Kinsman accused star quarterback Jameis Winston of sexually assaulting her in 2012 (Fox Sports, 2014, September 17). Recently, UNC linebacker Allen Artis was suspended for sexually assaulting a fellow student (Kozak & Ortiz, 2016, September 14), and two University of Southern California football players were suspended from two games (but still allowed to attend practice and classes) after sexually assaulting a young woman and filming the assault (Shah, 2016, September 16). Although I did not examine athletic teams in my dissertation, I suspect many of the relations between masculinity and sexual violence that I found among fraternity members hold true among athletes, as well.

Empirical research on athletes and sexual assault supports these anecdotes (Boeringer,

1996; Gage, 2008; Humphrey & Kahn, 2000; Koss & Gaines, 1993; McMahon, 2010; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Stotzer & MacCartney, 2015; for null results see Caron et al., 1997). For example, in a sample of 530 undergraduate men, Koss and Gaines (1993) found a significant relation between athletic participation and sexual aggression. In a more recent study, incoming undergraduates who were members of college athletic teams reported higher acceptance of rape myths than non-athletes (McMahon, 2010). In a meta analysis of 9 studies, Murnen and Kohlman (2007) found a moderate effect size for the relation between athletic participation and rape myth acceptance ($d = .43$) and sexual aggression ($d = .31$).

The association between athletic participation and sexual violence can be explained by many of the same factors that explain the relation between fraternity membership and sexual violence. Both fraternities and male sports teams are characterized by an emphasis on masculinity and masculine-achieving behaviors, exploitation of women, and homoerotic bonding rituals (Kaufman, 2003, January 8; Martin, 2015).

Membership in both fraternities and college sports teams is associated with greater endorsement of masculine gender norms (Gage, 2008; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). For example, in their meta-analysis, Murnen and Kohlman (2007) found a moderate effect size for the relation between hypermasculinity and both athletic participation ($d = .63$) and fraternity membership ($d = .55$). Many college sports require athletes to engage in masculinity-achieving behaviors such as competition and physical aggression, and these same behaviors are associated with sexual violence (Martin, 2015).

One component of masculine gender roles that is especially salient in both fraternities and male sports teams is the sexual exploitation of women. Universities sometimes sanction the sexual exploitation of women by using them as recruiting tools for their athletic teams. For

example, University of Louisville basketball recruits were invited to parties with strippers and sex workers, paid for by the school's director of basketball operations (New, 2015, October 26). The University of Tennessee's football team was under investigation for using hostesses (female students who host prospective students) to attract athletes (Thamel & Evans, 2009, December 8). An executive at a strip club reported that University of Colorado athletes hired strippers for at least 10 recruitment events. Although the university did not hire the strippers, many believe the coaches knew what happened at recruitment events and simply turned a blind eye (Milbert, 2004, February 11).

Not surprisingly given the use of women as recruitment tools, college athletes report feeling entitled to women's bodies. In a qualitative study of 15 college football players, Shavers and colleagues (2015) found that many of the men reported feeling like they could have sex whenever they wanted and that women treated them "like gods" because of their status on campus. Similar to reports from men in fraternities (e.g., Sweeney, 2014b), the men in Shavers and colleagues' study indicated that having sex with women was a way for them to compete with their teammates.

Finally, the homoerotic interactions among fraternity members and athletic team members are similar. In her ethnography of fraternity culture, Peggy Sanday (2007) notes that fraternity bonding and hazing rituals often involve jumping on top of each other or engaging in sexual activities together, such as group masturbation. Similarly, many men's sports, such as football, rugby, and even basketball, involve men jumping on, running into, or touching each other. A good play is often celebrated by butt patting and hugging, activities that would signal same-sex attraction in any other context (Dundes, 1978). Simply being a member of a sports team means changing and showering together – activities that could challenge one's

heterosexuality and therefore one's masculinity.

Moreover, in both fraternities and athletic teams, interactions with outsiders, and especially women, are limited. For example, fraternity brothers often live in a house together and are discouraged from having girlfriends because it would interfere with the fraternal bond (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Sanday, 2007). Members of athletic teams often live and eat together in spaces separate from the rest of the student body (Martin, 2015). For both athletes and fraternity members, sex with women through any means necessary, including violence, serves as a way to reassert their heterosexuality and therefore their status as men in an otherwise homoerotic environment.

Dependence on fraternities and athletics

Given the associations between fraternities, sports teams, and sexual assault, why are these organizations allowed to exist on college campuses? Colleges and universities depend on fraternities and athletic teams for several reasons. Caitlin Flanagan outlines the university dependence on fraternities in her piece, "The Dark Power of Fraternities," in *The Atlantic* (2014). First, fraternities provide student housing, thereby saving colleges and universities money spent on constructing housing. Second, fraternity alumni are more likely to donate money to their colleges than non-fraternity alumni. Third, the social life that fraternities provide is attractive to many prospective students. Therefore, colleges that have fraternity life can use the social scene to attract new students and more tuition dollars (Flanagan, 2014). Also important to note is that many colleges that attempt to disband or discipline fraternities face lawsuits from national chapters. For example, one fraternity sued Wesleyan University for sex discrimination after Wesleyan mandated that all fraternities become co-ed (Svrluga, 2015, February 19). A fraternity at University of Miami sued the school for \$10 million after the fraternity was sanctioned for

setting off fireworks and possession of marijuana (although this case was ultimately dismissed; Associated Press, 2013, February 4). Colleges and universities stand to gain a great deal of money by keeping fraternities, and risk being sued or losing donations if they disband fraternities.

Similarly, many have argued that college athletes are protected from legal ramifications for their actions because of the amount of money they generate for universities (e.g., *The Hunting Ground*; Dick, 2015). In 2015, Division I universities brought in a total of \$9.51 billion dollars (Gaines, 2016, October 14). At the University of Michigan, athletics brings in \$152.5 million annually, with men's football and men's basketball bringing in the majority of the money (Gaines, 2016, October 13).

Because of the profit drawn by athletics, some schools may cover up or ignore sexual misconduct by athletes. For example, in the case of Jameis Winston, neither the school nor the Tallahassee police pursued an investigation until nine months after Kinsman identified Winston as her assailant, despite the fact that she had completed a rape kit (Fox Sports, 2014, September 17). Winston, who led the team to a winning season and went on to receive the Heisman Trophy in 2013, was never charged (Schlabach, 2016, December 15).

The Jameis Winston case is not unique. There are several cases of sexual assault committed by college athletes that have either been covered up by the school or largely ignored by the NCAA (Shah, 2016, September 16). For example, in May of 2016, Baylor University's head football coach was fired and the university president resigned after it was discovered that they had been purposely covering up cases of sexual assault committed by football players (New, 2016, May 27). Similar cover ups have been discovered at University of Richmond and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (New, 2017, February 9). Here at the University of

Michigan, star kicker Brendan Gibbons was expelled from the university five years after being accused of sexual assault, but just after he was no longer eligible to play football for the university (Dunkak, 2014, January 29). The amount of money brought in by fraternities and athletics affords them institutional protection and allows them to exist despite their well-documented associations with sexual assault.

Future directions for the field

Based on my research, I see at least three future directions for research on masculinity and/or sexual violence. First, we need to extend the work on masculinity and sexual violence to other all-male organizations. In the college context, we should explore whether the pressure to uphold masculinity explains why male athletes are more accepting of and more likely to perpetrate sexual violence (Gage, 2008; McMahon, 2010). We should also explore whether the relation between athletic participation and sexual violence holds true for male athletes in general, or whether the pressure to uphold masculinity and perpetration of sexual assault is greater among high status athletic teams (e.g., football, basketball) than among lower status teams (e.g., track, tennis). Comparing men on athletic teams of varying statuses would shed more light on the role of status and privilege in male sexual aggression.

Given that men feel pressured by other men to uphold traditional masculinity (Vandello & Bosson, 2013), men who participate in mixed gender athletic teams may not feel as much pressure to prove their masculinity as men on all-male teams. Although women and men do not compete against each other in NCAA collegiate sports, mixed gender teams travel together and compete at the same time (e.g., swimming, track). Men on mixed gender teams may be less likely to engage in homoerotic bonding rituals and therefore less likely to engage in sexual violence in order to reassert their heterosexuality (Sanday, 2007). Examining beliefs of men in

all-male athletic teams versus mixed gender teams could lend support to the theory that all-male organizations create a unique pressure on men to uphold masculinity.

Second, we need more longitudinal studies of men's beliefs about gender, sexuality, and violence. The results of my dissertation suggest men's beliefs about gender and violence change in the first four months of college, but it is unclear how attitudes change over the entire college career. The effect of fraternity membership, specifically, may be strongest in the first two years of college when membership is most salient. The effect might fade in junior and senior year, when most fraternity men are no longer living in the fraternity house and may have established friendships outside of the fraternity (e.g., with classmates in their major).

In addition to studies of college students, we need more longitudinal studies of adolescent males because beliefs about gender, sexuality, and violence are formed before entering college. Many men who perpetrate sexual violence do so before entering college. In fact, perpetration of sexual violence in high school is a risk factor for perpetration of sexual violence in college (Thompson et al., 2013; White & Smith, 2004). To prevent sexual violence in college we should invoke preventative interventions directed towards adolescent boys, rather than relying exclusively on reactive interventions directed at college students. Working with adolescent boys to encourage more flexible visions of masculinity is likely an important step to preventing sexual violence perpetration.

Third, we should continue to pursue research on perceptions of sexual assault perpetrators. The results of my dissertation suggest that fraternity members are less likely to be blamed for sexual assault by male college students. Although it is important to understand students' perceptions of perpetrators, it is perhaps even more important to understand the perceptions of university administrators who are making decisions about punishments. It would

be beneficial to repeat this experiment in a sample of college administrators. Additionally, we should examine other privileged identities in addition to fraternity membership.

Personal conclusion

Peggy (Sanday, 2007) argues that, “whenever men build and give allegiance to a mystical, enduring, all-male social group, the disparagement of women is, invariably, an important ingredient of the mystical bond, and sexual aggression the means by which the bond is renewed” (p. 48). The mystical, enduring, all-male social group can be the fraternity, the sports team, or the military. Each organization has a mystical quality about it, in which men go through extreme hazing (or training) to join and are bonded with other members for life.

In three studies, I document in my dissertation that fraternity membership is associated with endorsement of masculine norms and acceptance of sexual violence, and that fraternity members are less likely to be held accountable for sexual assault than non-members. Because of the association between all-male organizations, such as fraternities, and sexual assault, I recommend that universities and colleges disband any organization whose membership is based on a privileged identity. Just as the university would never support a student organization exclusively for white students, neither should the university support an organization exclusively for men.

Of course, the recommendation to ban all-male organizations may not be realistic. Although several schools have banned fraternities (e.g., Williams College, Alfred University, Bowdoin College, Middlebury College, Colby College, Santa Clara College), these have mostly been small, private, liberal arts colleges. Banning fraternities at large state schools where a higher percentage of students participate in Greek life is more daunting. Additionally, a ban may

force fraternities to go underground. Without any regulations, underground fraternities may ultimately be more dangerous than those affiliated with the institution.

Perhaps a more realistic approach is not to ban fraternities but instead to remove the perks of fraternity membership. For example, universities could ban students from living in fraternity houses or mandate that all fraternity houses have at least one adult supervisor, unaffiliated with the fraternity, who lives at the house full-time. Less tangible but arguably more important changes might be to encourage men to adopt more inclusive versions of masculinity. Sanday (2007) notes, “the fraternity offers an easy solution to anxious young men in a society that expects successful individuals to display a unified, heterosexual self” (p. 180). If we lived in a society in which there was less pressure on men to present a unified, heterosexual self, perhaps fraternities would be less appealing and would, eventually, disappear.

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