SEXUAL ASSAULT AMONG FEMALE STUDENTS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: AN EXPLORATION OF THE BLACK FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE AND ROUTINE ACTIVITY THEORY

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ABSTRACT

Carmen M. Crosby: Sexual assault among female students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An exploration of the Black Feminist perspective and Routine Activity Theory (Under the direction of Natasha K. Bowen)

The current study explored unwanted sexual contact (USC) among African American female students (*N*=3,506). A subgroup analysis included participants with non-heteronormative sexuality (*n*=348). It was a secondary analysis of data from the 2008 HBCU-CSA Study. Complimentary principles of Black feminism and routine activity theory examined the impact of identity, culture of dissemblance, vulnerability, and sexual assault on college campuses. Four types of USC were examined – any, coerced, incapacitated, and forced.

The first research question examined the characteristics and situational factors associated with USC. Hypotheses examined the effect of drinking, situational exposure to alcohol, and non-heteronormativity sexuality on USC. Demographic, educational, and prior sexual assault variables were included as controls. Logistic regression models were estimated for each type of USC. Frequency of drinking significantly increased the likelihood of all types of USC. Situational exposure to alcohol increased the likelihood of all types of USC except incapacitated. The second research question explored whether the culture of dissemblance exists among women with non-heteronormative sexuality and whether it may offer protection against various types of trauma, including sexual victimization. Bivariate analysis showed evidence of support for this hypothesis in regard to all types of USC except forced.

One contribution of this study is that it expanded the typical definition of sexual assault to include both attempted and coerced assaults. Inclusion of these aspects of sexual assault have important methodological, theoretical, and clinical implications.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Researchers, practitioners, and policy makers lack theoretical and empirical support with which to propose best practices for sexual assault prevention and intervention. To develop best practices, more information is needed about sexual assault and the unique experiences of various populations. This information is necessary to develop culturally competent evidence-based and theoretically grounded sexual assault prevention and treatment interventions. In many instances, empirical data on sexual assault prevention, treatment, and resulting mental health consequences have not focused on African American[1] women in the United States, a population with a culturally unique experience with sexual victimization. Some theorists and researchers have proposed that this history contributes to myriad contemporary challenges related to disclosure to family and friends, mental health service utilization, accurate reporting of sexual assault prevalence, and help-seeking aid from law enforcement (Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Robinson, 2003).

Although there is agreement about the desire to eliminate the sexual victimization of women, different individual and group experiences influence both the language and meaning associated with sexual assault on both macro and micro levels. For example, at the macro level, the contemporary meaning of being sexually assaulted among African American women is inextricably associated with the historical legacy of this population. Although their contemporary individual and group struggle against sexual violence represents a tension-filled but valuable sociocultural legacy, the majority of sexual assault research about African American women offers limited insight into these experiences (Hine, 1989; Sommerville, 2004; West, 2006).

[1]The socially constructed terms African American and Black appear interchangeably throughout this text. Additional key terms and definitions are provided in Appendix A.

For Black feminists, discussions of privilege, oppression, and other phenomena associated with social stigma characterize African American women's lives. Over centuries of marginalization, the lives of these women demonstrate cultural differences in sexual assault etiology. While some individuals eschew the social construction of race, gender, and sexuality, there is a lack of perspective regarding African American women's experience with and resistance to sexual victimization.

This study represents an opportunity to incorporate Black feminist perspective into the examination of sexual assault. Black feminists emphasize that social identity and context are foundational in research (Collins, 2000; Sommerville, 2004). They guide the researcher in selecting problems, theory, and populations of interest. To address any social problem, Black feminists indicate that the identity of the researcher and the research population are mirrored reflections that, when integrated, inform how a social problem evolved and can be solved. Further, researchers' understanding of the Black standpoint is key to framing social problems and the selection of theoretical and methodological approaches (Collins, 1986).

Specifically, the study uses a culturally sensitive lens to examine the problem of campus sexual assault. In addition, it broadens the standard understanding of sexual assault to include attempted sexual assault and coerced unwanted sexual contact as traumatic events. This more comprehensive understanding is essential for clinical practice, but also has important implications for researchers and the criminal justice system.

African American Sexual Violence: Linking Prevalence to Intervention

Sexual assault represents an important public health issue for all women, with national objectives for decreasing sexual violence among targeted populations (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; 2006). In part, the growing knowledge of both short- and long-term implications of rape for the individual survivor, their family, community, and larger society

drives current attention to sexual assault (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2006; The White House, 2014).

Sexual violence may decrease mental health functioning for females. Acute consequences of an assault may become ongoing and debilitating. Individual specific effects range from physical trauma to psychological distress (Quinn, et al., 2014). The experience of victimization is associated with sexual emotional responding and risk-taking, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), substance use, depression, and even re-victimization (Basile & Smith, 2011; Bryant-Davis, et al., in press; George, et al., 2014). The targeted victimization of women results in proximal and distal problems that expand beyond the primary victim. The victimization creates multiple and future secondary victims with varying awareness of the assault, even after many years.

Researchers who study this area of violence have established that sexual assaults are among the most underreported violent crimes in America, with many survivors never reporting the incident to police (Basile & Saltzman, 2002; Rand & Catalano, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) or even disclosing their victimization to their friends or family (Amar & Gennaro, 2005). In 2010, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which collects data on a national household-based sample of people age 12 and older, found that approximately 270,000 women reported being the victim of rape or sexual assault during the previous 12 months. This translates to a rate of about 2.1 per 1,000 females 12 and older. Sexual assault risk is highest among women under 34 years. Based on NCVS data, the rate of sexual assault has been decreasing steadily since 1995, when the rate was twice as high as in 2010. The rate of rape and sexual assault was 2.2 per 1,000 White women, and 2.8 per 1,000 Black women. Approximately 78% of victims reported that at least one of the offenders was not a stranger. The proportion reporting to the police has fluctuated during this time period, however. In 1995, approximately 29% of incidents were reported to the police in 1995. This figure rose to a high of 56% in 2003, and declined to 36% by 2010. Of incidents reported to the police, only 64% were

reported by the victim. This represents an increase over 1995, in which 50% were reported by the victim (Planty, Langton, Krebs, Berzofsky, & Smiley-McDonald, 2013).

Most salient among the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's (CDC) Injury Research Agenda objectives are the need to identify the social norms that support sexual violence (including intimate partner violence) and to evaluate strategies to change these social norms (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004). In addition, *Healthy People 2010* established a specific objective (Objective 15-35) to reduce the incidence of sexual violence (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000).

The passage of the Clery Act in 1990 (The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act, 2008) has increased research about sexual assault prevalence, disclosure and help seeking amongst college students (Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010). The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives introduced the Campus Accountability and Safety Act (2014) in 2014, which sends a bipartisan message to colleges and universities: The nation and federal government have grown impatient with persistent non-compliance with federal guidelines (The White House, 2014). Statistics mandated by the Clery Act indicate that campus-based sexual assault prevalence and incidence are underreported or misidentified. Despite a federal prohibition of gender-based discrimination and harassment, university officials appeared unprepared or unwilling to address sexual assault on their campuses. (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2002).

In addition, the lack of transparency in response to student victimization elicited action from the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights; in 2011, the agency issued a "Dear Colleague" letter (U.S. Department of Education, 2011) warning schools that continued receipt of federal funds requires measurable compliance with the terms of both Title IX and the Clery Act (The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act, 2008).

In response, the newly formed White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault intends to use campus climate surveys to increase reporting and communication (The White House, 2014). Policy level intervention will also provide assistance in developing prevention programs and improving responses to sexual assault claims both in terms of advocacy for victims and accountability of perpetrators. In a step toward stakeholder accountability, the government created a website, Not Alone (https://www.notalone.gov). This website provides guidance to colleges regarding the intersection of the Federal laws pertaining to reporting of sexual assault. It also tracks university response to sexual assault to clarify both the process and outcomes for students and administrators. Although the generalized attention to this issue informed the present study, it goes beyond the general to focus on the unique factors of HBCU students.

Need for Culturally Specific Prevention and Intervention Efforts

National prevention efforts for sexual assault have noted the lack of culturally specific interventions (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). In response to that need, the Centers for Disease Control emphasized the need to develop specialized interventions that address differential vulnerability to risks that result in health disparities for women of color. For example, intersecting effects of oppression, racism, and sexism contribute to cumulative risk of sexual violence for African American women. However, the CDC (2004) and others (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Foshee, Reyes, & Wyckoff, 2009; Morrison, Hardison, Mathew, & O'Neil, 2004) have documented the dearth of sexual assault prevention intervention research conducted with communities of color.

African American women comprise one group of students whose experiences with sexual assault have not been widely studied. Much of the available research is from small samples of African American women enrolled at predominately White institutions (PWIs). As a

result, little information has emerged about sexual victimization among African American college students (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000).

The Present Study

This study represents an opportunity to include African American women's perspective regarding their experience and resistance to sexual victimization. It used data from the Historically Black College and University Campus Sexual Assault (HBCU-CSA) Study conducted by RTI International (RTI) during the 2008-2009 academic year. This National Institute of Justice funded study is the largest multi-site study to date of sexual assault experiences among females at HBCUs.

I examined four types of unwanted sexual contact (USC), as defined in the HBCU-CSA study: any type of USC, coerced, incapacitated, and forced USC. In the coerced USC category, the individual verbally or emotionally coerced the victim into unwanted contact using threats of nonphysical punishment, promises of reward for compliance, or continual verbal pressure. In the incapacitated USC category, the victim was unable to provide consent because they are intoxicated, drugged, asleep, or otherwise incapacitated. Situations included both consensual and nonconsensual substance use. The physical force category of USC includes attempted or completed acts using physical force (including assault with or without a weapon or physical restraint) or the threat of force. The study population was limited to African American female undergraduate students.

The present study addressed the overarching need to interject African American women's experiences into the campus sexual assault narrative and, by consequence, the larger field of sexual violence research. With this goal in mind, I investigated two research questions, using routine activity theory and Black feminism to ground the examination of how traditional, situational, and individual predictors of sexual victimization were relevant to the experience of Black women.

The first research question asks which characteristics and situational factors are associated with the occurrence of sexual victimization of African American HBCU students. In addition to considerations expressed by Black feminists, the habits of college students and the college environment are associated with vulnerability to victimization (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2002). Routine activity theory suggests that the more often a woman is in situations in which motivated offenders may be present, such as in proximity to alcohol use, the more likely she is to be a victim of crime. In addition, engaging in personally risky behaviors, primarily alcohol and/or drug use may make women less able to resist assault (Lindquist, et al., 2013). Finally, alcohol and drug use features prominently not only in the occurrence of sexual victimization itself, but also in the type of sexual victimization a woman may experience (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, The differential risk factors of physically forced and alcohol- or other drug-enabled sexual assault among university women, 2009).

The second research question reflects the marginalized standpoint articulated by Black feminists, particularly lesbians. These women argue that, in response to perceived or actual societal oppression, Black women may engage in the culture of dissemblance by strategically disclosing elements of their individual sexual identity as a protective mechanism (Hine, 1989; Taylor, 1998). Although the culture of dissemblance is difficult to operationalize, it refers to the attempt to mitigate individual (inter- and intra-personal) marginalized identities by deliberately hiding aspects of these identities (Hine, 1989; Sommerville, 2004; West, 2006).

Specifically, this second question explored whether the culture of dissemblance exists among women with non-heteronormative sexuality[2] and whether it offers protection against various types of trauma, including sexual victimization. This study defines heteronormative

[2]Characteristics such as lesbian or bisexual identity (whether defined by sexual orientation or sexual attraction, as in this study, or by other means) are contextualized as non-heteronormative social identities. The term non-heteronormative acknowledges the social presumption of heterosexism, i.e., the attempts to privilege heterosexual (straight) identity as normative. Conceptually, the term references the oppressive and systematic exclusion experienced by individuals in a statistical minority.

sexuality as women's self-identification as heterosexual and attraction to men only. Any other self-identification or statement regarding attraction is defined as non-heteronormative. Dissemblance is operationalized as sexual incongruity, defined as responses in which women: (1) identify as lesbian but are not attracted to women only; (2) identify as bisexual but are not attracted to both men and women; or (3) identify as heterosexual but are not attracted to men only.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Defining Terms Related to Sexual Assault

Sexual violence represents a significant social problem and public health concern of which women are the primary victims. Though it may take time for victims, service providers, activists, members of the criminal justice community, and researchers to reach consensus, there is little argument regarding the value added by specific language. Toward that goal, this section defines several terms used in this paper. These terms are certainly not exhaustive, but they will help to establish a common language across the disciplines that study sexual victimization.

Those in the criminal justice field, law enforcement, and the legal system frequently refer to the person who has experienced sexual assault as a victim, that is, one victimized by a crime (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004). However, many anti-violence activists, therapeutic service providers, and women who have experienced assault use the term survivor. This intentional language is clinically significant; the term signifies their resilience. In recognition of this study's multidisciplinary audience, both terms are used interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

Finally, any unwanted and non-consensual sexual contact whether attempted or completed by an assailant, is termed sexual assault, sexual violence, sexual victimization, or unwanted sexual contact (USC) in this study. This language used to define sexual violence against women is intentionally broad; it represents concession to the myriad differences in terminology across public health, criminal justice, and other disciplines. However, as Rennison and Addington (2014) note, the lack of a standardized sexual assault definition is only one problem in contemporary sexual violence research. There is considerable variation across studies regarding reference periods (e.g., past six months, past school year, lifetime

prevalence), sample sizes, data collection modes (e.g., web-based survey, personal interview), whether the survey is crime, health or safety focused, and incident identification and classification procedures.

The ability to recognize and name an experience as sexual assault is sometimes associated with women's internalization of what researchers refer to as "rape myth acceptance" and "stranger rape scripts" (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). The reality of sexual assault primarily involves occurrences of acquaintance rapes, and does not reflect the myth that rape is by an armed stranger and using a high degree of force that results in easily observed physical injury to a victim (Bachman, 1993; Bondurant, 2001; Karjane, et al., 2002; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995; Schwartz & Leggett, 1999). The perception of what constitutes a real rape or rape victim may be dependent on the rigidity and flexibility of attitudes toward standardized gender roles, individual values, and belief systems held by men and women (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). The concept of "real rape" has important implications for understanding and defining acquaintance or date rape in that survivors experience the same exposure to societal constructions of "real rape" that legitimizes statistically rare events but minimizes the more commonly experienced acquaintance rape (Estrich, 1987). This finding provides a framework for the reality that in general, women who experience a nonconsensual assault meeting the legal definition of rape may not define it as a crime of rape (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003).

Without a single definition, there is considerable variation in measurement and reporting (Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010; Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Krebs, 2014; Rennison & Addington, 2014). Arguably, questions of measurement validity and reliability intersect with legal definitions. Identifying and tracking a sexual assault is dependent on the definition used: whether research or clinically oriented; whether the unwanted sexual contact incident specifics meet the definition for criminal prosecution; and how the victim's defines the event. If the

survivor does not interpret the event as a sexual assault, then the legal community, clinicians, and researchers are unlikely to know about the victimization.

Sexual Victimization

Current research affirms the prevalence and far-reaching emotional and physical impact of sexual assault. For example, approximately one in four women have experienced an attempted or completed rape in their lifetime (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2002). According to the National Violence Against Women (NVAW) Survey conducted in 1995-1996, 17.6% of women experienced forcible rape at some point in their lifetime. This figure translates into an estimated 18 and 20 million women (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). The rates were very similar in the 2010 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NIPSV). The NIPSV (Black, et al., 2011) reported that 44.6% of women had experienced some form of sexual violence during their lifetime; the rate was 47.6% for White women and 41% for Black women. The rate of rape was higher for Black women, though. Overall, 18.3% of women had been raped during their lifetime – 18.8% of White women and 22.0% of Black women.

While prevalence rates demonstrate the proportion of US women currently affected by sexual assault, it is equally important to consider the incidence, or number of new cases of USC perpetrated against women in the US.

In a report spanning multiple years the NCVS identified characteristics associated with new incidents of sexual assault. Data based on the 2005-2010 US population show that age, poverty, and community location are significantly related to sexual victimization. The highest number of new sexual assault incidents occurred among females 12 to 34 years of age (a rate of 4 per 1000 females), that lived in homes reporting annual earnings of less than $25,000 (3.5 per 1000 females), or living in rural areas (3 per 1000 females) (Planty, et al., 2013). In addition, analysis of NCVS trends shows that the estimated annual rate of sexual violence incidents against females dropped from 5 per 1000 in 1995 to 1.8 per 1000 in 2005, or a 64% decrease.

The rate did not change between 2005 and 2010 (Planty, et al., 2013). The NCVS does not examine victimization of persons under 12 years of age, but other sources have found that victimization by sexual violence begins early in life, with 22% of rapes occurring before age 12 and more than half of all rapes of women (54%) occurring before the age of 18 (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006).

Rothman, Exner and Baughman's (2011) review of 25 victimization studies from 1989-2009 found that between 14.9% and 44.8% (median 28.2%) of lesbian and bisexual women experienced childhood sexual assault. Between 22.2% and 47.1% of lesbian and bisexual women experienced sexual assault during their adult years. Across the lifetime, between 15.6% and 55% (median 35.4%) experienced sexual assault. These disparate results reflected findings from studies in which study participants either: (1) were sampled from a particular geographical area and with an equal probability of selection; or (2) represented a census (Rothman, Exner, & Baughman, 2011). In reporting the extent of sexual victimization, it is also important to acknowledge that variation in methodology can be the basis for differences in its prevalence and incidence across data sources (Krebs, 2014). While these statistics help to understand the overall significance of sexual assault, they do not capture the extent of sexual violence in the lives of women.

College Students and Sexual Assault

Predictably, the transition from home to college does not ensure safety for women, as evidenced by The National College Women Sexual Victimization (NCWSV) study, one of the largest national studies of university women and violence. The NCWSV's behavior specific questioning revealed 19-25% of female college students will have experienced an attempted or completed rape at some point in their lives. (Fisher, et al., 2010; Rennison & Addington, 2014). During an academic year, approximately 3% of women surveyed reported a sexual assault experience (Fisher, et al., 2000). This result is similar to smaller non-population based 3% and

5% annual campus rape prevalence rates (American College Health Association, 2005; Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall, Koss, & Wechsler, 2004)

The study of sexual assault on university and college campuses has expanded beyond simple prevalence, incidence and causation. The current focus on primary prevention of sexual assault targets individuals most at risk for becoming perpetrators (e.g., teenage males). Left undetected, these young men may learn and perpetuate a cultural acceptance of violence against women where their actions encounter little resistance or consequence (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1993; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Lisak and Miller (2002) found that serial rapists, many of whom remained undetected, perpetrated nine out of ten attempted or completed sexual assaults. Findings indicate that between six and ten percent (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004) of male students self-reported behavior that could be defined as attempted or completed legal rape. One study revealed that only 120 males were responsible for perpetrating close to 1,230 different unreported acts of rape, battery, and other forms of violence. A majority of these undetected rapists committed close to six rapes each. Further, the predators' detailed incidents demonstrated intention; these rapists skillfully select and groom potential targets gaining access to an intended victim as rapport and friendship increased. In fact, Koss, et al. (1987) identified that in the majority of the 27.5% reported attempted and completed rapes, victims identified their rapists ostensibly as friends or acquaintances.

The university campus is a microcosm of society, and sexual predators are active participants in the cultural acceptance of violence against women (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1993; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Close to 10% of male students reported engaging in acts that met the legal definition of attempted or completed rape (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004).Koss, et al. (1987) identified that in the majority of the 27.5% of reported attempted and completed rapes, the predators were ostensibly friends or acquaintances.

Frequently, the experiences of African American females appear excluded from the narrative of campus sexual assault incidence and prevalence. Researchers' ability to draw inference to African American females at predominately white colleges and universities (PWIs) is limited by small overall study samples as well as small numbers of non-White students in general. To be fair, the magnitude of sexual violence has galvanized many stakeholders, race and ethnicity notwithstanding. However, in the course of efficiency (and funding) a dominant research paradigm appears to have evolved where the experiences of people of color are not prioritized by the majority of sexual assault researchers. Consequently, the story reflected in most of the sexual assault literature is extrapolated from predominately white experiences. If rarely examined, marginalized populations do not gain proportional benefit from research, although they may experience equal vulnerability to assault.

By examining the campus-based literature for predictors of unwanted sexual contact, patterns emerge which may have cultural relevance. In the campus milieu, student use and situational exposure to alcohol are reportedly common. Interestingly, there are racial and ethnic differences associated with alcohol use and sexual assault. For example, in a comparison of males who engaged in sexual aggression and coercion, White males reported using alcohol as a tool for perpetration significantly more frequently than African American males, (50.7% vs. 6.5%, $p < .001$). As a corollary, White college women consumed more alcohol, and with greater frequency, prior to a sexual assault. Consequently, White females appear significantly more likely to be raped while intoxicated compared to African American women (44% vs. 33.2%, $p < .001$) (Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohm, 2006).

Additionally the amount and frequency of women's alcohol consumption, appears to obfuscate researcher and law enforcement data about sexual assault predators and victims. There appears to be a relationship between self-blame, sexual assault and alcohol. While exploring incapacitated sexual assault involving drugs and alcohol and personal reasons for non-report to police, campus assault researchers found that 50% of women felt partially or fully

responsible for what happened, 31% did not recall what actually occurred, and 29% did not want anyone to know about the incident (Fisher, et al., 2000). Similarly, the Harvard College Alcohol Study found that compared to non-White women, White women were less likely to report experiencing rape involving actual or threatened physical violence or force (Mohler-Kuo, et al., 2004). However, Gross, et al. (2006) reported that African American women were significantly more likely to surrender to sexual intercourse, believing that resistance would be ineffective ($p < .03$). The authors reported that compared to White women, African American women experienced significantly higher rates of physically forced sexual intercourse ($p < .015$) and emotional coercion ($p < .002$).

When considering sexual assault, it remains important to examine the influence of culture, particularly when viewed through the lens of social conflict, stigma, and acceptance. Consider the experiences of lesbian and bisexual women. Findings indicate that women with non-heteronormative identities (lesbian and bisexual in this case) experience increased incidence of sexual assault victimization, compared to heterosexual women. In the 2007 Campus Sexual Assault (CSA) study (Krebs, et al., 2009), bisexual, lesbian, and heterosexual women had different rates of sexual assault both before and during college. For example, before college, 25.4% of bisexual, 22.4% of lesbian, and 10.7% for heterosexual women had experienced some type of sexual assault. For assaults during college, the rates were 24.0% for bisexual, 17.9% for lesbian, and 13.3% for heterosexual women.

The researchers concluded that prior sexual assault experiences were predictive of experiencing at least one of the measured types of sexual assault during college, especially for non-heterosexual women (Martin, Fisher, Warner, Krebs, & Lindquist, 2011). Logistic regression models showed that compared to heterosexual women who were not sexually assaulted before college, bisexual women who were sexually assaulted before college had twice the odds of sexual assault during college as heterosexual women who were sexually assaulted before college (8.75 versus, 4.40, $p < .05$). The odds of sexual assault during college were not

significantly different for bisexual or lesbian women who were not sexually assaulted before college (Martin, Fisher, Warner, Krebs, & Lindquist, 2011).

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), African American Students and Sexual Assault

Research on majority White campuses find that female students are at particular risk for sexual victimization, yet these data reveal little about the experiences of African American students. In the United States, the contemporary experience of African American female college students reflects a complicated legacy. African American female college students who have experienced sexual assault represent an aspect of the larger historical struggle for African Americans. Social discourse and public policy have historically determined the right of African American females to read, to attend university, to control access to their physical body, and even to seek legal protection from or demand prosecution following a sexual assault. These unique and important differences are among the reasons that African American female students remain an understudied population within sexual assault research.

Not surprisingly, there is also little research on African American female students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, despite a culture which distinguishes them from majority White colleges and universities. Of notable exception is the HBCU CSA work of Krebs, Barrick, Lindquist, and colleagues (Krebs, et al., 2011). They used a web-based survey to explore the experience of undergraduate women (*N*=3,364) at four HBCU's. This multi-site study was the first to explore the sexual assault experiences of students in this culturally distinct setting. Surveyed students provided data on their individual and academic characteristics, substance use, social activities, situational exposure to alcohol, dating characteristics (including consensual sexual contact), and prior sexual assault.

Approximately 14.2% of respondents reported at least one attempted and/or completed incapacitated or physically forced USC since entering college; 7.8% experienced an attempted assault, while 9.6% experienced a completed assault. Some experienced both types of assault.

Detailed statistics were provided on completed sexual assaults. Approximately 4.8% of women reported a physically forced assault, whereas 6.2% reported experiencing a sexual assault while incapacitated. Krebs and his colleagues (Krebs, et al., 2011) then compared the results of the HBCU-CSA study to their similar CSA study conducted at PWIs (*N*=4,994). In the HBCU-CSA study, 95% of the sample (*n*=3,224) was comprised of Black women, while 20% of the PWI sample (*n*=1,018) was comprised of Black women. In general, they found that the rate of completed incapacitated and forced sexual assault among Black women at HBCUs was not significantly different from the rate at PWIs. The rate of incapacitated sexual assault at HBCUs was 6.3%, while the rate was 4.4% at PWIs; the rate of forced sexual assault at HBCUs was 4.7%, while at PWIs it was 4.5%.

Krebs, et al. (2011) compared the two studies further by examining the role of alcohol use in sexual assault, and limiting the sample to women aged 18-25. They found that alcohol use was higher among women at PWIs than HBCUs. In addition, they noted that Black women had lower alcohol use rates at both PWIs and HBCUs, and that the rate of use by Black women was similar at both types of institutions. They attributed this observation to individual and group cultural differences, as opposed to differences in the university or situational contexts. They found that both a higher frequency of alcohol use and having experienced prior sexual victimization significantly increased ($p < .05$) the likelihood of completed incapacitated and forced sexual assault during college. The models were not highly predictive, however (pseudo-R^2=.187 and .098, respectively). The predictors were limited to age, race, type of college (HBCU versus PWI), alcohol use, and prior sexual victimization. Their analysis concluded that the difference in alcohol use led to a higher rate of both incapacitated and forced sexual assault incidents at PWIs than HBCUs.

Summary

Despite variations in prevalence and incidence rates, it is clear that for some girls and young women, the expectation of safety and protection on college campuses is unrealistic. Additionally, victims that have experienced sexual violence in adolescence and young adulthood are at increased risk of subsequent victimization (Elliot, Mok, & Briere, 2004; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2002; Rickert, Wiemann, Vaughan, & White, 2004; Rothman, et al., 2011).

As discussed, this chapter draws from the current body of campus-based literature to define terms and problems associated with disclosure by Black women of sexual assault. Though needed, there are few multi-site large-scale examinations of sexual assault on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). The current challenge for social work researchers is to deconstruct problems while simultaneously exploring solutions. In the absence of comprehensive explanatory or change theories, researchers must use the tool of theory building. The next chapter describes the process of theory building through selection of a culturally specific theory, Black feminism, and the complementary explanatory routine activity theory.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Social workers differ from members of other disciplines as both individuals and professionals; we pledge to work towards social justice. Social workers are ethically responsible for addressing social problems with sensitivity to both contemporary and cultural/historical context (Carlton-LaNey & Andrews, 1998; National Association of Social Workers, 2008; Reisch, 1988; Reisch, 2008). Doing so presupposes a strong understanding of both explanatory and change theories, because use of theory is a valuable component of evidence-based programming and interventions (Morrison, et al., 2004; Nation, et al., 2003).

This discussion presents a theoretical perspective that, although less common, may assist social work researchers in the field of campus-based sexual assault prevention research and development. It merges two theories – routine activity theory and Black feminist theory to demonstrate how social work offers a unique and vital perspective to the sexual assault intervention community. Black feminist theory, a culturally specific approach, addresses the applicability of the historical legacy of African American women to sexual assault. This review emphasizes literature relevant to the underrepresented experience of African American female HBCU students. As a complement, routine activity theory presents theoretical constructs that Black feminists have articulated but rarely examined empirically.

Black Feminism and its Relationship to Sexual Assault

Theoretical literature and writings by many African American female authors have long drawn attention to interconnecting oppression, social identity, and inequity. For the researcher, experiences of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual identity require an approach that examines these issues as a matrix rather than a hierarchy of oppression (or privilege). Any

attempt to disaggregate the contributions of Black lesbian, bisexual, and straight identified feminists within the anti-violence/ anti-oppression movement is both arbitrary and reductionist. In coalition, African American, or Black women have an established (yet oddly overlooked) historical narrative of survival, even activism, despite devalued and stigmatized sociocultural identities. For example, Taylor's (1998) historiographical article on Black feminist theory and praxis presents a cogent analysis of African American women and the sociopolitical evolution of feminism; both of these concepts are intrinsic to African American females and the experience of sexual violence.

First, Collins (1986) articulated aspects of Black women's lives into a Black feminist standpoint. From that mid-range theory, Collins conceptualized Black feminist thought (2000). This praxis, or transformation of theory into practice, offers rich insight for researchers engaged in the study of African American sexual assault. Both power and vulnerability influence the experience of contextualized identity. Taylor (1998) argues that for Black women this manifests through four major themes: (1) Black women empower themselves by creating self-definitions and self-validations that enable them to establish positive, multiple images and to repel negative, controlling representations of Black womanhood; (2) Black women confront and dismantle the "overarching" and "interlocking" structure of domination in terms of race, class, and gender oppression; (3) Black women intertwine intellectual thought and political activism; and (4) Black women recognize a distinct cultural heritage that gives them the energy and skills to resist and transform daily discrimination. However, this construction of identity requires adeptness, as the balance is not only fragile but exacting; the resulting sense of and experience with oppression contributes further to vulnerability and trauma in the lives of African American women. (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Robinson, 2003; West, 2006).

Black feminist theorists characterize the lives of African American women as complex; their individual and collective reality embodies intersecting and frequently marginalized identities such as race, sex, class, and sexuality (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Murphy,

Hunt, Zajicek, Norris, & Hamilton, 2008). Although Black feminist theory has contributed significantly to our understanding of the etiology and manifestation of sexual violence in the lives of African American women (Collins, 2000; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Robinson, 2003), Collins' (2000) concept of Black feminist thought provides the core themes of Black women's standpoint theory:

> All African American women share a common experience of being African American women in a society that denigrates women of African descent…a legacy of struggle against racism and sexism [yet]…[t]he existence of core themes does not mean that African American women respond to these themes in the same way. … Black women's work and family experiences and grounding in traditional African American culture suggest that African American women as a group experience a world different from that of those who are not Black and female…which in turn may predispose us to a distinctive group consciousness … African American women as a group may have experiences that provide us with a unique angle of vision. …One key reason that standpoints of oppressed groups are suppressed is that self-defined standpoints can stimulate resistance (pp. 22-28).

Collins and other theorists that adopt Black feminist standpoint theory seek to highlight the standpoint of African American women. They suggest that the suppression of African American women's voices and standpoints is strategic, minimizing collective resistance toward the authoritative position of epistemological positivism held by many researchers. Indeed, Collins' proposal of a Black feminist epistemology is a direct critique of the current state of knowledge production, tension, entitlement to identify particular communities through a problem lens, rather than a solution-focused one. Given the increasing attention to participatory research, African American feminist theorizing appears central to the development of theoretically and methodologically rigorous research about African American female survivors of sexual assault. Toward that goal, this discussion addresses three tenets of Black feminism.

TENET 1: SEXUAL ASSAULT AND THE INFLUENCE OF NEGATIVE SOCIO-CULTURAL STEREOTYPES CONTRIBUTE TO HISTORICAL TRAUMA FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN

The social construction of race in the United States has important implications for African American females and the study of sexual assault. The historical context of colonization, the enslavement of African American people, their forced reproduction, and their physical labor for economic gain all have contemporary implications for understanding both sexual assault disclosure and evaluation of the veracity of reports by African American women. During the enslavement of African American women, rape was used most often as a tool of control and domination, most often by White males. At times, the justification for the act was a characterization of African American females either as lascivious “jezebels” or asexual “mammies.” Among Black feminist writers who identified consistent archetypes of Black women, Collins (2000), for example, suggests that the term jezebel has historical and contemporary importance. As a stereotype, the jezebel is wanton in her desire for sexual encounters; she is hypersexual and indiscriminate, having sexual encounters with both men and women. As such, she is not afforded social or legal protection against sexual exploitation and sexual assault.

The archetypal myth of African American females as hypersexual was suggestive of their sexual availability to everyone, but particularly to White males. Numerous social and legal barriers prevented African American women from naming, reporting, and seeking redress for unwanted sexual assault. Further, portrayal of African American women as property was used to justify them as legally and morally “unrapeable.” Thus, men in positions of power or authority effectively and simultaneously blamed and silenced African American victims of sexual assault.

During enslavement the corresponding term Mandingo was applied to African American males. This term inferred a well-endowed, sexually available African American male. The evolution of the Mandingo into the myth of the Black male rapist reflects the archetypal myth of

African American males as hypersexual predators posing a threat to the virtue of White women. This portrayal of the African American male as rapist was often used to justify the practice of group lynching. Lynching was often used as a legally sanctioned, socio-political act of violence by Whites to promote fear and compliance within the African American community. The horror and fear of lynching galvanized many African Americans, prompting racial loyalty, an adversarial relationship to law enforcement, and strictly enforced cultural norms.

These stereotypes of African American sexuality still have consequences for many African Americans today. While the use of these racial and sexualized terms has decreased, the trauma caused by their use persists. For example, during research proposing a culturally inclusive ecological model of sexual assault recovery for African American women, the persistence of the Jezebel stereotype was verified among small sample (*n*=97) of African American and White female college students (Neville & Heppner, 1999). Theoretical discussions of historical trauma provide an appropriate context to understand and promote social norm change related to violence and African Americans on individual, interpersonal, community, and societal levels.

TENET 2: THE VALIDATION OF INTERSECTING IDENTITIES AND INTERCONNECTING OPPRESSION WITHIN WOMEN'S LIVES

To understand the development and lasting influence of the racial and cultural stereotypes (Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Lindhorst & Tajima, 2008; Simmons, 2006; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Murphy, et al., 2008), it is important to validate the experience of African American females within the context of their lives. Just as Collins' (2000) work describes multiple ways of knowing, a social work narrative that excludes the intersections of race, class, gender, culture, and ethnicity experienced among people of color contributes to invisibility and further marginalization (Reisch, 2008). Social workers interested in understanding the impact of sexual violence on African American women must increase their awareness of complex historical and

contemporary experiences. Social work students, however, may lack the skills of analysis and critical judgment necessary to translate historical problems into the context of practice (Reisch, 1988).

Carlton-LaNey (2001), a historian in the field of social work, offers the following insight for social work researchers, educators and practitioners: “Accurate and cogently written social work history can … help to connect present problems and future solutions with their historical antecedents” (p. xi). Carlton-LaNey’s work clarifies the temporal sequence and historical contributions made by African American pioneers in social work and social welfare. In the process, she uncovers and cites the theoretical roots of empowerment traditions: social work traditions frequently credited to White activists during the progressive era. It is both curious and concerning that social work, a profession committed to struggling against silence and marginalization of the oppressed, demonstrates little historical record of African American feminist theorists to guide direct practice (Carlton-LaNey & Andrews, 1998; Carlton-LaNey I. B., 1999; Reisch, 2008).

While the profession of social work has remained relatively silent about their contributions, African Americans writing in the tradition of African American feminists have attempted to expose this incomplete history, particularly related to sexual violence (Hine, 1989; Sommerville, 2004; West, 2006). Social workers must seek opportunities to uncover and resist the fragmentation of African American women’s contributions to the struggle against the multiple forms of oppression experienced in their daily lives.

TENET 3: BOTH RESILIENCE AND A CULTURE OF DISSEMBLANCE DEVELOP IN RESPONSE TO OPPRESSION

A final but equally significant theoretical tenet is the resistance to internalization of negative historical and contemporary imagery of African American women. Robbins, Chatterjee,

and Canda (2006) emphasize the capacity of a group or population to adapt and to shift cultural styles to navigate their social environment.

Toward this end, contemporary researchers investigate whether concealable stigmatized identity (CSI) is predictive of distress (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011; Quinn, et al., 2014):

> Anticipated stigma is the extent to which a person believes it is likely that others will devalue or distance themselves from the person with the CSI if the identity becomes known. Stigma internalization occurs when people believe the negative stereotypes about their identity to be true of the self and/or wants to reject and distance the self from the identity. (Quinn, et al., 2014, p. 2)

Whereas most research on stigma focuses on negative experiences, there are identity-related constructs, such as culture or ethnicity, that are predictive of less distress when embraced and positively reframed as valuable. African American women's ability to survive a history of both intra- and inter-community sexual assault perpetration speaks to their adaptability. Arguably, the survival of African American women is partially associated with their self-definition and self-valuation (Collins, 1986). Perhaps it is an artifact of their mastery of strategic disclosure; African American women have long considered when, how much, and to whom they should disclose their experience of sexual assault. In part, this ability to discern opportunities for safe disclosure is associated with both individual and group resilience.

There were certainly African American women damaged irreparably by the experience of sexual assault. However, many of the documented narratives reflect survivors who remain emotionally connected contributors to their community, able to not simply survive, but in some cases, thrive. Researched narratives of enslaved and free African American women's writing evidence an ability to draw emotional strength from their individual and collective group identity. Further, these documents demonstrate covert, if not organized, resistance to sexual assault. Historians have offered multiple sources of data from the pre-1900s, documenting African Americans' political and gender-specific activism, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett's 1895 book, *A Red Record* (Wells-Barnett, 1895/1991). Numerous named and unnamed members of the women's club movement systematically documented personal and collective struggles against

inter- and intra-racial sexual assault, which remain as inspirational examples of sexual assault researcher advocacy (McGuire, 2010).

Historian Darlene Clark Hine, however, wrote of a culture of dissemblance phenomenon. This construct manifested in "the behavior and attitudes of Black women that created the appearance of openness and disclosure but actually shielded the truth of their inner lives and selves from their oppressors" (Hine, 1989, p. 380). Neville and Pugh (1997) found evidence to support Hine's culture of dissemblance in a small study of African American women; they observed that African American women's collective survival is due to an ability to "resist psychological injuries due to oppression by creating positive images of their public selves via secrecy and dissemblance" (p. 378). These scholars imply that African American women acquiesce to a cultural code, though an imperfect and limited guise; they are encouraged to appear strong in public, silent during pain, and vulnerable only in the privacy of their immediate circle of support. Indeed, many African American women perceive the attribution of limitless emotional strength as a positive façade. However, this portrayal has come under criticism by some African American women. Notably, Michele Wallace's (1999) book *Black Macho and The Myth of The Superwoman* (originally published in 1979) describes the dilemma experienced by African American women who may be complacent or unwittingly collude in their own oppression. The willingness to wear the guise of the strong warrior archetype binds women to maintain the illusion that they have little need or time for help-seeking, tears, or self-pity (Amar & Gennaro, 2005; Wallace, 1999).

Routine Activity Theory and its Relationship to Sexual Assault

Routine activity theory is a mid-range theory typically applied by sociologists and criminologists to understand and predict crime rate trends and cycles (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The theory examined criminal activity associated with "routine activities" (i.e., work, education, leisure) through the following three tenets: (1) presence of likely offenders, (2) presence of

suitable targets; and (3) the absence of capable guardians. The confluence of these three factors is necessary for a criminal act to occur. Originally, Cohen and Felson did not address the consideration of individual or group motives for engaging in criminal acts. Rather, the authors assumed "…criminal inclination as a given and examine[d] the manner in which the spatio-temporal organization of social activities helps people translate their criminal inclinations into action" (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). Consequently, the theory was most often used in causal interpretations of macro-level data.

In their original construction, Cohen and Felson (1979) considered the theory an apolitical thought experiment intended to explain the spatial-temporal convergence of persons likely to perpetrate, experience, or prevent crimes to both persons and/or property (Clarke & Felson, 1993). Later feminist researchers successfully applied routine activity theory to micro-level issues, including the explanation of sexual violence. By the mid 1990's Schwartz & Pitts (1995) merged routine activity theory with broadly conceptualized notions of feminism. This merger resulted in a feminist interpretation of routine activity theory that examines how women are viewed by offenders as suitable targets. The present study specifically addresses how Black feminist theory can be merged with routine activity theory. For potential victims, clinicians and researchers, this theoretical adaptation for the study of sexual assault on university campuses offers valuable insight into the matrix of individual and situational vulnerability exploited by sexual predators.

TENET 1: PRESENCE OF LIKELY AND MOTIVATED OFFENDERS

Research on college fraternities, sports teams, and other environments with large groupings of males suggest that one would expect to find likely offenders at many universities and colleges (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1993; Koss, et al., 1987; Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Are these social groups more complacent in/or facilitative of sexual assault? While it appears that males receive value from same gender peer groups, activities or organizations, the causal relationship between membership in fraternities and sports teams and male sexual assault

perpetration remains unclear (Foubert, Godin, & Tatum, 2010). The most effective point of intervention is via primary prevention, an attempt to target behavioral change among likely or potential perpetrators of sexual assault (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004; Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998).

TENET 2: AVAILABILITY OF SUITABLE TARGETS

Part of the concept of a rape-supportive culture requires men to view women as suitable targets. Drawing on data documenting the high number of sexual assaults associated with institutions of higher learning, soon colleges and universities were soon identified in the language of routine activity theory as “hot spots” for sexual assault. The use of alcohol and other drugs by potential victims and perpetrators has been associated with attempted or completed sexual assault. This phenomenon is not limited to college environments. However, the nature of underage drinking on campus creates a real or perceived barrier to help seeking, e.g., students may fear legal repercussions and/or expulsion from the school. While universities work to address this issue, motivated offenders continue to use this tool to: (a) impede cognitive processing, making the victim less capable of assessing the rising dangerousness of a situation; (b) render the victim less capable of verbally or physically resisting an attack; and (c) provide an excuse for intentional violation of boundaries.

TENET 3: ABSENCE OF EFFECTIVE GUARDIANS

Even in the presence of likely/motivated offenders and suitable targets, capable guardians can prevent the occurrence of a crime. Capable guardians may be either persons or property (e.g., burglar alarm). A typical college scenario is of a male and a female being in a room alone. The absence of capable guardians is particularly apparent considering the dwindling structure of university dormitory rules regarding curfew, visitation from members of the opposite sex, and use of substances that previously were enforced under the watchful eyes of “dorm mothers.” For the contemporary student, college represents a time when many are away

from the supervision (and protection) of their primary caretakers. Colleges hire resident assistants (RAs) to provide guidance and resources as needed to students on their immediate or adjacent floors of a dormitory. These RAs may be peers or more advanced/older students, whose primary responsibility ostensibly is not supervision, but perhaps education or mentoring.

Recognizing that colleges and universities represent a “hot spot,” universities have attempted to respond to sexual victimization. Both local and policy level interventions establish multiple reporting and response protocols and programs. However, these attempts to intervene in, and provide treatment following sexual assault, are rarely seamless or comprehensive. Karjane and colleagues (2002) have documented attempts by university administrators and police to respond to sexual assault. However, unlike domestic violence, there is no standardized coordinated community response model for responding to sexual assault.

In fact, it is possible that a university will choose to minimize incidents of sexual assault to protect its reputation. This lack of disclosure undermines students’ trust while hampering both prevention and intervention programming. Students become potential targets for assault, as perpetrators recognize that there are few if any consequences for their behavior from administration or law enforcement.

Theory Building: Exploring the Compatibility of Black Feminism and Routine Activity Theory

Synthesis of the Black feminist perspective and routine activity theory presents a platform for both analysis of, and interventions in, the problems of African American sexual assault and disclosure. Black Feminist theory suggests the importance of including identity specific variables, which reflect the complexity of identity and the vulnerability caused by the experience of interconnecting oppressions. Routine activity theory addresses the person in the environment, acknowledging specific variables for measurement of the incident and context. Thus, researchers would engage in collection of data that more accurately reflects individual identity within a complex socio-cultural environment.

These two mid-level theories appear to have few barriers to integration. In combination, they offer an expansion of models that examine the influence and interconnection of an individual or group experience within their environment. Their cohesion offers sexual assault researchers the opportunity of "viewing people and environments as a unitary system within a particular cultural and historical context" (Germain & Gitterman, 1995). Germain and Gitterman (1995) identify this theoretical perspective as being well suited for non-linear thinking, acknowledging multiple variables and exchanges simultaneously. For example, African American females' difficulty in preventing or responding to sexual assault victimization could be directly attributable to the use of coercive power by individuals and systems bolstered by the intersection of racism and sexism.

Although there are notable exceptions (Bent-Goodley, 2007), many scholars who study contemporary violence against women present information that appears void of the influence of socio-cultural context. Whereas traditional western frameworks of social work and counseling have significantly influenced who is able to hold the lens through which social workers both focus and frame social problems, Black feminism articulates the perceived and actual marginalization of individuals and their families within and outside of the African American community. This framework reflects the immediacy of personal and community accountability for ending all forms of violence (i.e., racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia). Additionally, it provides an excellent basis to evaluate the racism and sexism that inhabit the lives of many African American survivors of sexual assault.

Much of the literature associated with sexual assault acknowledges the importance of identity. The implications of identity appear pervasive; they emerge in the association between victim and perpetrator, the motivation to seek help from a service provider, or the decision to seek protection or accountability from law enforcement. Often research involving university women of color and African Americans in particular, has focused on the tension between and within the social construction of difference. As an example, a mistrust of law enforcement and

legal system is a belief often attributed to African Americans. As a group, African Americans held limited positions of power within these ranks prior to the end of segregation. As these arenas have seen an increase in people of color, has there been a corresponding shift in the willingness of victims to report crimes or seek protection? Moreover, is it reasonable to assume that HBCUs, founded to uplift the racially and economically oppressed, also offer haven from the other -isms as well? In the case of HBCU students, is their experience associated with identity and sexual assault any different if they have a societally marginalized gender, sexual identity or orientation?

The use of Black feminist theory as an explanatory theory for sexual assault incidence holds untapped potential. Despite a strong historical foundation for contemporary understanding of sexual violence, the empirical application of a Black feminist standpoint theory remains untested. The ability of the theory to empirically explain the incidence of sexual assault and disclosure remains limited, in part because tenets have not been routinely translated into measurable constructs and variables.

Routine activity theory draws from the ecological perspective and can identify people, situations, or settings where there is a greater likelihood of crime occurrence. Additionally, one can interpret Cohen and Felson's (1979) resistance to characterize offender motivation in the original model as either a strength or a limitation. This initial framing implied the possibility of pure research of crime trends and patterns and excluded the bias posed by the socio-cultural context. As feminist theorists added theoretical frameworks to the model, the adaptation improved understanding of gender-based victimization (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). However, neither the original nor the adapted models presented the complexity of victim identity or perpetrator motivation. The sole focus on gender presumes a one-dimensional and limited understanding of perpetration and victim vulnerability. It does not examine what influence (if any) the culture of the perpetrator or victim or her sexual orientation contributes to the assault context. Given the vulnerabilities presented by intersecting oppressions, potential offenders may

have increased motivation and opportunities for perpetration, represented likely by the exploitation of multiple facets of individual or societal privilege. Thus, the absence of complex hypothesizing is a limitation when applied to the problem of incidence and disclosure.

In summary, theoretical synthesis of Black feminist and routine activity approaches provides a novel and particularly useful model which responds to consequences of sexual violence. The green circle in Figure 1 represents any type of USC. The yellow-shaded areas denote aspects of vulnerability suggested by routine activity theory. The blue-shaded areas represent measures that Black feminist perspective would suggest are related to USC in this study.

The collection of accurate prevalence data represents the basis on which to develop culturally specific intervention with measurable constructs. However, this new model cautions that investigation of individual, contextual, and cultural factors associated with victimization and reporting necessitates a methodological shift, such as ensuring adequate participation from the targeted population. Ideally, the epistemological shifts will be evident through the development of authentic relationships with traditionally underserved community members. This investment offers great potential for conceptualization, dissemination, and evaluation of interventions, as detailed in the final section of the dissertation.

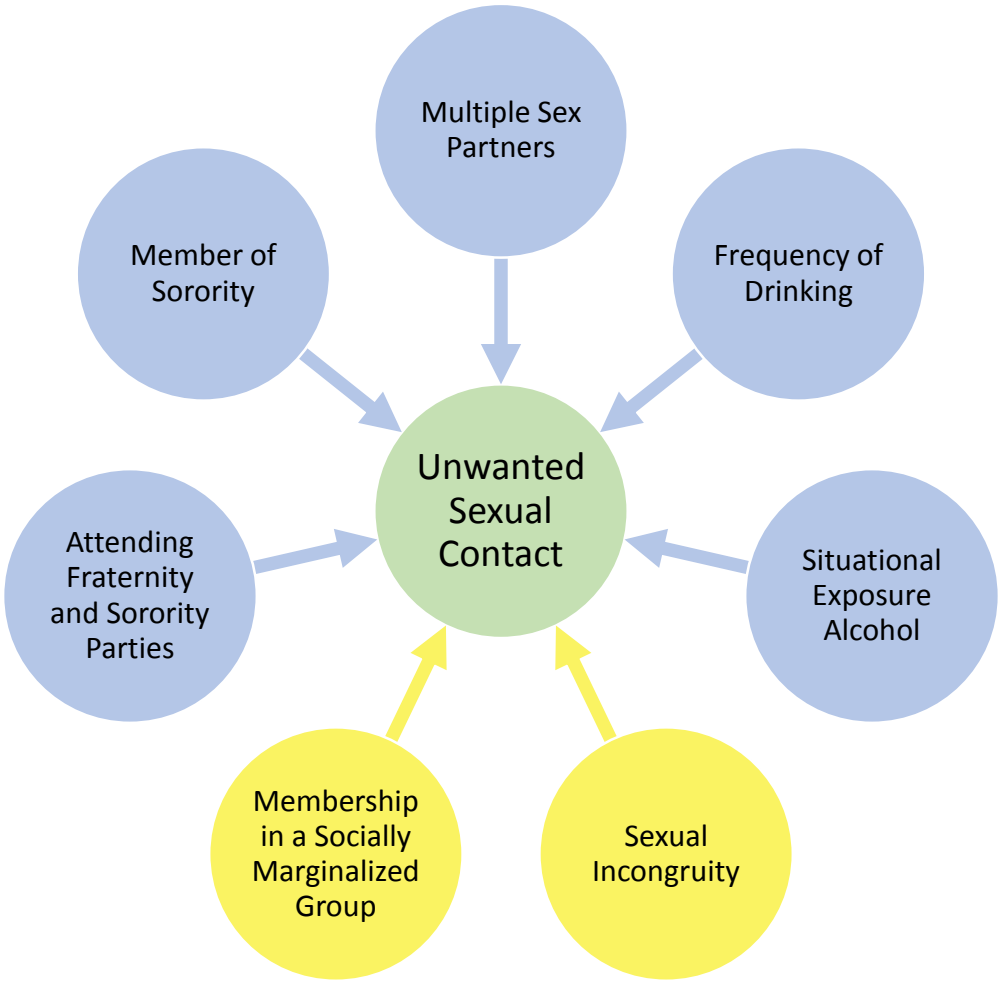

Figure 1. Theoretical Aspects of Vulnerability to Unwanted Sexual Contact

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Study Design

The current study is a secondary analysis of data from the HBCU-CSA Study, which surveyed female undergraduate students enrolled at four HBCU campuses during the 2008-2009 academic year. In the original study, female college students (*N*=3,951) age 18 and older were asked questions via a confidential 20-minute web-based survey. The questionnaire allowed respondents to identify as multiple races or ethnicities, including mixed race.

The response rate for the survey was 24.9%, despite extensive marketing and adherence to various methods for improving the rate. Researchers at RTI used Cohen's (1992) effect size to assess nonresponse bias, comparing respondents to the overall female undergraduate student population. Cohen suggests that an effect size below .3 indicates little potential bias. None of the comparisons made by RTI exceeded .3.

The sample for the current study was limited to the 3,679 respondents from the original project who self-identified as Black or African American (alone or in combination with another race or ethnicity). Following a preliminary exploration of the data, the sample was further refined. First, 94 observations were deleted because responses to "college class" did not indicate that the participants were undergraduates. Then 79 additional observations were removed because they had missing values on at least one of the dependent, independent, or control variables to be included in the analysis. A total of 173 respondents were excluded. The final sample contained 3,506 women, corresponding to a 4.7% reduction in the sample of Black college students in the HBCU-CSA study. This proportion is below the 5% commonly cited as the minimum level that might need to be addressed using statistical techniques for handling missing data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). A description of the sample is provided in the Results

chapter. Detailed methodological information about the study design, response rate, and sample weighting can be found in RTI's final report to NIJ (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011).[3]

The two research questions guided the development of the four hypotheses examined in this study:

Research Question 1: Which characteristics and situational factors are associated with the occurrence of sexual victimization of African American HBCU students?

1. Women who use alcohol more frequently are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not.
2. Women who demonstrate a higher rate of attendance at social gatherings or places where alcohol is present and/or consumed are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who demonstrate a lower rate.
3. Women who express non-heteronormative sexual identity are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not.

Research Question 2: Can non-heteronormative sexuality can be used to explore the existence of the culture of dissemblance? If so, does it offer protection against sexual victimization?

4. Women who express sexually incongruent non-heteronormative sexual identity are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not express sexual incongruity.

Dependent Variables

The main dependent variable in the study is nonconsensual or unwanted sexual contact (USC) during college. It is defined as any type of attempted or completed unwanted and

[3]Dr. Christopher Krebs of RTI gave permission to use the data from this study on April 2, 2012. The University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill Office of Human Research Ethics determined that the research proposed for this dissertation (application number 13-3807) did not constitute human subject research under applicable federal regulations, and, therefore did not require Institutional Review Board approval.

nonconsensual sexual contact, including forced touching, oral sex, vaginal penetration, anal penetration, and/or sexual penetration with a finger and/or object. Three additional dependent variables specify whether the USC involved coercion, incapacitation, or physical force including threat of force. All four dependent variables are dichotomies, coded as 1 if the event occurred and 0 if it did not. Appendix B contains an excerpt from the HBCU-CSA questionnaire that presents the wording of the questions for the dependent variables.

Data Reduction

HYPOTHESES 1 AND 2: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES RELATED TO ALCOHOL USE AND PROXIMITY

I entered eight variables relating to alcohol use and proximity to alcohol into a factor analysis to determine how this information should be incorporated into the testing of my first two hypotheses. The variables were entered into a principal component analysis with promax rotation in SPSS version 21 (IBM Corporation, 2012; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). These variables loaded on the two factors discussed below; factor loadings are presented in Table 1.

Frequency of Drinking (Hypothesis 1). Four variables loaded on this first factor. The first items in the series of questions about drinking asked how many times the participant had used alcohol since beginning college. If the respondent answered “never,” then the survey skipped additional questions about alcohol use. Original response categories to all of the items about alcohol use were never, less than once a month/a few times, once or twice a month, once or twice a week, and daily or almost daily. To address alcohol use in the analysis and based on the pattern of responses among those who reported drinking, the following items were recoded with response categories of never drank alcohol, never drank alcohol in the situation being measured, less than once a month, or at least once a month. The items in this series are:

- Frequency of being drunk

- Frequency of binge drinking, defined as consuming four or more drinks of alcohol in a row (within about two hours)
- Frequency of consuming drink given by someone unknown, excluding restaurant or bar employee
- Frequency of consuming an unattended drink (a drink left unattended or with someone unknown)

Situational Exposure to Alcohol (Hypothesis 2). Four variables loaded on the second factor in this group. Original response categories to all of these items were never, less than once a month/a few times, once or twice a month, once or twice a week, and daily or almost daily. These items were recoded as never, less than once a month, or at least once a month. The variables are:

- Frequency of going to a bar or club
- Frequency of attending party where alcohol is served
- Frequency of attending sorority party
- Frequency of attending fraternity party

The two-factor model was superior in terms of simple structure and interpretability. Reliability was assessed using Cronbach's α. The final factors were Frequency of Drinking (α=.874) and Situational Exposure to Alcohol (α=.812). A Cronbach's α of .70 or higher is considered acceptable for research purposes (DeVellis, 2003). Regression factor scores were saved from the principal component analysis, and entered as z-scores in the analysis.

Table 1.

Vulnerability Factors

Factor	Measure	Factor Loading
Frequency of Drinking (43.76% variance explained)	Frequency of:	
	being drunk	.857
	binge drinking	.869
	consuming unattended drink	.991
	consuming drink from someone unknown	.887
Situational Exposure to Alcohol (17.58% variance explained)	Frequency of:	
	going to bar or club	.582
	attending party where alcohol served	.561
	attending sorority party	.902
	attending fraternity party	.876

HYPOTHESIS 3: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES RELATING TO SEXUAL IDENTITY

Two variables were examined to create a measure of non-heteronormative sexuality.

- Sexual attraction. Respondents were asked whether they were primarily attracted to men only, women only, or both men and women. Responses were coded as 1 if the woman stated that she was attracted to women only, 2 if attracted to both men and women, and 3 if attracted to men only.
- Sexual orientation. Respondents were asked whether they identify as lesbian/gay (coded as 1), bisexual (coded as 2), or heterosexual/straight (coded as 3).

Control Variables

I controlled for personal characteristics, educational characteristics, dating and consensual activity, and USC before college. The control variables that are measured on an ordinal scale use cumulative parameterization.

> The first level of the effect is a control or baseline level. Parameter estimates of the main effect, using the ordinal coding scheme, estimate the differences between effects of successive levels. When the parameters have the same sign, the effect is monotonic across the levels. (SAS Institute Inc., 2013, online documentation)

Accordingly, the reference category for each level of an ordinal measure, e.g., age, college class, is the previous level of the variable.

Age category. Age is a personal characteristic that was originally measured in the following nine categories: 18, 19, 20, 21, 22-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40 or older. Current research and theory suggest younger women are at increased assault risk. The questionnaire response option constraints and sparseness of observations in the older age groups led to collapsing this variable into three categories: 18-19, 20, and 21 or older. The variable was entered as an ordinal measure in the logistic regression analysis. Specifically, measures were 20 vs. 18-19, 21 and older vs 20.

Married or in a domestic partnership. Participants were asked to identify the status of their relationship by selecting from one of the five following response categories: married (or in a domestic partnership), divorced, widowed, separated, or never married. These categories were recoded into a dichotomous personal characteristic variable that indicated whether the respondent was married or in a domestic partnership (coded as 1) versus some other marital status (coded as 0).

Sexual incongruity. This personal characteristic variable is a dichotomy indicating whether the participant's reported sexuality, as measured by sexual orientation and sexual attraction responses, was theoretically consistent. While sexual orientation and sexual attraction are not methodologically congruent measures of sexuality, they are theoretically congruent. Three conditions exhibit sexual congruity: being attracted to men only and identifying as heterosexual/straight, being attracted to women only and identifying as lesbian/gay, and being attracted to both women and men and identifying as bisexual. These response patterns yielded a code of 0 for the sexual incongruity variable. All other combinations yielded a code of 1, indicating sexual incongruity.

College class. For the first educational characteristic, participants were asked to identify their year of study as freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, or other. Participants identified as "other" were excluded from analysis, because it was not possible to determine their classification. This variable was entered as a four-category ordinal measure in the logistic regression analysis.

Would still enroll in this college. A second educational characteristic variable asked whether participants would still choose to enroll at this college if they could make their college choice over. Responses were yes, no, or maybe. This variable was entered as an ordinal measure in the analysis, with no=1, maybe=2 and yes=3.

Member of sorority. This educational characteristic variable is a dichotomy indicating either that the participants pledged or joined a sorority since they began college (coded as 1) or that they had not (coded as 0).

Member of sports team. A final educational characteristic variable is a dichotomy indicating that the respondents had been on a sports team (including intramural/recreational sports, club teams, and varsity athletic teams) or that they had not (coded as 0).

Number of people dated during college. Respondents were asked how many people they had dated (however the respondent defined "dated"). Options were 0, 1-5, 6-10, 22-25, 26-50, 51-99, 100 or more. This ordinal measure was recoded into 0, 1-5, 6 or more.

Number of males had intercourse with during college. Respondents were asked how many males with whom they had consensual sexual intercourse. Options were 0, 1-5, 6-10, 22-25, 26-50, 51-99, 100 or more. This ordinal measure was recoded into 0, 1-5, 6 or more.

Had sexual contact with at least one female during college. Respondents were asked to identify the number of females with whom they had sexual contact. Options were 0, 1-5, 6-10, 22-25, 26-50, 51-99, 100 or more. Due to the sparseness of non-zero responses, this measure was recoded into a dichotomy indicating whether (1) or not (0) they had sexual contact with a female during college.

Unwanted Sexual Contact before College. This domain addressed experiences with attempted or completed USC at any time before the participant began college. The definition of USC was the same as for the dependent variable. All variables were measured as dichotomies, with 1 indicating that the contact occurred, and 0 indicating that it did not occur. Questions covered three types of USC (coerced, incapacitated, and forced) separately, as did questions regarding whether the incident was attempted or completed. These variables are:

- Attempted coerced USC before college
- Completed coerced USC before college
- Incapacitated: suspected incapacitated USC before college
- Completed incapacitated USC before college
- Attempted forced USC before college
- Completed forced USC before college

As with the dependent variables, both attempted and completed acts were considered indicators of occurrence of the event. Three dichotomous summary variables were created and included in the analysis:

- Coerced USC before college
- Incapacitated USC before college
- Forced USC before college

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Black feminism would suggest that given the social marginalization of Black women (e.g., racism and sexism), they would have increased vulnerability for sexual assault, even in situations in which the most likely offenders are Black men. To examine these notions using a routine activity approach, the first research question concerns which characteristics and situational factors are associated with the occurrence of sexual victimization of African American HBCU students. Three hypotheses related to this question were examined. Routine activity

theory suggests that college campuses are places where likely sexual offenders and suitable targets are present, frequently in the absence of capable guardians.

Hypotheses that speak to the measurable aspects of vulnerability are:

1. Women who use alcohol more frequently are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not.
2. Women who demonstrate a higher rate of attendance at social gatherings or places where alcohol is present and/or consumed are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who demonstrate a lower rate.
3. Women who express non-heteronormative sexual identity are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not.

The hypotheses were tested using logistic regression. The independent variables are listed in Table 2 as the Variables Relating to Vulnerability. Also included in the modeling process were the previously discussed control variables. Table 2 lists these variables as Personal Characteristics, Educational Characteristics, Extracurricular Activities, Dating and Consensual Sexual Activity, and USC before College.

The second research question is directly associated with Black feminists' notion of vulnerability posed by discrimination, in this instance homophobia. In accordance with routine activity theory, the existence of heterosexism contributes to stigma and homophobia, and therefore, with increased vulnerability for participants with non-heteronormative identities. In response to stigma, even if attracted to women or both women and men, lesbian and bisexual women engaging in Hine's (1989) culture of dissemblance, would identify their sexual orientation as heterosexual, thus expressing sexual incongruity.

Table 2.

Variables in the Logistic Regression Analysis

Independent Variables: **Measures Relating to Vulnerability** Frequency of drinking (factor score) Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) Non-heteronormative sexual identity Sexual attraction Sexual orientation **Control Variables:** **Personal Characteristics** Age category Married or in domestic partnership Sexual incongruity	**Educational Characteristics** College class Would still enroll in this college Member of sorority Member of sports team **Dating and Consensual Sexual Activity during College** Number of people dated Number of males had sexual intercourse with **USC before College** Coerced USC before college Incapacitated USC before college Forced USC before college

To address this question, the analysis was restricted to the subset of women who either identified their sexual orientation as non-heteronormative (i.e., lesbian or bisexual) or expressed non-heteronormative sexual attraction (i.e., attracted to women only or attracted to both women and men). The stated hypothesis is:

4. Women who express sexually incongruent non-heteronormative sexual identity are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not express sexual incongruity.

Table 3 presents the cross-tabulation of sexual attraction with sexual orientation for the full sample of 3,506 women. The yellow and blue shaded cells represent respondents in the subsample of non-heteronormative survey respondents; these participants were included in the examination of hypothesis 4. The analysis subgroup included a total of 348 women, representing 9.9% of the total sample. Among these, the yellow-shaded cells contain those respondents in the subsample who express sexual incongruity (*n*=174), while the blue-shaded cells contain those respondents who do not express sexual incongruity (*n*=174). The 3,158

respondents in the green-shaded cell (i.e., women who identify as heterosexual and are attracted to men only) were excluded from the subgroup analysis.

Table 3.

Subset of Non-heteronormative Participants

		Sexual Orientation/Identity			
		Lesbian or Gay	Bisexual	Heterosexual	Total
Sexual Attraction	Women only	52	1	31	84
	Both	7	122	133	262
	Men only	2	0	3,158	3,160
	Total	61	123	3,322	3,506

Analysis

ANALYSIS APPROACH

Hypotheses 1 through 3 were first examined with bivariate associations and then modeled using logistic regression. Due to the relatively small sample size and cell values, the fourth hypothesis was examined using bivariate analysis only.

For the first three hypotheses, logistic regression models estimated the log-odds of women having experienced USC during college as a function of their vulnerability and control variables (see Table 2). Analyses were conducted using the Logistic procedure in SAS/Stat version 12.1 (SAS Institute, Inc., 2013).

Models were estimated for four dependent variables: any type of USC, coerced USC, incapacitated USC, and forced USC. Formally, the dependent variable (y) for any individual (i) is the (natural) log-odds of USC occurrence (y=1 represents USC, y=0 represents no USC). For k explanatory variables and i=1,…, n individuals, the model is

$$\log\left(\frac{p_i}{1-p_i}\right) = \beta_1 x_{i1} + \ldots + \beta_k x_{ik}$$

where p_i is the probability that $y_i = 1$

and x represents each predictor.

ASSESSING MODEL FIT

Model fit was assessed in several steps. Initially the global null hypothesis was examined to ascertain whether at least 1 parameter was not equal to zero. Next the pseudo R^2 (max-rescaled R^2) was used to assess how well the independent variables predicted the dependent variable (using the finite number of independent variables selected for analysis). Although this statistic mimics the R^2 measure obtained for ordinary least squares regression that indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the model, it does not have the same interpretation. The pseudo R^2 statistic ranges from 0 (indicating that the model has no ability to predict the dependent variable) to 1 (indicating perfect predictive ability) (Allison, 2012).

Following evaluation of the pseudo R^2, the Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC), or *c*-statistic was examined. This measure ranges from 0 to 1, with higher numbers indicating increased probability of a correctly predictive overall model. The *c*-statistic shows how well the model can be used to distinguish sample members who have the event from those who do not (LaValley, 2008). The ROC allows creation of a graphical line of intersection between the high (1) and low (0) range of model sensitivity (*y*) and specificity (*x*). Sensitivity is the count of predicted positives divided by actual total of positives. Specificity is the count of predicted negatives divided by the total negatives. Hosmer, Lemeshow, and Sturdivant (2013) identify a range of .5 to .7 (.5 <= ROC < .7) as poor discrimination, .7 to .8 (.7 < = ROC < .8) as acceptable, .8 to .9 (.8 <= ROC < .9) as excellent, and .9 and above as outstanding.

Model fit was assessed with the Hosmer-Lemeshow (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1980) test, which evaluates how well the model is calibrated for the identified sample, i.e., how well the

predicted probabilities of the USC event reflect the actual occurrence of the event. This is accomplished by separating the sample into smaller test groups, according to percentiles of predicted probabilities. The model is deemed a good fit if the observed and expected number of events is consistent across groups. However, if the events differ greatly within any group, then the reported χ^2 statistic is significant and the data may not fit the model (LaValley, 2008).

Examination of predictors. First, predictors of USC were examined for evidence of multicollinearity, i.e., when two or more variables are highly correlated. When multicollinearity is present, it is difficult to draw a distinction between their effects on the dependent variable and instability of the coefficients can occur. Multicollinearity can also mask the influence and strength of coefficients (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Initially, examination of bivariate associations or correlations can give clues about what variables may exhibit multicollinearity in a logistic regression model. However, better information can be obtained using a weighted least squares (WLS) regression analysis performed after estimation of an initial logistic regression model. In this analysis, the weight is calculated as the predicted probability of the event (PRED) for an individual times 1 minus the predicted probability (PRED[1-PRED]). Then the WLS model is estimated using the same variables as the logistic regression analysis. Multicollinearity diagnostic tools examined include the tolerance and variance inflation factor (which is [1 ÷ tolerance]), as well as the condition index and eigenvalues. A tolerance below .40 is often cited as an indication that multicollinearity may be of concern (Allison, 2012). Additionally, eigenvalues near zero and/or a condition index greater than 30 suggest problematic levels of multicollinearity (Freund & Littell, 2000).

Interpreting estimates. Researchers typically interpret logistic regression parameter estimates in terms of odds ratios or relative risk. For theoretical reasons, several of the logistic regression predictors were entered into the models as ordinal (rather than nominal) variables. Odds ratios and relative risk, however, are not calculated for ordinal predictors. As a result, this

analysis interpreted parameter estimates in terms of the increase or decrease in the probability of event occurrence, i.e., the marginal effect. Based on the marginal effect, the increase or decrease in the probability for a 1-unit increase in *x* is dependent on two elements: (1) the logistic regression coefficient for *x*; and (2) the probability of the event. Allison (2012) provides the following formula:

$$\text{Marginal effect} = \beta p_i(1 - p_i)$$

where p_i =proportion of women in the sample who have experienced USC

and β = the logistic regression parameter estimate.

For illustration, consider the analysis of "any USC." In that model 1,444 of the 3,506 women in the sample (.41 or 41%) experienced the event. I applied the parameter estimate (β=.23) associated with the factor score for frequency of drinking:

$$\text{Marginal effect} = .23(.41(1-.41)) = .056.$$

Here, a one unit change in the factor score for frequency of drinking increased the probability of any USC by .056 or 5.6%. Similarly, a parameter estimate for the dichotomous variable indicating whether the woman is married (where yes=1) yields:

$$\text{Marginal effect} = -84(.41(1-.41)) = -.203.$$

The equation demonstrates that being married (as opposed to being unmarried) decreases the probability of USC by 20.3%.

However, for the ordinal variable age the interpretation is somewhat different. As described above, age is coded into three categories: 18-19 (=1), 20 (=2), and 21 and older (=3). Each category of an ordinal parameter is compared to its reference category, which is the previous (lower numbered) category. Thus, those 21 and older are compared to those 20 years old (i.e., 3 to 2); 20 year-olds are compared to the 18-19 year-olds (i.e., 2 to 1). The logistic regression parameter estimate for those 21 and older is -.24, and the parameter estimate for

those 20 years-old is -.15. Using the equation above, the change in the probability of USC is calculated as:

Marginal effect for women 20 years old vs. 18-19 years old = -.15(.41(1-.41)) = -.036

Marginal effect for women 21 and older vs. 20 years old = -.24(.41(1-.41)) = -.058

Therefore, the probability of USC for women 20 years old compared to those 18-19 years old is decreased by 3.6%. Likewise, women 21 and older compared to those 20 years old also have a decreased probability of USC, 5.8 %. In this example, each category was theorized to have an ordinal relationship. However, examination of both parameter estimates provides important evidence of ordinality because the negative sign associated with both parameter estimates shows a decrease in probability as age increases.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

This chapter will present information in three major sections. To begin, I summarize the overall characteristics of the participant sample. Then, I present the logistic regression analysis findings. These results inform the examination of hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 and are associated with the first research question. Finally, I present the results from the analysis of hypothesis 4, in the context of the second research question.

Sample Description

Table 4 presents overall descriptive information for the full sample in relation to the main dependent variable, any USC. Of the 3506 participants in the sample, a little more than 40% (*n*=1,444) experienced at least one of three types of attempted or completed USC during college. The most frequently experienced type of USC was coerced (36.5%), followed by incapacitated (14.7%), and forced (10%). Just over 16% of the sample (*n*=572) experienced more than one type of USC.

About 80% of respondents fell into the 18-19 age category (*n*=1,412) or 21 and older category (*n*=1,450). Not surprisingly, almost all respondents were single (96%). Even though 94.8% of women reported their sexual orientation as heterosexual, a smaller proportion (90%) reported being sexually attracted to men only. This observation is indicative of sexual incongruity among just under 5% of women in the sample.

The sample was approximately evenly distributed among college class levels. Just over 10% participated on a sports team, and 7.5% held membership in a sorority.

Table 4.

Descriptive Statistics for Variables in the Analysis of Any Unwanted Sexual Contact (USC) (n=3,506)

	Any attempted or completed USC during college				Overall	
	No (*N*=2,062)		Yes (*N*=1,444)		(*N*=3,506)	
Variable	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Alcohol use						
Frequency of being drunk						
Never drank alcohol	519	25.17	184	12.74	703	20.05
Never	642	31.13	341	23.61	983	28.04
Less than once a month	557	27.01	516	35.73	1073	30.60
At least once a month	344	16.68	403	27.91	747	21.31
Frequency of consuming drink from someone unknown						
Never drank alcohol	520	25.22	184	12.74	704	20.08
Never	1287	62.42	900	62.33	2187	62.38
Less than once a month	210	10.18	286	19.81	496	14.15
At least once a month	45	2.18	74	5.12	119	3.39
Frequency of consume unattended drink						
Never drank alcohol	520	25.22	184	12.74	704	20.08
Never	1488	72.16	1166	80.75	2654	75.70
Less than once a month	46	2.23	85	5.89	131	3.74
At least once a month	8	0.39	9	0.62	17	0.48
Frequency of binge drinking						
Never drank alcohol	519	25.17	184	12.74	703	20.05
Never	816	39.57	487	33.73	1303	37.16
Less than once a month	494	23.96	478	33.10	972	27.72
At least once a month	233	11.30	295	20.43	528	15.06
Situational exposure to alcohol						
Gone to bar/club						
Never	370	17.94	117	8.10	487	13.89
Less than once a month	860	41.71	542	37.53	1402	39.99
At least once a month	832	40.35	785	54.36	1617	46.12
Attended sorority party						
Never	1151	55.82	619	42.87	1770	50.48
Less than once a month	721	34.97	674	46.68	1395	39.79
At least once a month	190	9.21	151	10.46	341	9.73

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

	Any attempted or completed USC during college				Overall	
	No (*N*=2,062)		Yes (*N*=1,444)		(*N*=3,506)	(*N*=2,062)
Variable	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Attended fraternity party						
Never	841	40.79	368	25.48	1209	34.48
Less than once a month	916	44.42	770	53.32	1686	48.09
At least once a month	305	14.79	306	21.19	611	17.43
Attended party where alcohol served						
Never	354	17.17	81	5.61	435	12.41
Less than once a month	776	37.63	448	31.02	1224	34.91
At least once a month	932	45.20	915	63.37	1847	52.68
Sexual identity						
Sexual attraction						
Women	51	2.47	33	2.29	84	2.40
Both women and men	131	6.35	131	9.07	262	7.47
Men only	1880	91.17	1280	88.64	3160	90.13
Sexual orientation						
Lesbian/gay	38	1.84	23	1.59	61	1.74
Bisexual	68	3.30	55	3.81	123	3.51
Heterosexual/straight	1956	94.86	1366	94.60	3322	94.75
Lesbian/bisexual attraction or identity						
No	1880	91.17	1278	88.50	3158	90.07
Yes	182	8.83	166	11.50	348	9.93
Incongruity between sexual attraction and identity						
No	1981	96.07	1351	93.56	3332	95.04
Yes	81	3.93	93	6.44	174	4.96
Personal characteristics						
Age category						
18-19	855	41.46	557	38.57	1412	40.27
20	368	17.85	276	19.11	644	18.37
21 and older	839	40.69	611	42.31	1450	41.36
Married or in domestic partnership						
No	1959	95.00	1408	97.51	3367	96.04
Yes	103	5.00	36	2.49	139	3.96

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

	Any attempted or completed USC during college				Overall	
	No (*N*=2,062)		Yes (*N*=1,444)		(*N*=3,506)	(*N*=2,062)
Variable	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Educational characteristics						
College class						
Freshman	585	28.37	333	23.06	918	26.18
Sophomore	456	22.11	337	23.34	793	22.62
Junior	535	25.95	364	25.21	899	25.64
Senior	486	23.57	410	28.39	896	25.56
Still enroll in this college						
No	313	15.18	236	16.34	549	15.66
Maybe	612	29.68	457	31.65	1069	30.49
Yes	1137	55.14	751	52.01	1888	53.85
Participate on sports team						
No	1858	90.11	1282	88.78	3140	89.56
Yes	204	9.89	162	11.22	366	10.44
Member of sorority						
No	1940	94.08	1303	90.24	3243	92.50
Yes	122	5.92	141	9.76	263	7.50
Dating and consensual sexual activity						
Number of people dated during college	658	31.91	237	16.41	895	25.53
None						
1-5	1291	62.61	977	67.66	2268	64.69
6 or more	113	5.48	230	15.93	343	9.78
Number of males had intercourse with during college						
None	739	35.84	305	21.12	1044	29.78
1-5	1177	57.08	828	57.34	2005	57.19
6 or more	146	7.08	311	21.54	457	13.03
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female during college						
No	1913	92.77	1304	90.30	3217	91.76
Yes	149	7.23	140	9.70	289	8.24

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

	Any attempted or completed USC during college				Overall	
	No (*N*=2,062)		Yes (*N*=1,444)		(*N*=3,506)	(*N*=2,062)
Variable	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Unwanted sexual contact (USC) before college						
Any attempted or completed USC before college						
No	1604	77.79	464	32.13	2068	58.98
Yes	458	22.21	980	67.87	1438	41.02
Coerced USC before college						
No	1686	81.77	528	36.57	2214	63.15
Yes	376	18.23	916	63.43	1292	36.85
Incapacitated USC before college						
No	2012	97.58	1329	92.04	3341	95.29
Yes	50	2.42	115	7.96	165	4.71
Forced USC before college						
No	1892	91.76	1159	80.26	3051	87.02
Yes	170	8.24	285	19.74	455	12.98

Roughly 25% of the students reported having not dated at all during college. Close to 65% dated one to five people, while the remaining 10% had dated more than five people. Just under 30% stated that they did not engage in consensual sexual intercourse with males during college. However, of the women who were intimate, 57% had intercourse with one to five males, while 13% had intercourse with more than five males. A smaller percentage (8.2%) reported having consensual sexual contact with at least one female during college.

A little more than 41% (*n*=1,438) of the students experienced at least one of three types of attempted or completed USC at any time before college. Interestingly, this percentage is almost the same as that reported by those who experienced any USC during college. These two proportions do not necessarily include the same individuals, however; about 68% of those who experienced USC before college also experienced USC during college (see Table 4). The most frequently experienced type of USC before college was coerced (36.9%), followed by forced (13%), and incapacitated (4.7%). Almost 12% (*n*=412) of women victimized experienced more

than one type of USC before college. Notably, forced USC is the second most common type of USC experienced by African American students before college, yet it is the least common type of USC during college.

The remaining variables pertain to alcohol use, alcohol exposure, and party attendance during college, and are the measures used to derive the factor scores discussed in the previous chapter. Slightly over 20% of the women in the sample reported that they never drank alcohol during college. Close to 60% of the sample reported either that they had never been drunk (28%) or were drunk less often than once a month (30.6%). To assess binge drinking, the survey asked participants the frequency with which they consumed 4 or more drinks of alcohol in a row within about two hours. Although 37.2% indicated that they had never done so, 27.7% indicated doing so less than once a month, but 15.1% report binge drinking at least once a month. A little over 62% of respondents reported that they had never consumed a drink given to them by someone they did not know, while almost 4% reported doing so at least once a month. About 75% of the sample reported that they had never consumed a drink left unattended.

The students were surveyed about their situational exposure to alcohol at bars or clubs, or at parties where they were aware that alcohol was served. Separately, students were questioned about their attendance at sorority and fraternity parties (without reference to whether alcohol was present). Almost 40% went to a bar or club less than once a month, whereas 46% reported going to a bar or club at least once a month. About 35% reported going to a party where alcohol was served less than once a month, but 52.7% attended such a party at least once a month. About 50% of respondents reported that they had never attended a sorority party, while about 40% reported doing so less than once a month, and almost 10% reported doing so at least once a month. By contrast, the student responses suggest more interest in fraternity parties than sorority parties. Only 34.5% of women indicated that they never attended a fraternity party. Of students that reportedly attended fraternity parties, 48.1% attended less than once a month, while 17.4% attended at least once a month. Based on respondents who

attended Greek parties at least once per month, women were twice as likely to attend fraternity parties as sorority parties.

Research Question 1

MODEL 1: ANY USC

The first research question asks which characteristics and situational factors are associated with USC. The three hypotheses associated with this research question single out alcohol use, situational exposure to alcohol, and non-heteronormative sexual identity as independent variables. The model for any USC shows evidence for overall support for all three hypotheses (see Table 5). Specifically, a one unit change in the factor score for alcohol use increased the probability of experiencing any of the three types of USC by 5.7% ($p < .0001$). Similarly, a one unit change in the factor score for situational exposure to alcohol increased the probability of any USC by 4.5% ($p < .01$). Women who self-identified as heterosexual versus gay/lesbian evidenced decreased probability of experiencing USC by 34% ($p < .05$), whereas there appeared to be no effect on the probability of experiencing USC between women who identified their sexual orientation as gay/lesbian versus bisexual.

Other variables examined included personal characteristics, educational characteristics, dating and consensual sexual activity during college, and USC before college. In the overall model, age was not a significant predictor of any USC. Being married decreased one's likelihood of experiencing any USC by about 20.5% ($p < .01$), however.

College class was an important educational characteristic associated with any USC. Being a sophomore versus a freshman increased the probability of any USC by 6.6% ($p < .05$), but significant differences did not exist for juniors versus sophomores or seniors versus juniors. The parameter estimates also indicated that this measure does not have an ordinal relationship to any USC. Participation in a sorority increased the probability of experiencing any USC by 9.6% ($p < .05$).

Table 5.

Model 1: Any USC during College

Predictor	β	*SE*	% Increase or Decrease in Probability of USC
Independent variables: measures relating to vulnerability			
Frequency of drinking (factor score) - Hypothesis 1	0.23	0.06	5.7***
Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) - Hypothesis 2	0.19	0.06	4.5**
Non-heteronormative sexuality - Hypothesis 3			
Sexual attraction			
Both women and men vs. women only	-0.62	0.46	-14.9
Men only vs. women only	-0.30	0.61	-7.3
Sexual orientation			
Bisexual vs. gay/lesbian	-0.87	0.51	-21.1
Heterosexual/straight vs. gay/lesbian	-1.41	0.60	-34.1*
Personal Characteristics			
Age category			
20 vs. 18-19	-0.15	0.16	-3.6
21 and older vs. 20	-0.24	0.14	-5.8
Married or in a domestic partnership	-0.85	0.24	-20.5**
Sexual incongruity	0.25	0.65	6.1
Educational Characteristics			
College class			
Sophomore vs. freshman	0.27	0.13	6.6*
Junior vs. sophomore	0.00	0.15	0.1
Senior vs junior	0.22	0.13	5.4
Still enroll in this college			
Maybe vs. no	-0.05	0.12	-1.2
Yes vs. maybe	-0.17	0.09	-4.2
Member of sports team	0.09	0.13	2.1
Member of sorority	0.40	0.16	9.6*
Dating and consensual sexual activity during college			
Number of people dated			
1-5 vs. none	0.34	0.11	8.2**
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.34	0.15	8.2*
Number of males had sexual intercourse with			
1-5 vs. none	0.20	0.10	4.9
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.94	0.14	22.9***
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female	-0.63	0.18	-15.1***
Attempted or completed USC before college			
Coerced USC	2.06	0.09	50.0***
Incapacitated USC	0.55	0.21	13.2**
Forced USC	0.12	0.13	3.0

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

Max Rescaled pseudo $R^2 = .38$
ROC = .81
Hosmer-Lemeshow = 5.15 ($p = .74$)

Dating and consensual sexual activity during college also played a role, as the number of people dated and the number of sexual partners increased the probability of USC. Compared

to women who did not date, those who dated 1-5 people had an 8.2% higher probability of USC ($p < .01$). Further, when compared to women who dated 1-5 people, those who dated 6 or more people had an 8.2% ($p < .05$) higher probability of USC.

Women who had sex with 1-5 men did not have significantly increased probability of USC compared to those who did not have sex. However, when compared with women who had sex with 1-5 men, those who had more than six male sexual partners experienced the largest increase in probability of USC (22.9%, $p < .001$). By contrast, women who had sex with other women had a significantly lower probability of experiencing any USC than those who had not (15.1%, $p < .001$).

Finally, the probability of any USC during college was significantly increased by the experience of coerced (50.0%, $p < .001$) or incapacitated (13.2%, $p < .01$) USC before college. Prior forced USC was not significantly associated with any USC during college.

MODEL 2: COERCED USC

Model 2 shows evidence of support for the first two hypotheses (see Table 6). Specifically, a one unit change in the factor score for alcohol use increases the probability of coerced USC by 4.3% ($p < .01$). Similarly, a one unit change in the factor score for situational exposure to alcohol increased the probability of coerced USC by 5.9% ($p < .001$). Identifying oneself as heterosexual versus gay/lesbian or bisexual versus gay/lesbian has no effect on the probability of coerced USC.

As before, when age entered as an ordinal variable it was not a significant predictor of USC. However, being married decreased the probability of experiencing coerced USC by 17.2% ($p < .01$). The only educational characteristic significantly associated with coerced USC was sorority membership. Participation in a sorority increased the probability of coerced USC by 7.5% ($p < .05$).

Table 6.

Model 2: Coerced USC during College

Predictor	β	*SE*	% Increase or Decrease in Probability of USC
Independent variables: measures relating to vulnerability			
Frequency of drinking (factor score) - Hypothesis 1	0.18	0.06	4.3**
Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) - Hypothesis 2	0.26	0.06	5.9***
Non-heteronormative sexuality - Hypothesis 3			
Sexual attraction			
Both women and men vs. women only	-0.69	0.46	16.0
Men only vs. women only	0.84	0.59	-19.4
Sexual orientation			
Bisexual vs. gay/lesbian	0.82	0.52	19.1
Heterosexual/straight vs. gay/lesbian	-1.03	0.58	-24.0
Personal Characteristics			
Age category			
20 vs. 18-19	-0.20	0.16	-4.6
21 and older vs. 20	-0.23 l	0.14	-5.4
Married or in a domestic partnership	-0.74	0.25	-17.2**
Sexual incongruity	-0.10	0.62	-2.3
Educational Characteristics			
College class			
Sophomore vs. freshman	0.24	0.13	5.6
Junior vs. sophomore	0.05	0.15	1.2
Senior vs junior	0.22	0.13	5.1
Still enroll in this college			
Maybe vs. no	-0.15	0.13	-3.4
Yes vs. maybe	-0.08	0.10	-1.9
Member of sports team	0.18	0.13	4.2
Member of sorority	0.32	0.16	7.5*
Dating and consensual sexual activity during college			
Number of people dated			
1-5 vs. none	0.31	0.11	7.2**
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.30	0.15	6.9*
Number of males had sexual intercourse with			
1-5 vs. none	0.09	0.11	2.1
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.83	0.14	19.1***
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female	-0.67	0.18	-15.5***
Attempted or completed USC before college			
Coerced USC	2.28	0.09	52.8***
Incapacitated USC	0.50	0.20	11.6*
Forced USC	-0.11	0.2.	-2.6

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

Max Rescaled pseudo $R^2 = .43$
ROC = .82
Hosmer-Lemeshow = 13.42 ($p = .10$)

The choice to date or to engage in sex with males also had associated risk. Compared to women who did not date, women who dated 1-5 people had a significantly increased probability of experiencing coerced USC (7.2%, $p < .01$). Similarly, women who dated 6 or more people compared to those who dated 1-5 people had a 6.9% ($p < .05$) increase in the probability of coerced USC.

Women who did not have sex with males versus those who had sex with 1-5 males demonstrated no significant difference in coerced USC. However, when compared to 1-5 male partners, sex with 6 or more males was associated with a 19.1% ($p < .001$) increase in the probability of experiencing coerced USC. Women who reported engaging in sex with other women (compared to those who had not) experienced a significantly decreased probability of coerced USC (15.5%, $p < .001$).

Finally, the probability of experiencing coerced USC during college was significantly increased by the experience of coerced (52.8%, $p < .001$) and incapacitated (11.6, $p < .05$) USC before college. Prior forced USC was not significantly associated with coerced USC during college.

MODEL 3: INCAPACITATED USC

As in the previous models, a one unit change in the factor score for alcohol use increased the probability of an incapacitated USC by 2.6% ($p < .01$), whereas situational exposure to alcohol did not affect the probability (see Table 7).

Women who indicated that they were attracted to men only (versus women only) had a 17.3% lower probability of incapacitated USC. Identifying oneself as heterosexual/straight versus gay/lesbian decreases the probability of experiencing incapacitated USC by 17.9% ($p < .05$). Similarly, identifying as bisexual versus gay/lesbian significantly decreased the probability of USC by 31.1% ($p < .001$).

Table 7.

Model 3: Incapacitated USC during College

Predictor	β	*SE*	% Increase or Decrease in Probability of USC
Independent variables: measures relating to vulnerability			
Frequency of drinking (factor score) - Hypothesis 1	0.21	0.08	2.6**
Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) - Hypothesis 2	0.07	0.07	0.8
Non-heteronormative sexuality - Hypothesis 3			
Sexual attraction			
Both women and men vs. women only	-0.13	0.53	-1.6
Men only vs. women only	-1.38	0.60	-17.3*
Sexual orientation			
Bisexual vs. gay/lesbian	-2.48	0.61	-31.1***
Heterosexual/straight vs. gay/lesbian	-1.43	0.60	-17.9*
Personal Characteristics			
Age category			
20 vs. 18-19	0.05	0.19	0.7
21 and older vs. 20	-0.30	0.17	-3.8
Married or in a domestic partnership	-0.65	0.32	-8.1*
Sexual incongruity	-0.80	0.68	-10.1
Educational Characteristics			
College class			
Sophomore vs. freshman	0.38	0.17	4.8*
Junior vs. sophomore	-0.34	0.19	-4.3
Senior vs junior	0.40	0.16	5.0*
Still enroll in this college			
Maybe vs. no	-0.37	0.14	-4.7**
Yes vs. maybe	-0.25	0.12	-3.1*
Member of sports team	-0.21	0.17	-2.6
Member of sorority	-0.17	0.20	-2.1
Dating and consensual sexual activity during college			
Number of people dated			
1-5 vs. none	0.04	0.15	0.5
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.46	0.15	5.8**
Number of males had sexual intercourse with			
1-5 vs. none	0.75	0.16	9.5***
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.81	0.14	10.1***
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female	-0.40	0.20	-5.0*
Attempted or completed USC before college			
Coerced USC	0.89	0.11	11.2***
Incapacitated USC	0.94	0.19	11.8***
Forced USC	0.21	0.14	2.6

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

Max Rescaled pseudo $R^2 = .64$
ROC = .76
Hosmer-Lemeshow = 13.19 ($p = .11$)

As in the earlier two models, the ordinal measure of age did not influence the probability of experiencing an incapacitated USC. Being married decreased the probability of incapacitated

USC by 8.1% ($p < .05$). Among educational characteristics, sophomore college class rather than freshman status, was associated with a 4.8% ($p < .05$) increase in one's likelihood of experiencing incapacitated USC. However, there was no significance when juniors were compared to sophomores. Finally, seniors experienced 5.0% ($p < .05$) increase in probability compared to juniors. Although conceptually ordinal, this variable did not have an ordinal relationship to incapacitated USC. Neither participation in sports nor membership in a sorority was significantly associated with incapacitated USC.

Dating and consensual sexual activity remained associated with this type of sexual assault. While there appears to be no significant change in incapacitated USC probability when comparing dating 1-5 people versus none, a 5.8% ($p < .01$) increase in probability was found among respondents who dated 6 or more people versus 1-5 during college. Alternatively, both sex with 1-5 males (vs. none) and 6 or more males (versus 1-5) increased incapacitated USC probability by 9.5% ($p < .001$) and 10.1% ($p < .001$) respectively, thus indicating that the more male sexual partners a female student had in college, the higher the probability of incapacitated USC. As with prior models, respondents who engaged in sex with at least one female had a significantly decreased probability (5.0%, $p < .05$) of USC.

Finally, the probability of incapacitated USC during college was significantly increased by the experience of coerced (11.2%, $p < .001$) and incapacitated (11.8, $p < .001$) USC before college. As with the earlier USC models, forced USC continued to have no significant association with the experience of incapacitated USC.

MODEL 4: FORCED USC

The model for forced USC evidences support for only two of the three hypotheses (see Table 8). This last model identified that a one unit change in the factor score for situational exposure to alcohol (but not the respondent's alcohol use) increased the probability of a respondent experiencing a forced USC (1.9%, $p < .05$). The third hypothesis associated with this research question (non-heteronormative sexual identity) found that respondents who

identified as heterosexual did not have a significantly different probability of forced USC than those who identified themselves as gay/lesbian. However, selecting a bisexual orientation compared to gay/lesbian orientation was associated with decreased probability of forced USC 17.0% ($p < .01$). No other personal characteristics significantly impacted one's likelihood of experiencing forced USC.

While college class was an important educational characteristic in any and incapacitated USC, it was not significant in this model. As with both any and coerced USC models (but not incapacitated), participation in a sorority increased the probability of forced USC by 4.0% ($p < 05$).

Consensual sexual activity remained an influential predictor of forced USC, but, unlike in other models, the number of people dated was not a significant predictor. Compared to women who had sex with 1-5 males, those who had sex with six or more men had a significantly higher probability of forced USC (8.5%, $p < .001$). As evidenced in the previous models, women who had sex with other women also had a significantly lower probability of forced USC than those who had not (7.5%, $p < .001$).

Finally, the probability of forced USC during college was significantly increased by the experience of prior coerced (2.5%, $p < .05$) and forced (13.6, $p < .001$) USC. Experiencing incapacitated USC prior to college was not significantly associated with forced USC during college, however. See Appendix C for a summary of the models, showing the significant predictors for each type of USC.

Table 8.

Model 4: Incapacitated USC during College

Predictor	β	*SE*	% Increase or Decrease in Probability of USC
Independent variables: measures relating to vulnerability			
Frequency of drinking (factor score) - Hypothesis 1	0.09	0.09	0.8
Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) - Hypothesis 2	0.21	0.09	1.9*
Non-heteronormative sexuality - Hypothesis 3			
Sexual attraction			
Both women and men vs. women only	-0.18	0.60	-1.6
Men only vs. women only	-1.76	0.97	-15.8
Sexual orientation			
Bisexual vs. gay/lesbian	-1.89	0.68	-17.0**
Heterosexual/straight vs. gay/lesbian	-0.91	0.96	-8.2
Personal Characteristics			
Age category			
20 vs. 18-19	-0.19	0.24	-1.7
21 and older vs. 20	0.10	0.20	0.9
Married or in a domestic partnership	-0.47	0.35	-4.3
Sexual incongruity	-1.34	1.03	-12.0
Educational Characteristics			
College class			
Sophomore vs. freshman	0.14	0.19	1.2
Junior vs. sophomore	-0.03	0.22	-0.3
Senior vs junior	0.07	0.18	0.6
Still enroll in this college			
Maybe vs. no	-0.44	0.16	-3.9**
Yes vs. maybe	-0.06	0.14	-0.5
Member of sports team	-0.29	0.21	-2.6
Member of sorority	0.45	0.20	4.0*
Dating and consensual sexual activity during college			
Number of people dated			
1-5 vs. none	0.02	0.17	0.2
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.07	0.18	0.6
Number of males had sexual intercourse with			
1-5 vs. none	0.17	0.17	1.5
6 or more vs. 1-5	0.94	0.16	8.5***
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female	-0.84	0.23	-7.5***
Attempted or completed USC before college			
Coerced USC	0.28	0.13	2.5*
Incapacitated USC	0.26	0.22	2.4
Forced USC	1.52	0.14	13.6***

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

Max Rescaled pseudo $R^2 = .74$
ROC = .74
Hosmer-Lemeshow = 17.66 ($p = .02$)

Research Question 2

Can non-heteronormative sexuality can be used to explore the existence of the culture of dissemblance? If so, does it offer protection against sexual victimization? In the context of the present study, the question concerns whether women who express both a non-heteronormative sexual identity and sexual incongruity have an increased risk of unwanted sexual contact compared to those who do not exhibit incongruity. This research question was addressed by testing hypotheses 4:

4. Women who express sexually incongruent non-heteronormative sexual identity are more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not express sexual incongruity.

A bivariate statistical analysis was used to determine whether a significant relationship existed between sexual incongruity and USC among the 348 women in the sample who acknowledged non-heteronormative sexuality. Interestingly, this group was evenly split on the measure of sexual incongruity. Because the measures of sexuality were all nominal, chi-square tests and measures of association were used to examine the hypothesis (see Table 9). Chi-square tests indicated rejection of the null hypothesis (of no association between sexual incongruity and USC) for three out of four relationships tested ($p < .05$, $df = 1$). As Table 9 demonstrates, in the measures for any, coerced, and incapacitated USC, a greater proportion of women who were sexually incongruent experienced USC. Although the χ^2 indicated that the relationship observed was not due to chance, the φ-coefficient indicated that the association between sexual incongruity and all types of USC was very weak. The relationship for forced USC was not significant. The lack of significance may be partially due to the rarity of the event.

Table 9

Bivariate Associations between USC and Sexual Incongruity, Non-heteronormative Participants

USC during College	Total (*n*=348)	Sexual Incongruity: Yes (*n*=174)	Sexual Incongruity: No (*n*=174)	χ^2	φ
Any	166 (47.7%)	93 (53.5%)	73 (42.0%)	4.61*	.12
Coerced	151 (43.4%)	86 (49.4%)	65 (37.4%)	5.16*	.12
Incapacitated	80 (23.0%)	49 (28.2%)	31 (17.8%)	5.26*	.12
Forced	49 (14.1%)	28 (16.1%)	21 (12.1%)	1.16	.06

* $p < .05$

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND NEXT STEPS

This exploratory study offers several important contributions to the public health problem of sexual violence. As discussed above, the lack of attention to sexual assault among African American females is not simply historical, but contemporary. As such, it was important to consider this problem through a culturally sensitive lens. The tenets of Black feminism guided selection of the population of interest and the dataset. Accordingly, the research questions also evolved from this perspective. Routine activity theory provided the backdrop to select and quantify variables associated with decreased and increased risk of victimization.

In the previous chapter, answers were provided for the empirical questions that first guided this exploration of USC among women students at HBCUs: (1) which characteristics and situational factors are associated with the occurrence of sexual victimization; and (2) can non-heteronormative sexuality be used to explore the existence of the culture of dissemblance, and, if so, does it offer protection against sexual victimization?

Summary of Findings

RESEARCH QUESTION 1

The answer to the first question is predictably complex and, for the most part, associated with the particular type of sexual assault under exploration. The first two hypotheses focused on the influence of alcohol in sexual violence – the individual's use as well as involvement in situations in which she and/or others may be drinking. The third hypothesis addressed the role of non-heteronormative sexuality in USC.

Hypotheses 1 and 2. Frequency of drinking and situational exposure to alcohol were not consistently predictive of USC. Controlling for all other measures, higher factor scores on

frequency of drinking and situational exposure were associated with a higher probability of coerced USC.[4] Based on the sexual assault literature, above, this finding was expected. The predictor associated with the largest increase in the probability of coerced USC during college is coerced USC before college. Incapacitated prior USC also increased the probability, but to a much lower degree than prior coerced USC; prior forced USC was not a significant predictor.

Outside of her prior USC experience, the profile of the type of woman most likely to experience coerced USC is one who is unmarried, a member of a sorority, has dated during college, had sexual intercourse with at least six men, and has not had sexual contact with women. In some respects, this profile may speak to greater exposure to situations in which coercion is likely to occur; these women date, are single, and are more likely to attend parties.

Greater frequency of drinking was also associated with an increased probability of incapacitated USC, yet situational exposure to alcohol was not linked. This finding may be partially due to the fact that an incapacitated sexual assault can occur in the absence of others (e.g., capable guardians). Prior coerced and incapacitated USC are still the primary characteristics that increased the probability of incapacitated USC; prior forced USC was not significant. Apart from experiencing one or more types of prior USC, the profile of the type of woman most likely to experience an incapacitated USC is one who is unmarried, identifies as lesbian or attracted to women only, had not had sexual contact with at least one woman, has dated six or more people during college, and has had sexual intercourse with men. The discussion of the third hypothesis will further examine the relationship between non-heteronormative sexuality and USC.

The predictors of forced USC differed from coerced and incapacitated USC in several ways. Frequency of drinking was not significant, but a greater degree of situational exposure to

[4]Recall that coercion involves getting a woman to have sexual contact by "telling …lies, making promises, threatening to end a relationship, threatening to spread rumors about [her], or verbally pressuring [her]." Incapacitated USC occurs when the woman is passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2013, p. 14).

alcohol significantly increased the probability of forced USC, as did prior forced and coerced USC. In the college environment, predictors that increased the probability of forced sexual assault are having had sexual intercourse with 6 or more men (vs. 1-5) and being a member of a sorority. Being bisexual (vs. lesbian) and having had sexual contact with at least one woman decreases the probability.

Coerced USC involves conversation between the offender and victim, while incapacitated and forced USC may or may not. USC that involves coercion or incapacitation only, by definition, does not involve overt violence. In the commission of a forced USC, the offender may use coercion and incapacitation as tools to accomplish the violent act. For example, Lisak and Miller's (2002) research suggests that most offenders are aware and intentional about their behavior, but hope that others may interpret it as a misunderstanding or a case of things getting out of hand.

In summary, as illustrated in Table 10, the data show support for the first hypothesis, in terms of coerced and incapacitated USC, but not forced. There is also evidence of support for the second hypothesis for coerced and forced USC, but not incapacitated.

These findings parallel much other research on campus sexual assault and use of substances, (including illicit drugs[5]). In the context of the college environment, most research has shown that the use of alcohol is associated with sexual assault (Cass, 2007; Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010). The association occurs for several reasons that are consistent with routine activity theory.

[5]Illicit drug use was also examined, but was excluded from the analysis. Only 20% of respondents had used marijuana more than twice during college; bivariate associations with USC were not significant. In addition, only about 5% had used any other illicit drugs (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011).

Table 10.

Overview of Logistic Regression Models

Hypothesis: Independent Variable		Type of USC*			
		Any	Coerced	Incapacitated	Forced
1:	Frequency of drinking	✓	✓	✓	
2.	Situational exposure to alcohol	✓	✓		✓
3.	Non-heteronormative sexuality				
	Sexual attraction			Men only vs. women only	
	Sexual orientation	Heterosexual vs. gay only			Bisexual vs. gay only
Subset of respondents acknowledging non-heteronormative sexuality					
4.	Sexual incongruity	✓	✓	✓	

Note. Check marks indicate which independent variables were significantly predictive of each outcome.

First, alcohol is often believed to decrease the inhibitions of both the likely perpetrators and victims. The decrease in inhibition may lead some men to act on stereotypes about women who drink (i.e., that intoxicated women are more sexually available). In addition, alcohol's effects on cognition may make it difficult for women to assess risk and respond to unwanted advances. By the same token, impaired cognition may make men less able to assess the situation accurately. Finally, college drinking typically occurs in unsupervised environments (e.g., bars, fraternity parties).

Routine activity theorists suggest that in the college environment, alcohol often masks the presence of motivated offenders, while exposing the vulnerability of potential victims (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002). Specifically, Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, and Alvi (2001) found that college men view women who drink as suitable targets for sexual offenses. Further, men

who drink at least twice a week and who know or associate with males who promote violence against women were ten times as likely to admit to being sexual aggressors as others.

Like this study, a study by Schwartz and Pitts (1995) observed the relationship between sexual assault and victim's use of alcohol. Neither they nor I suggest that use of alcohol indicates that women share responsibility with the perpetrator. The perpetrator alone holds responsibility for the decision to commit the assault. In fact, Schwartz and Pitts (1995) point out that "none of the literature argues for women's implied complicity in other victimizations—for example, that thieves who steal a drunken woman's purse should not be prosecuted if she might have prevented the crime by staying sober" (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995, pp. 14-15).

Otherwise identifying patterns of perpetration could suggest that thorough awareness and critique of potential victim behaviors can prevent perpetration. However, this risk reduction position could easily become a slippery slope, inferring victim responsibility (rather than perpetrator accountability).

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis related to Research Question 1, which addressed the role of non-heteronormative sexuality in predicting USC. As discussed earlier, the term non-heteronormative acknowledges the social presumption of heterosexism, i.e., the attempts to privilege heterosexual (straight) identity as normative.[6] Conceptually, the term reflects the oppressive and systematic exclusion experienced by individuals in a statistical minority. Therefore, for this hypothesis, logistic regression examined sexual attraction and sexual orientation as the direct indicators of non-heteronormative sexuality.

Black feminist perspective identifies the existence of both sexism and homophobia, either of which may occur on college campuses. Routine activity theory would suggest that anyone who does not reflect heterosexism and it accompanying standardized gender roles and

[6]Final agreement does not exist about whether sexuality is biological or social, or whether it is fixed or fluid. The measures of non-heteronormative sexuality in this study cannot account for the possibility that sexuality may not be firmly established in some respondents.

identities may be more vulnerable to a variety of types of crimes. By extension, having any element of a non-heteronormative sexual identity could contribute to vulnerability: guardians are either incapable or unwilling to create welcoming environments for sexual minorities; motivated offenders may gamble that non-heteronormative students have fewer social, academic or legal allies. Therefore, non-heteronormative students are hypothesized to be associated with increased probability of sexual victimization (or conversely, heteronormative respondents would evidence a decrease).

Support for the third hypothesis was mixed, however (see Table 10), depending on the type of USC examined. The analysis did not show support for the hypothesis in regard to coerced USC. However, the probability of experiencing incapacitated USC decreased for those who were sexually attracted to men only versus women only and those who identified as heterosexual or bisexual versus gay/lesbian. There was no significant difference in the probability of incapacitated USC between those who reported sexual attraction to both men and women versus women only. The results also show that being bisexual versus gay/lesbian significantly reduced the probability of forced USC, but no other measures of sexual attraction or orientation were significant.[7] In summary, some of the findings suggest that non-heteronormative sexual identity may influence USC. In this study, the increased in vulnerability suggested by routine activity was not consistent. Because the findings differed by type of USC, future research should disaggregate how vulnerability relates to the different types of USC.

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Limiting the sample to African American females created an opportunity to explore whether non-heteronormative respondents might attempt to mitigate individual (inter- and intra-

[7]Even though the independent variables related this hypothesis showed mixed results, two related control variables showed consistent effects on the probability of all types of USC. Women who had at least one sexual contact with another woman were significantly less likely to have experienced USC, and women who had sex with six or more males were significantly more likely to experience USC (see Appendix C).

personal) marginalized identities. This research question led to the hypothesis that women who express sexually incongruent non-heteronormative sexual identity were more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact than those who do not express sexual incongruity. Here, I explored the culture of dissemblance. As hypothesized, women whose responses indicated sexual incongruity did experience higher and statistically significant incidents of sexual assault in general (see Table 10). However, evidence that the observed difference did not occur by chance is tempered by the negligible magnitude of the measure of association (φ-coefficient) between sexual incongruity and USC; the significant difference between the participants is of such small magnitude that it is clinically irrelevant.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

USE OF COMPLEMENTARY THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The HBCU-CSA is the first large-scale examination of sexual assault at HBCUs; it represents the experiences of thousands of Black women. The explicit use of theory in the current study to frame and quantify the unique experiences of this population is novel but long overdue.

Foundational to understanding Black feminism is the awareness that Black women in the United States have a unique standpoint. Black feminists' conceptualize discrimination and consequent oppression, revealing the intersection of power and vulnerability. Since this perspective does not lend itself easily to measureable constructs, a major theoretical strength of this study is the incorporation of routine activity theory to identify people, situations, or settings that may increase a woman's vulnerability to sexual assault. Given the parameters of the study, though, a comprehensive examination of the constructs of Black feminist thought and routine activity theory was not possible.

REDEFINING SEXUAL ASSAULT

The HBCU-CSA study asked respondents to indicate their experience with USC based on questions that describe behaviors to identify incidents of USC, rather than questions that rely on legal terminology (e.g., rape). Research has shown that behaviorally based questions yield more accurate and complete information, as well as higher prevalence rates of USC, than questions relying on legal terminology (Krebs, 2014).

Even so, considerable debate exists regarding how USC is defined (Krebs, 2014; Rennison & Addington, 2014). Researchers estimating the prevalence and incidence of sexual assault have generally chosen to adopt a legalistic continuum of definitions; de facto rankings include the extent and type of weapon use, type and degree of sexual contact, and the modus operandi of the assailant (coerced, incapacitated, forced). In this continuum, attempts are considered less serious than completed acts. Understandably, members of the criminal justice system cannot apply legal consequences to a perpetrator without clarity about an incident.

As researchers, we need to be conscientious about how we define USC because it not only determines what constitutes a "real" sexual assault but also determines who we define as a "legitimate" victim. The majority of sexual assaults are not reported the police, and if reported, are not often successfully prosecuted (Planty, Langton, Krebs, Berzofsky, & Smiley-McDonald, 2013). Therefore, these distinctions may not be useful to survivors outside of the criminal justice framework. In a clinical context, survivors may seek treatment rather than, or in addition to, legal action. Burdened by the trauma of a sexual assault, many survivors find little comfort in the distinction between an attempted sexual assault versus a completed one. It is for this reason that I chose to expand the typical definition to include both attempted USC and coerced USC, based on clinical expertise with survivors and perpetrators.

Table 11 demonstrates the impact of broadening the definition of USC. It presents data for Black students from the 2005 CSA (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007) study and the 2008 HBCU-CSA study (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011). The HBCU-CSA study

replicated the 2005 CSA study. Krebs, Lindquist, and Barrick (2011) reported prevalence data for black students at HBCUs and non-HBCUs; the first two columns in Table 11 reflect these comparisons. The third column is data from the present study.

These numbers show a marked increase in prevalence when attempted assaults and coerced USC are included. When expanding the definition, the prevalence of any USC roughly quadruples. In addition, a broader definition is likely to affect the predictors of USC. Recall that coerced USC before college was associated with a significant increase in the probability of all three types of USC during college. In addition, both alcohol use and situational exposure to alcohol were predictive of coerced USC. Only drinking was predictive of incapacitated USC. Only situational exposure was predictive of forced USC. Methodological Considerations

The challenges experienced in this study are largely endemic to the use of secondary data, survey research in general, and sexual assault research in particular. Primarily, I was bound by the methods of the original study's investigators, particularly regarding their question development and recruitment. One limitation in the questions was the inability to determine the order of events for those who were sexually assaulted during college, because most questions did not include a time referent. Most questions covering attitudes and activities were in the format, "Since you began college, how often have you…" done/felt/experienced [item being measured] (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2013). While helpful in providing the general prevalence of behavior and attitudes of the respondents, it was not possible to determine whether and, if so, how an assault changed the behavior or attitude being measured.

In addition, the HBCU-CSA study had a low response rate (24.9%). In spite of the low response rate, I chose to use this study because my work is exploratory and my population of interest is female students at HBCUs. The HBCU-CSA study represents the largest sample and most detailed information available about sexual assault of African American women students generally, and HBCU students in particular.

Table 11.

Comparison across Studies of Sexual Assault of African American College Students

	% with completed assault		% with attempted or completed assault
Type of sexual assault	CSA 2005[a] (*n*=1,018)	HBCU-CSA 2008[b] (*n*=3,224)	HBCU-CSA 2008[c] (*n*=3,506)
Before entering college			
Any sexual assault	9.6	10.0	41.0
Coerced	--	--	36.9
Incapacitated	3.9	3.0	4.7
Forced	7.0	8.3	13.0
During college			
Any sexual assault	9.5	9.6	41.2
Coerced	--	--	36.5
Incapacitated	4.4	6.6	14.7
Forced	4.5	4.7	10.0

-- Not reported

[a] CSA Study (Krebs, et al., 2011)
[b] HBCU-CSA Study (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011)
[c] Present study (from HBCU-CSA sample)

Necessarily, the intentional focus on African American females enrolled at HBCUs framed the issue of generalizability; I did not intend to generalize beyond this population. Rather, the goal was to fill a gap that exists in contemporary research on sexual violence among college students. Therefore, the relevant question is whether the HBCU-CSA sample is generalizable to HBCUs, especially with regard to geography and student body composition. The four schools selected for the RTI study represent a purposive sample, rather than a sample

in which schools had a known probability of selection. RTI, however, reported that the schools varied by size, geography, and public/private status (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011).

Implications for Future Research

Black feminists advocate that well-designed research must be grounded using clear theoretical and cultural approaches. Applied to sexual assault, Black feminist theoretical perspectives challenge researchers to include questions that are not just quantitatively valid and reliable, but are qualitatively responsive to the cultural characteristics of these women who have experienced, or are at risk for sexual assault (Collins, 1986). This study's findings demonstrate that judicious use of theory can tap into increasingly complex interactions involving the social constructs of identity and stigma. All research that considers individuals within their environment has value, but it is imperative that researchers develop direct measures of intersecting identities and stigma (Bowleg, 2008). Therefore, future research should consider the overall value of Black feminists' theoretical frameworks in the design of sexual assault studies.

As 2010 marked the 15th anniversary of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), researchers are increasingly requested to evaluate and demonstrate that developed interventions effectively decrease sexual violence. While there has been progress since the Act's passage, attention to special needs populations lags behind. Researchers who build on this work should heed several research recommendations for improving the development and effectiveness of future interventions. As a brief example, Fisher and colleagues (2010) emphasize prospective longitudinal designs, large samples, random assignment to treatment and control groups for program evaluation, and behaviorally specific measures (e.g., sexual assault victimization, information about perpetrators). To expand beyond simple prevalence and incidence estimates, researchers will benefit from oversampling traditionally marginalized populations to enable examination of correlates and predictors of phenomena of interest.

Implications for Interventions

Social workers pledge to uphold six principles that inform social work practice: (1) service to persons experiencing need, vulnerability, or social problems; (2) activism through social change to promote social justice; (3) acknowledgment and respect for the dignity and worth inherent in each individual; (4) recognition that human relationships serve as a fulcrum for positive change; (5) behavior that broadcasts integrity and inspires trust; and (6) demonstration of competence (National Association of Social Workers, 2008).

Sexual assault is arguably a value-driven crime that opposes social justice. Therefore, according to social work values and principles, the only way that justice can be achieved is for social workers to challenge both individual and institutionalized forms of oppression (Reisch, 2008). Black feminists have long noted intertwining threads connecting sexual, gender, and class-based violence. They also identify interconnecting oppression as central to many Black feminist theoretical constructions of violence, as well as contemporary theories of intersectionality (Murphy, Hunt, Zajicek, Norris, & Hamilton, 2008).

Social workers must address the historical context in which contemporary issues have developed (Reisch, 2008). It is important to shift the dominant paradigm that often minimizes the perspective of women of color. Doing so will improve the development of sexual violence research and practice. Therefore, many opportunities exist for rich, creative approaches in the sexual assault field. Despite the slow evolution of the field to provide and evaluate culturally sensitive practice and interventions, there also is an unavoidable need to address cultural barriers to recruitment, treatment provision, and treatment outcomes. These factors provide the basis for future evidence-based, empirically sound, and theoretically grounded sexual assault interventions.

This study advocates a broader definition of USC and provides validity to the importance of funding not only primary, but also secondary and tertiary interventions. In particular, the large

proportion of victims who experienced coercion suggests that this scenario needs priority in primary prevention programming, helping individuals recognize and intervene in coercive situations. For secondary and tertiary prevention, the empirical data on the extent of coerced USC is important for practitioners and victims alike. When victims present in a therapeutic context, self-doubt and self-blame are common. When a therapist has clarity about the context in which coerced USC occurs, he or she can provide unwavering clarity about the nature of the assault. In addition, the examination of students with marginalized sexual identities has implications for interventions at all levels. The findings about the vulnerability of lesbian and bisexual students should lead to the development of interventions that specifically address this population.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this paper proffers that given the unique historical experience of sexual assault for African American women in the United States, cultural considerations are necessary in research and interventions. Specifically, it is imperative to provide culturally sensitive and well-trained researchers to examine sexual assault and to create and test sexual assault interventions. If we are to effect change in the dominant paradigm it is necessary for researchers to actively seek out partnerships that facilitate the inclusion of these missing perspectives. Similarly, it is necessary that interventions for potential and actual perpetrators and victims of sexual assault reflect cultural sensitivity.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

Culture of Dissemblance: An attempt to mitigate individual (inter- and intra-personal) marginalized identities by deliberately hiding aspects of these identities.

Coerced: Unwanted sexual contact achieved using threats of nonphysical punishment, promises of rewards if victim complies sexually, or continual verbal pressure.

Forced: Unwanted sexual contact by use of force or threats of force. Can include someone holding down the victim with his or her body weight, pinning the victim's arms, hitting or kicking, or using or threatening to use a weapon against the victim.

Heteronormative: Self-identify on survey as heterosexual OR express attraction to men only.

Heterosexism: The identification of heterosexual (straight) identity as normative. Conceptually, the term references the oppressive and systematic exclusion experienced by individuals in a statistical minority.

Incapacitated: Unwanted sexual contact that occurs when the victim is unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because victim was passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep.

Incidence: Number of new cases in a given time period/total number in the population at risk at that time period.

Non-heteronormative: Self-identify on survey as lesbian/gay or bisexual OR express attraction to women or to both men and women. The term non-heteronormative acknowledges the social presumption of heterosexism.

Prevalence: The proportion of the referenced population that is affected by the phenomenon being measured for a given timeframe.

Sexual Incongruity: Sexual incongruity is defined as survey responses in which women: (1) identify as lesbian but are not attracted to women only; (2) identify as bisexual but are not attracted to both men and women; or (3) identify as heterosexual but are not attracted to men only.

Unwanted Sexual Contact (USC): Used interchangeably with the term Sexual Assault in this study.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPT FROM THE HBCU-CSA DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT (Krebs, Lindquist, & Barrick, 2011, pp. 18-20)

Experiences

This section of the interview asks about nonconsensual or unwanted sexual contact you may have experienced. When you are asked about whether something happened since you began college, please think about what has happened since you entered any college or university. The person with whom you had the unwanted sexual contact could have been a stranger or someone you know, such as a family member, spouse, or someone you were dating or going out with.

These questions ask about five types of unwanted sexual contact:

- forced touching of a sexual nature (forced kissing, touching of private parts, grabbing, fondling, rubbing up against you in a sexual way, even if it is over your clothes)
- oral sex (someone's mouth or tongue making contact with your genitals or your mouth or tongue making contact with someone else's genitals)
- sexual intercourse (someone's penis being put in your vagina)
- anal sex (someone's penis being put in your anus)
- sexual penetration with a finger or object (someone putting their finger or an object like a bottle or a candle in your vagina or anus).

Sometimes unwanted sexual contact may be achieved using threats of nonphysical punishment, promises of rewards if you comply sexually, or continual verbal pressure. The next questions ask about unwanted sexual contact resulting from verbal or non-physical coercion.

	Before you began college	Since you began college
Has anyone gotten you to have sexual contact with them by telling you lies, making promises, threatening to end a relationship, threatening to spread rumors about you, or verbally pressuring you?	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No
Has anyone attempted but not succeeded in getting you to have sexual contact with them by telling you lies, making promises, threatening to end a relationship, threatening to spread rumors about you, or verbally pressuring you?	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No

The next sets of questions ask about two additional situations in which you may have experienced unwanted sexual contact:

- unwanted sexual contact that involved force or threats of force against you
- unwanted sexual contact while you were unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because you were passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep

If you have experienced an incident that involved both of these situations at the same time (e.g., you were drugged and then physically forced into sexual contact), please answer affirmatively only for the question that asks about unwanted sexual contact while you were unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because you were passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep.

The questions below ask about unwanted sexual contact that involved force or threats of force against you. Force could include someone holding you down with his or her body weight, pinning your arms, hitting or kicking you, or using or threatening to use a weapon against you.

	Before you began college	Since you began college
Has anyone had sexual contact with you by using physical force or threatening to physically harm you?	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No
Has anyone attempted but not succeeded in having sexual contact with you by using or threatening to use physical force against you?	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No

The next set of questions ask about your experiences with unwanted sexual contact while you were unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because you were passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep. These situations might include times that you voluntarily consumed alcohol or drugs and times that you were given drugs without your knowledge or consent.

	Before you began college	Since you began college
Has someone had sexual contact with you when you were unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because you were passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep? This question asks about incidents that you are certain happened.	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No
Have you suspected that someone has had sexual contact with you when you were unable to provide consent or stop what was happening because you were passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep? This question asks about events that you think (but are not certain) happened.	○ Yes ○ No	○ Yes ○ No

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS OF USC DURING COLLEGE

(Significant Predictors Only, $p < .05$)

Predictor	% Increase/Decrease in Probability of USC		
	Coerced	Incapaci-tated	Forced
Independent variables: measures relating to vulnerability			
Frequency of drinking (factor score) - Hypothesis 1	4.3	2.6	
Situational exposure to alcohol (factor score) - Hypothesis 2	5.9		
Non-heteronormative sexuality - Hypothesis 3			
Sexual attraction			
Both women and men vs. women only			
Men only vs. women only		-17.3	
Sexual orientation			
Bisexual vs. gay/lesbian		-31.1	-17.0
Heterosexual/straight vs. gay/lesbian		-17.9	
Personal Characteristics			
Age category			
20 vs. 18-19			
21 and older vs. 20			
Married or in a domestic partnership	-17.2	-8.1	
Sexual incongruity			
Educational Characteristics			
College class			
Sophomore vs. freshman		4.8	
Junior vs. sophomore			
Senior vs junior		5.0	
Still enroll in this college			
Maybe vs. no		-4.7	-3.9
Yes vs. maybe		-3.1	
Member of sports team			
Member of sorority	7.5		4.0
Dating and consensual sexual activity during college			
Number of people dated			
1-5 vs. none	7.2		
6 or more vs. 1-5	6.9	5.8	
Number of males had sexual intercourse with			
1-5 vs. none		9.5	
6 or more vs. 1-5	19.1	10.0	8.5
Had sexual contact with at least 1 female	-15.5	-5.0	-7.5
Attempted or completed USC before college			
Coerced USC	52.8	11.2	2.5
Incapacitated USC	11.6	11.8	
Forced USC			13.6

= Predictor increases probability of USC

= Predictor decreases probability of USC

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