Social Contexts and Social Learning in Sexual Coercion and Aggression: Assessing the Contribution of Fraternity Membership

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A social learning theory of deviant behavior (Akers, 1985) is used to identify the process through which fraternity membership may be correlated with sexual aggression. Fraternity members are significantly more likely than "independents" to engage in nonphysical coercion and to use drugs and alcohol as a sexual strategy but do not differ significantly in their use of physical coercion. When the social learning variables are controlled fraternity membership has no significant effect on sexual coercion and aggression.

In the past decade, many universities across the nation have experienced sexual assaults against female students committed by acquaintances as well as by strangers. Many studies have estimated that 20 to 25% of college women have been victims of sexual aggression (Koss, 1985, Koss & Gidycz, 1985; Makepeace, 1981; Rappaport & Burkhart, 1984). Rapes by male students in fraternity houses have received special attention (Earhart & Sandler, 1985; Tash, 1988).

These cases of sexual aggression involving fraternity members raise the question of responsibility and accountability. Are rapes committed by fraternity members simply the result of personality problems of the individuals involved—and thus, appropriately resolved by punishing the individuals and leaving the fraternal organization intact—or are they a reflection of the organizational and group context of fraternities? If so, intervention efforts directed at individual fraternity members alone may be less effective than those directed at the fraternity as a whole.

Previous research on date/acquaintance rape has largely failed to examine the impact of group structure and processes, focusing instead on individual values and psychological characteristics of the perpetrators (Martin & Hummer, 1989). This article uses a social learning framework in an attempt to understand better the interpersonal process by which some men come to engage in sexual coercion and aggression. By comparing the interactional context of fraternity members and independents, the influence of fraternity membership in this process will be assessed. The findings should be useful to student guidance personnel, health educators, and student leaders in their attempts to control and prevent campus rapes.

In this article sexual aggression is viewed as deviant behavior that is learned primarily through social interaction in groups that comprise the individual's major source of reinforcements and provide an environment in which the individual is exposed to sexually aggressive attitudes and models. This social learning does not begin in college, but there are learning contexts for initiation and continuation of sexually aggressive behavior by students on and off campus during these years. For the man who is a member of a fraternity, the organization may provide one of the most important of these contexts. It may be, of course, that prior socialization experiences have predisposed some men to join fraternities and that this self-selectivity produces some differences in proclivity toward sexual aggression between fraternity and nonfraternity men. There are no measures of earlier socialization in the data set examined in this article, but few differences between fraternity members and nonmembers on a number of important social characteristics were found. (These comparisons are discussed below.)

Nothing said thus far, and nothing reported below, should be taken as an indictment of fraternities or of the Greek system in colleges and universities. It would be contrary to the intent of the investigation, and a misuse of the findings, to apply them in "fraternity bashing." Fraternities make many positive contributions to campus life. They act as a major source of reinforcement for members on a wide range of prosocial behaviors. Only a small minority of fraternity members have engaged or will engage in violent, sexual deviance.

Nonetheless, it is appropriate to examine the question of what features, if any, of fraternity life may increase the probability of sexual aggression. The all-male environment may emphasize norms of masculinity—valuing male qualities and devaluing women and female qualities. Fraternities may reinforce sexually aggressive behavior in several ways, in the pledging process in which new members are recruited, and in social affairs that involve excessive alcohol consumption and pornographic entertainment. The context is conducive to discussing sexual experiences with the tolerance, and to some extent approval, of assertive and aggressive sexual activity. There is a strain in the general male culture which views women as sex objects and "commodifies" women. Fraternities are one type of male social setting in which these "rape myths" and sexual attitudes are passed along. The use of alcohol as a weapon against women's sexual reluctance may be encouraged in such associations (Martin & Hummer, 1989).

Social Learning Theory

"Social learning" has been used to refer to a number of social-behavioral formulations (see especially Bandura, 1977, 1986; Jessor & Jessor, 1977). But the theoretical model most often given this label in the sociology of deviance is that used by Akers to account for various forms of deviant

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behavior, such as drug addiction and alcohol abuse, sexual deviance, violence, and suicide (Akers, 1985).

As stated by Akers (1985; Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979) this social learning theory proposes that behavior is acquired and sustained both through direct behavioral conditioning, "differential reinforcement," and through "imitation" or modeling of others' behavior. Behavior is strengthened and sustained through reward (positive reinforcement) and avoidance of punishment (negative reinforcement) or weakened by aversive stimuli or loss of reward. Which behavior is acquired and persists depends on the balance of past, present, and anticipated rewards or punishment for the behavior and those attached to alternative behavior. Social groups with which one is in interaction, or with which one identifies, influence or control sources of social reinforcement. It is in interaction (or identification) with these significant groups in their lives that individuals learn normative attitudes toward certain behavior as good or bad, right or wrong. These are termed "definitions," and the more individuals positively define the behavior or define it as justified ("neutralizing" definitions), the more likely they are to engage in it. The process whereby one interacts with others and is exposed to positive or negative norms is labeled "differential association" (Sutherland, 1947). The most important of these groups are the primary groups of family and friendship groups, but they also include work groups, schools, churches, community organizations, and other secondary groups. In the college context, the fraternity functions as a primary group, combining elements of both friendship and family.

The theory, then, would propose that sexual aggression as defined here can be expected to the extent that one has been differentially associated with others prone to sexual aggression, that one has been exposed to sexually aggressive models, that sexual aggression has been (or is anticipated to be) differentially reinforced over nonaggressive sexual behavior, and that one does not define sexual aggression as morally or situationally wrong and believes that under certin conditions it is justified, appropriate, or proper behavior for a man. The theory does not specifically predict that fraternity members are more sexually aggressive than nonmembers. However, it would attribute any observed differences in such behavior to a social learning process affected by the social context of the fraternity.

The principal concepts in the theory which have been used in previous research and which will be included in the social learning model here, then, are: *differential association* (interaction with primary groups), *definitions* (attitudes toward sexual aggression), *imitation,* and *differential reinforcement* (balance of actual or anticipated rewarding and punishing consequences). Prior research has found that a social learning model with these four sets of variables accounts for substantial amounts of deviant behavior among adolescents (Akers & Cochran, 1985; Akers et al., 1979; Dembo, Grandum, Lavoie, Schmeidler, & Burgos, 1986; Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Akers, 1984; Krohn, Skinner, Massey, & Akers, 1985; Lanza-Kaduce, Krohn, & Akers, 1984; White, Johnson, & Horowitz, 1986). The aim of this study is to see how well the model also fits sexual aggression among college men.

Methods

Sample

A purposive sample of 262 undergraduate males enrolled in general education courses at a large state university in the Southeast was drawn as the basis of the analysis. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to and completed by students in their classrooms.

Independent Variables

The major independent variables are fraternity membership and the four variables suggested by social learning theory: differential association, differential reinforcement, definitions, and modeling. *Fraternity membership* was measured with a question that asked if the respondent belonged to a fraternity. Responses were dichotomized (1 = Yes and 2 = No).

Differential association was measured with two questions that asked respondents to estimate the extent to which their friends actually engage in sexual aggression, including the use of drugs and alcohol to obtain intercourse. The first question asked: "How many of your friends have gotten a woman drunk or high in order to have sex with her?" The second question asked: "How many of your friends have forced or tried to force sex on a woman, such as a known tease, who refused to have sex?" Response alternatives to both questions were: 1 = *none;* 2 = *one or two;* 3 = *three to five;* 4 = *six to ten;* and 5 = *more than ten.* Responses to these two items were summed to form a scale with a moderate level of reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .52).

Differential reinforcement was measured by three questions which asked the respondents to indicate their friends' anticipated approval or disapproval of sexual promiscuity, sexual aggression, and the use of drugs or alcohol to obtain sex. The intent is to measure the extent to which the respondent perceives social reinforcement for sexual behavior, including sexual aggression. The series of questions began with the prompt: "How approving do you think your friends would be of you in the following circumstances: If you had sexual intercourse with many women during the academic year? If you got a woman drunk or high in order to have sex with her? If you forced a "known tease" to have sex with you, after she had teased you and then refused to have sex?" The response alternatives for all of the questions were: 1 = *very approving;* 2 = somewhat approving; 3 = *neutral;* 4 = *somewhat disapproving;* and 5 = *very disapproving.* Responses to these items were summed to form a scale of differential social reinforcement (Cronbach's alpha = .72).

An indicator of overall reinforcement balance (that includes physical pleasures involved in performing the behavior as well as any social approval from others) was created through a combination of two questions that were introduced with the following statement: "If you were to engage in any of the following acts, do you anticipate that the experience would be mainly pleasurable or rewarding to you, mainly negative or unpleasant, or somewhere in between?" The two items in the overall reinforcement scale were "forcing a female to do something sexual she didn't want to do," and "rape." As noted below in the discussion of dependent variables, there is reason to believe that "forcing" a woman to have sex and "raping" her, although by definition the same act, are perceived as different acts by respondents. Nevertheless, the perceived reinforcement balances for each of two acts are sufficiently intercorrelated that when they were combined into a two-item scale measuring the social learning variable of overall reinforcement balance for sexual aggression, the scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach's alpha = .76).

Definitions were measured using a series of 11 questions that were derived from scales in Burt's (1980) study of cultural myths and supports for rape. The items were introduced with

the following statements: "We all have opininons on dating, sexual behavior, and the roles of men and women in society. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements about dating, sex, and relationships." The specific items are reproduced in Appendix A. Response alternatives to each item were: 1 = *strongly agree;* 2 = *agree somewhat;* 3 = *neutral;* 4 = *disagree somewhat;* and 5 = *disagree strongly.* Items were recoded so that higher numbers indicate greater support of rape myths, stereotypes, sexual conservatism, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. A summary score was computed by adding responses to the individual items. The original scales from which the items were selected were subjected to item analysis by Burt (1980). Burt computed Cronbach's alpha for each scale and item-to-total correlations of each item and found that all of the subscales had an alpha value of .78 or greater, with the exception of the acceptance of interpersonal violence scale which had a moderate level of scale reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .59). Subscales were not created. Rather, the measure was a single scale of 11 items (Appendix A) taken from the items used by Burt (1980). The scale had high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .81).

Modeling was measured with a series of questions which asked respondents to estimate the extent to which they have been exposed to violent sexual depictions in different media: photo magazines, videos and films, and books. (No information about respondents' direct observation of behavioral models engaging in aggressive behavior was obtained.) The questions were preceded by the following statements: "Nearly all men have at one time or another viewed so-called 'men's' magazines, which depict nude females. Please indicate the number of times you have viewed these kinds of material, as well as the other kinds of material listed below." The three items included in a scale of exposure to models of sexual coercion are: magazines which depict a female or females being forced to engage in sexual acts; videos or films which depict a female or females being forced to engage in sexual acts; written books, without photos, which depict a female or females being forced to engage in sexual acts. Response alternatives were 1 = *never;* 2 = *one to five times;* 3 = *six to ten times;* 4 = *eleven to twenty times*; and 5 = *more than twenty times.* The three-item scale of modeling of sexual coercion was found to be reliable (Cronbach's alpha = .71).

All measures of the social learning variables have strong face validity. Differential association and differential reinforcement are adaptations of measures used in a series of previous studies by Akers and associates on delinquency, drug use, and alcohol use. The measures have been found to be reliable and the findings replicable in both adolescent and adult populations (see Akers, 1985; Akers, La Greca, Cochran, & Sellers, 1989; Akers et al., 1979). The measures of definitions and models were adapted from earlier research. The scales used to measure each of these variables in the present study have moderate to high reliability coefficients.

Dependent Variables

Two types of dependent variables were analyzed in this study. The first pertained to respondents' *self-perceived likelihood* that they would, in the future, engage in sexually coercive behavior under no-penalty conditions. The second type of dependent variable pertained to respondents' reports of their *actual previous use* of various types of sexually coercive behavior.

Two questions measuring *self-reported likelihood* of engaging in sexual coercion, adapted from Malamuth's (1989a, 1989b) attraction to sexual aggression scale, were included. A rape/force scale, from which these two likelihood measures were derived, was assessed for reliability and validity by Malamuth (1989a, 1989b) using measures of internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and discriminant and construct validity. The two items in the present study were introduced with the following statement: "If you could be assured that you could in no way be punished for engaging in the following acts, how likely, if at all, would you be to engage in such acts?" The two items of interest are: (1) "forcing a female to do something sexual she didn't want to do," and (2) "rape." These are referred to respectively as self-perceived "likelihood of using force to gain sexual access" and "likelihood of committing rape." Just as was true for the two-item scale of reinforcement balance for these acts, the perceived likelihood of engaging in one act was sufficiently correlated with the perceived likelihood of the other that they form an acceptable scale of "likelihood of using force and/or committing rape" (Cronbach's alpha = .69).

This scalability is to be expected since, in legal, moral, and behavioral terms, forcing a female to have sex and rape describe essentially the same act. However, respondents apparently perceive them as different acts, since they report likelihood of the former more frequently than the latter. Therefore, to check to see if they relate to the social learning model in different ways, each was used as a single-item measure of separate dependent variables, in addition to being combined into a scale. Five response alternatives ranging from *very unlikely* (coded 1) to *very likely* (coded 5) were presented to respondents.

Three sets of questions measuring the extent to which the respondent had *actually* engaged in acts of coercive sexuality were adapted from Koss and Oros (1982). Respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had ever "experienced" engaging in a series of sexually coercive acts. These behaviors are listed in Appendix B. Response alternatives were: 1 = *never;* 2 = *once or twice;* 3 = *three to five times;* 4 = *six to ten times;* 5 = *more than ten times.* Individual items were combined to form three dependent variables: extent to which respondent had: (1) used nonviolent force to obtain sexual acts (three items); (2) used drugs and alcohol as a sexual coercion strategy (one-item scale, Cronbach's alpha = .55); and (3) used physical force to obtain sexual intercourse (four-item scale, Cronbach's alpha = .86). Koss and Gidycz (1985) also found the sexual experiences instrument from which the measures used here were derived to be reliable on tests of internal consistency and test-retest reliability.

Bivariate Analysis

Background Characteristics

A series of cross tabulations of fraternity membership with various sociodemographic characteristics were performed (data not presented in tabular form). Chi-squared statistics computed on these cross tabulations indicated that the fraternity members did not differ significantly from the other male students in terms of age or racial composition (the majority of the respondents in the sample were white). There was no statistically significant difference between the two subsamples in terms of grade point average, educational goals, or political and religious value orientations. About half of the respondents in each subsample belonged to the *Republican* party and roughly one third of each labeled themselves as politically "conservative." Fraternity members were

about as likely as nonmembers to consider themselves "religious" (42% versus 46%, respectively) but were significantly [χ^2 (4, N = 261) = 34.5, p < .001] *more* likely to be Jewish (33% versus 6%) and *less* likely to be Catholic (19% versus 35%). These data fail to support the argument that difference between fraternity members and independents in sexual aggression can be attributed primarily to differences in background characteristics.

Fraternity Membership and Sexual Coercion

One-way analysis of variance was performed on each of the dependent variables to determine if fraternity members differed significantly from nonmembers on the dependent variables. Table 1 shows that fraternity members did not significantly differ from independents in terms of their *self-perceived likelihood* of sexually coercive behavior (using force or committing rape). However, their mean scores on the dependent variables that indicate *actual use* of nonphysical force and drugs or alcohol to obtain sex were significantly higher than nonmembers' mean scores. Finally, as Table 1 indicates, fraternity members did not differ significantly in their reports of having raped a woman.

Fraternity Membership and the Social Learning Variables

A series of bivariate analyses were performed to ascertain whether fraternity members are significantly different from nonfraternity students in terms of the independent variables drawn from the social learning theory of deviance. (Data are not presented in tabular form.)

Differential association. Fraternity members' estimates of the number of their friends who have gotten a woman drunk or high in order to have sex were significantly higher [χ^2 (4, N = 260) = 25.15, p < .001] than nonmembers' estimates of their friends' use of alcohol as a sexual strategy. One fourth of the fraternity members, but less than one tenth of the nonmembers, reported that more than 10 of their friends had used alcohol in this way. A one-way analysis of variance with fraternity membership as the independent variable showed that fraternity members' mean score on the differential association scale ($\bar{x}$ = 4.66) was significantly higher than nonmembers' mean scores ($\bar{x}$ = 3.88), F (1, 260) = 22.77, p < .001). It is important to note that the friends about whom the fraternity members were reporting may not be "brothers." They may be members of other fraternities or even independents. However, the emphasis placed on loyalty to the "house" and the efforts made to segregate brothers from outsiders (see Martin & Hummer, 1989) suggests that the fraternity members were, indeed, referring to the other members of their fraternity when estimating friends' sexual activity. Moreover, although these data represent respondents' estimates of their friends' use of sexual coercion, there is reason to believe that they reflect reality, since discussion of sexual activity is common in fraternity houses (Martin & Hummer, 1989).

Table 1.
Differences between Mean Scores of Fraternity Members and Independents on Sexual Coercion Variables (N = 262)

	Mean Scores[a]			
	Fraternity Members (n = 83)	Independents (n = 178)	F-ratio	F probability[e]
Likelihood of using force to gain sexual access	1.73[b]	1.72	.006	.940
Likelihood of committing rape	1.12[b]	1.20	.935	.334
Likelihood of using force to gain sexual access and/or committing rape	2.86	2.92	.114	.736
Actual use of drugs or alcohol to obtain sex	1.915[b]	1.594	5.134	.024
Actual use of nonphysical coercion to obtain sex	5.000[c]	4.385	5.368	.021
Actual use of physical force to obtain sex	4.222[d]	4.106	.983	.322

[a]One case missing because the respondent's fraternity membership could not be determined.
[b]Maximum score possible is 5.
[c]Maximum score possible is 15.
[d]Maximum score possible is 20.
[e]Statistical significance derived through one-way analysis of variance of each dependent variable with fraternity membership as the independent variable.

Differential reinforcement. Bivariate cross-tabulations of fraternity membership with each of the three indicators of differential reinforcement show that fraternity members were more likely than independents to be reinforced for engaging in sexual aggression. Fraternity members were significantly more likely [χ^2 (4, N = 261) = 9.22, p < .05] to believe that their friends would approve of their having sexual intercourse with many women during the school year (70% versus 53%) and were less likely to believe their friends would disapprove (8% versus 19%). They were also less likely than independents to believe their friends would *disapprove* of their getting a woman drunk or high in order to have sex with her, but not more likely to report friends' approval of forcing a woman to have sex. Fraternity members' mean score on the three-item differential reinforcement scale ($\bar{x}$ = 8.927) was significantly higher than the independents' mean score in a one-way analysis of variance ($\bar{x}$ = 8.096), F (1, 259) = 4.928, p < .03). A one-way analysis of variance on the overall reinforcement balance scale, however, indicated that fraternity members were not significantly more likely than independents to perceive that the outcomes of engaging in sexual coercion would be rewarding.

Definitions. One-way analysis of variance with fraternity membership as the independent variable revealed no significant differences between fraternity members and independents in terms of adherence to beliefs that are supportive of sexual coercion (definitions scale). Men differ individually on how strongly they are socialized into rape myths and other attitudes conducive to sexual aggression. The college man who holds more strongly to these beliefs is more likely to commit sexual aggression. The social context of fraternity life may support those attitudes and provide a setting for acting on them. But apparently, fraternities do not add much beyond the pervasive male culture in the way of socialization into these attitudes.

Modeling. Previous research on the relationship between exposure to pornography and sexual violence suggested that when sexual images are presented in conjunction with violent acts a reduction in sensitivity towards

rape victims (and to women, in general) occurs (Malamuth & Check, 1985; Marshall, 1988; Silbert & Pines, 1984). And as shown below, perusal of magazines, videos, and books depicting sexual coercion of women is related to sexual aggression. However, the data revealed no significant difference by fraternity membership in exposure to media portrayals of women being forced to engage in sexual acts. One-way analysis of variance for the modeling scale indicated that the fraternity members were not significantly different from the independents on exposure to the modeling of rape in pornographic materials.

In summary, fraternity members differed significantly from independents on two of the four central concepts in the social learning theory of deviant behavior. They associated with a greater number of other men who engage in coercive and/or violent sexual activities. They were more likely to be reinforced by their friends for engaging in sexual coercion and aggression. Fraternity members were significantly more likely than independents to engage in nonphysical sexual coercion and in the use of drugs and alcohol as a sexual strategy. They were not different in their use of physical force or in self-perceived likelihood of doing so in the future. The analytic task that remains is to determine whether fraternity membership has an independent effect on the various indicators of sexual coercion when the effects of the social learning variables are statistically controlled.

Multivariate Analysis

Ordinary least squares (OLS) multiple regression analysis, with listwise deletion of missing cases, was used as the basis of the multivariate analysis. All independent variables were entered into the regression equation simultaneously using the forced entry option in the SPSSX multiple regression procedure. If the relationship between fraternity membership and sexual coercion and aggression is mediated by the social learning process, then the net effect of fraternity membership (as indicated by the regression coefficient for the variable) should be nonsignificant when derived from an equation in which the social learning variables are included. The results of the OLS analyses are presented in Table 2 (for self-reported likelihood variables) and Table 3 (for self-reported actual use of sexual coercion).

Table 2.
Multiple Regression Models of Effects of Social Learning Variables and Fraternity Membership on Self-Reported Likelihood of Committing Sexually Aggressive Behavior (N = 262)

	Dependent Variables		
	Self-Perceived Likelihood of Using Force to Gain Sexual Access	Self-Perceived Likelihood of Committing Rape	Self-Perceived Likelihood of Using Force and/or Committing Rape
Independent Variables	Standardized Beta Coefficients	Standardized Beta Coefficients	Standardized Beta Coefficients
Differential association	.106*	-.003	.076
Differential reinforcement	.173**	.074	.154**
Reinforcement balance	.432***	.553***	.529***
Definitions	.186***	.028	.123*
Modeling	.084	.121*	.108*
Fraternity membership	.027	.044	.036
Adjusted R^2	.487	.368	.532

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

The findings in Table 2 reveal that when the social learning variables were controlled, fraternity membership failed to exert a significant influence on the *self-perceived future likelihood* of using force to gain sexual access or committing a rape. The strongest social learning variable was the overall reinforcement balance, but the beta coefficients indicate significant effects of other social learning variables on one or more of the dependent variables in the table. This suggests that any observed bivariate association between fraternity membership and sexual coercion and aggression can be attributed to significant differences between fraternity and nonfraternity students in the social learning variables especially the perceived balance of reinforcement for sexual aggression.[1]

Table 3 shows similar findings regarding actual use of drugs or alcohol, nonphysical coercion, and physical force in obtaining sexual access. When the social learning variables were controlled, the effect of fraternity membership on the dependent variables was not significant.

The multivariate results of this study support the interpretation that social learning is the process through which fraternity membership is associated with differences in sexual coercion and aggression. The fraternity context affects the social learning variables, which in turn, affect sexual behavior. It must be recognized, of course, that fraternities are not the only social context in which this learning process occurs. The data do not provide information about the types of social contexts experienced by "independents" that might provide the same type of learning experiences.

Implications for Intervention

The results of this study suggest that intervention strategies designed to reduce sexual coercion on college campuses should target the social processes through which young people learn that sexual aggression against women is an acceptable, even ex-

Table 3.
Multiple Regression Models of the Effects of Social Learning Variables and Fraternity Membership on Actual Use of Coercive Sexual Techniques (N = 262)

	Dependent Variables		
	Actual Use of Drugs or Alcohol to Obtain Sex	Actual Use of Nonphysical Coercion to Obtain Sex	Actual Use of Physical Force to Obtain Sex
Independent Variables	Standardized Beta Coefficients	Standardized Beta Coefficients	Standardized Beta Coefficients
Differential association	.371***	.288***	.024
Differential reinforcement	.082	.042	.020
Reinforcement balance	.152*	.098**	.185***
Definitions	.033	-.005	-.005
Modeling	.142*	.053*	-.007
Fraternity membership	-.129	.073	-.061
Adjusted R^2	.334	.413	.146

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

pected, part of the courtship system. The focus of such efforts should be directed at the student body as a whole, since the data of this study reveal that fraternity members are not significantly more likely than other male students to adhere to such beliefs. Unfortunately, rigid gender role stereotypes permeate the normative dimension of courtship. Implications of the traditional exchange patterns in courtship, characterized by male dominance in decision making and financial responsibility, accompanied by expectations of female submission to male sexual advances, need to be discussed in coeducational groups. Overt consideration of these traditional practices may encourage students to question the inevitability of gender struggles over sexuality in courtship. This type of education should occur early in the college years during freshmen orientation programs as well as in introductory courses in human sexuality and marriage and family.

In addition, education about gender differences in interpersonal communication styles and assertiveness training for sexual communication should be directed at both male and female students during this same time period. Previous research has found that a majority of college women reported situations in which men misinterpreted the degree of sexual intimacy they desired (Koss & Oros, 1982).

Intervention strategies should not only attempt to counteract rigid gender role stereotypes, however. They must also identify the full range of behaviors that constitute sexual aggression, from verbal coercion, to the use of alcohol as a "weapon," to actual physical aggression and rape. The findings reported here suggest that ambiguity exists about what acts are morally and legally considered unacceptable. Even though the responses to the two items are intercorrelated, the difference in percentages of respondents reporting that they would use or have used physical coercion to obtain sex and the percent reporting they would rape or have raped suggests that these young men perceive these alternate wordings of the same act quite differently.

Leaders and faculty advisors of fraternities and other all-male enclaves, such as athletic teams, need to be especially vigilant about modifying their social milieu so that sexual coercion becomes less socially acceptable and reinforced. Fraternities have begun to address these issues. For instance, at its 1985 national convention, Pi Kappa Phi Fraternity unanimously adopted a resolution which stated that it would not tolerate nor condone any form of sexually abusive behavior on the part of its members, that it encouraged educational programming directed at the roots of the problem, and that it would develop a reward system to recognize chapters and individuals that lead in fostering a healthy attitude towards the opposite sex. In addition, Pi Kappa Phi distributed a poster about date rape which reminded members that "against her will is against the law" (cited in Lamanna & Riedmann, 1988).

Finally, when punitive actions are taken against sexually coercive behavior committed by members of particular fraternities, the organizations involved should have some responsibility and accountability, as well. The intent of such actions, in addition to serving justice on behalf of the victims, would be to communicate clearly to the fraternity that social support for deviant sexual activity by individual members will result in sanctions for the whole group.

ENDNOTE

1. The distributions of responses to these likelihood items were skewed. Very few respondents indicated likelihood of rape or use of physical force. Therefore, as an alternative statistical analysis the responses were dichotomized to (0) very little likelihood of rape or physical force to gain sexual access and (1) more than very little likelihood. This dichotomization was done to produce a more normal distribution of responses on the dependent variables to avoid the violation of assumptions underlying the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression procedure. When dichotomized in this way 55.6% of the respondents were classified as reporting very little likelihood of using force and 88.9% were classified as reporting very little likelihood of rape. Two regression models with these dichotomized variables were run. This resulted in a somewhat lower adjusted R^2 than for the models with nondichotomized variables (.32 for likelihood of using force to gain sexual access and .34 for likelihood of rape), but the findings remain the same—the social learning model is supported and the effects of fraternity membership become nonsignificant when entered in the same regression model with the social learning variables. Using dichotomized dependent variables in OLS regression presents some assumption problems of its own, however, and the preferred procedure with such dependent variables is logistic regression. In practice, violating those assumptions makes little difference in conclusions based on ordinary regression models, especially when the dichotomy produces no more than a 75%/25% split of the respondents (Berk, 1983). Nevertheless, as a further check, two logistic regression models were run with the dichotomized dependent variables and the social learning variables and fraternity membership as the independent variable. In each case, the findings confirm the same conclusion reached on the basis of the OLS regression. The -2 log likelihood Chi-square for the logistic regression model with "using force to gain sexual access" as the dependent variable was 240 with a significance level of .54; the Chi-square for the "rape" model was 95 with a 1.0 level of significance. Both are good fitting models and within each model the logistic regression R coefficients show the strongest variable to be the reinforcement balance and fraternity membership to be nonsignificant (tables not shown). The distributions of responses on the items measuring actual use of drugs or alcohol to obtain sex (60% reported having never done this) and nonphysical coercion to obtain sex (40% reported having never done this) were skewed but not severely so. The distribution of responses on the scale measuring actual use of physical force to obtain sex was highly skewed (94% reported never having done this). However, given what was revealed by the OLS regression and logistic regression analyses of the likelihood variables, dichotomization of the dependent variable and running of logistic regression models would make little difference in findings. Therefore, no additional analysis of the actual use of physical force variable was done beyond what is presented in Table 3.

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APPENDIX A

Items Used to Measure "Definitions" Concept.

1. A wife should never contradict her husband in public.
2. Most women are sly and manipulating when they are out to attract a man.
3. Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.
4. Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she doesn't want to seem loose, but she's really hoping the man will force her.
5. Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really wants to.
6. A woman who initiates a sexual encounter will probably have sex with anybody.
7. When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble.
8. A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.
9. If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her, whether she wants to or not.
10. Sometimes the only way a man can get a cold woman turned on is to use force.
11. If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.

Adapted from "Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape," by M. Burt, 1980, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* **38**, 217-230.

APPENDIX B

Items Used to Measure Actual Use of Sexual Coercion.

Nonphysical Coercion

1. been in a situation where you became so sexually aroused that you could not stop yourself even though the woman didn't want to have sex;
2. had sexual intercourse with a woman even though she didn't really want to because you threatened to end your relationship otherwise;
3. obtained sexual intercourse by saying things you didn't really mean;

Use of Drugs or Alcohol

4. obtained sexual intercourse with a woman, or tried to obtain sexual intercourse with a woman, by giving her alcohol or drugs;

Use of Physical Force

5. been in a situation where you tried to obtain sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to by threatening to, or actually using, physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down) but for some reason sexual intercourse did not occur;
6. had sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to because you threatened to use physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.) if she didn't cooperate;
7. had sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to because you used some degree of physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.);
8. been in a situation where you obtained sexual acts with a woman, such as oral intercourse, when she didn't want to, by using threats or physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.).

Adapted from "Sexual Experiences Survey: A Research Instrument Investigating Sexual Aggression and Victimization." by M. P. Koss and C. J. Oros, 1982, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* **50**, 455-457.