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Expanding a Model of Female Heterosexual Coercion: Are Sexually Coercive Women Hyperfeminine?

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EXPANDING A MODEL OF FEMALE HETEROSEXUAL COERCION:

ARE SEXUALLY COERCIVE WOMEN HYPERFEMININE?

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

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ARE SEXUALLY COERCIVE WOMEN HYPERFEMININE?

December 2011

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The present study aimed to replicate a preliminary model of female heterosexual

coercion and subsequently expand the model with gender- and race-related variables. The

preliminary model, which specified sexual compulsivity, sexual dominance,

sociosexuality, and prior sexual abuse, as predictors of female heterosexual coercion, was

sufficiently replicated with a racially diverse sample of college women. The model was

then successfully expanded by adding rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity to the

model. Hyperfemininity was found to be a core predictor of female heterosexual

coercion, challenging the notion that sexual coercion is an inherently "masculine"

behavior. Actual minority status, perceived minority status, and ethnocentrism were

found to moderate the fit of the model only slightly, suggesting that the model may be

adequate, though perhaps not ideal, for predicting heterosexual coercion among women

who identify as racial minorities and who are differentially impacted by oppression and

privilege in U.S. society. Findings were discussed within a feminist framework and

interpretations were informed by sexual script theory. Future directions for research into

female heterosexual coercion were also proposed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, scientific study and social discourse on heterosexual coercion, broadly defined as any attempt to have sexual contact with a non-consenting person of the opposite sex, has focused on men as perpetrators of sexual coercion and women as victims. Numerous theories and models of male sexual coercion have been extensively developed (for a review see Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2005), whereas only a small number of preliminary theories and tentative models of female sexual coercion have been proposed, the vast majority of which focus exclusively on female sexual abuse of children and adolescents (for a review see Harris, 2010). Women are rarely acknowledged and studied as initiators of sexual coercion, especially as coercers of peer-aged or adult men, primarily because of public and professional skepticism and minimization about the concept itself (Gannon & Cortoni, 2010; Struckman-Johnson & Anderson, 1998). Struckman-Johnson and Anderson explained, "Essentially, people tell us that 'women don't do that sort of thing,' and if they did, 'wouldn't men be lucky!'" (p. 10).

Struckman-Johnson and Anderson (1998) further explain that these types of gender-limiting ideas and attitudes are supported by at least three factors. First, many people falsely believe that women can do no harm. Specifically, people may rigidly

subscribe to the gender stereotype that women have low sex drives and serve to restrict

sexual activity in heterosexual relationships, whereas men are highly sexually motivated

and aim to promote sex whenever possible (e.g., Crawford & Popp, 2003; Krahé, 2000).

Consequently, holders of this stereotype preclude in their minds the possibility that

women would behave in sexually coercive, potentially damaging, ways. Second, many

researchers simply fail to assess female sexual coercion. If both males and females are

included in a study's sample, it is common for the men to be asked only about their

perpetration experiences and for women to be asked only about their victimization

experiences. Lastly, there is the issue of there being a "double standard" around women's

sexual behavior in general, but sexually coercive behavior in particular. As social

expectations of women's sexual behavior have changed in the U.S., so too have

judgments and interpretations of such behavior. From the 1950s to 1970s, a woman

simply initiating sex with a man may have been considered "unladylike" and thus labeled

"aggressive," whereas today, when women are more widely encouraged to be active

agents of their sexuality, the use of pressure tactics, or even force tactics, to obtain sex

may be viewed as acceptable.

Only since the 1980s, when some researchers began asking men and women

about both perpetration and victimization experiences (e.g., Sarrel & Masters, 1982;

Struckman-Johnson, 1988), has the literature reflected the finding that sizable

percentages of not only men, but also women, indeed "do that sort of thing." Researchers

are now concluding that men do experience nonconsensual sexual contact with women,

and a noticeable proportion of both girls and women are engaging in these behaviors

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(Krahé, Waizenhofer, & Moller, 2003). For example, Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, and Anderson (2003) found that 78% of women and 58% of men reported that a person of the opposite sex had used any one of a range of sexually coercive tactics with them (since they were 16) after they had indicated "no" to the person's sexual advance. Struckman-Johnson (1988) found that 22% of females and 16% of males reported they had been forced to engage in sexual intercourse on a date at least once during their lifetime. Furthermore, 26% of women and 43% of men in Struckman-Johnson et al.'s (2003) sample reported having used at least one type of sexually coercive tactic with a person of the opposite sex. Schatzel-Murphy Harris, Knight, and Milburn (2009) found even larger figures, with 50% of women and 68% of men reporting they had engaged in some form of heterosexual coercion, broadly defined, across their lifetime.

The still small but burgeoning body of literature that has been generated over the last few decades also strongly challenges the notion that women's use of coercion should be considered acceptable, and that men who come in contact with sexually coercive women are somehow "lucky." Struckman-Johnson (1988) indicated early on that, although the emotional impact of sexual coercion on women seems relatively more severe and widespread, the emotional impact on men warrants attention. In her study, 27% of men who reported they had been sexually coerced within a dating situation reported feeling bad or very bad after the incident. Forty-six percent (46%) of the men reported feeling neutral, suggesting some degree of confusion or ambivalence around the incident. In a later study, O'Sullivan, Byers, and Finkelman (1998) found that 14% of men who had been sexually coerced by a woman reported being extremely upset at the time of

the incident. Also, both men and women reported using a wide range of resistance strategies when faced with their opposite-sex perpetrator, from "mild verbal protest" (49% of women and 58% of men) and "moved to leave" (60% and 47%) to "strong verbal protest" (57% and 26%) and "physically resisted and fought back" (33% and 5%).

Furthermore, Struckman-Johnson (1988) provided a unique glimpse into the qualitative experience of men who had been sexually coerced by women, driving home the point that many such men do not view themselves as fortunate: "She said I didn't like her if I didn't want to. Massive guilt trip. I didn't want to. "; "She was drunk and said if I didn't that she would break up with me."; "I didn't have to make a move on her because she was all over me. She wouldn't take no for an answer. Usually I like to get to know the person. I felt I was forced into sex. After, I felt terrible and used." Some authors have suggested that reported emotional expressions such as these are only "the tip of the iceberg" given that men may feel constricted by their male gender role in expressing distress during and after a coercive incident (e.g., Lisak, 1994; Lottes, 1991). In the context of men being socialized to initiate and welcome sexual activity and to feel empowered by any sexual attention, the full emotional impact of heterosexual coercion will likely remain elusive.

As men and women's roles in contemporary U.S. society become increasingly fluid and transactional, the importance of exploring outside the confines of conventional dichotomies looms. The dichotomy of "male as perpetrator and female as victim," although still largely valid and protective of women, seems to stem directly from and maintain support for the outdated and oppressive notion of "male as active and female as

passive " (and for that matter, the oversimplified dichotomy of "male and female").

Consistent with the feminist goal of gender equality, all behaviors that women engage in,

whether nourishing or destructive, common or rare, should be acknowledged, studied,

and understood to the same extent as those of men. Also consistent with feminist modes

of inquiry, all such behaviors should be understood within a framework that accounts for

power differentials in our society. Examining those behaviors which do not obviously fit

into constraining dichotomies seems to be one way to begin increasing awareness around,

challenging and ultimately breaking free of such rigid structures.

It is with these goals in mind that the present study was pursued. In brief, the

present study had three specific aims. First, it aimed to replicate the findings of Schatzel-

Murphy et al. (2009), a study that attempted to challenge conventional dichotomies by

examining college women's use of sexual coercion against men. Additionally, the present

replication was attempted with a racially and socioeconomically diverse sample of

college women in hopes of gaining insight into the generalizability of the findings.

Second, the present study aimed to expand upon the preliminary model of female

heterosexual coercion proposed in Schatzel-Murphy et al. with the following gender-

related variables: rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity. To this extent, specific

instances of women's behavior were explored within the more general context of

women's perceived gender role and ideologies in relation to men's. Third, the present

study aimed to further expand upon the model with the following race-related

moderators: actual minority status, perceived minority status, and ethnocentrism. To this

extent, the study attempted to approach the topic of sexual coercion, not only within a

framework acknowledging sexism and patriarchy, but also within a framework acknowledging the intersection of these systems with racism and White privilege. The following provides details and background on each of these aims and outlines the specific research questions and hypotheses addressed within each domain.

Replicating the Findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al.

Schatzel-Murphy et al. (2009) sought to clarify the phenomenon of female heterosexual coercion by examining its prevalence and its predictors in comparison to that of male heterosexual coercion. Findings revealed that heterosexual women engaged in a range of sexual coercion tactics, including seduction of unwilling partners, manipulation, use of alcohol and/or drugs, and physical force, and did so to an extent similar to men. Although significantly more men (54%) than women (24%) reported employing seductive tactics with an unwilling partner, the number of men and women who reported employing manipulative, intoxication, or force tactics did not differ significantly. Forty percent (40%) of men and 30% of women reported using manipulative tactics, 24% of men and 17% of women reported using intoxication tactics, and 4% of men and 5% of women reported using force tactics. These findings were consistent with previous research such as Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, and Anderson (2003) who found that 26% of women and 43% of men reported having used at least one type of sexually coercive tactic with a person of the opposite sex. Struckman-Johnson et al. (2003) also found that seductive tactics were the most frequently used by

both men and women, followed by manipulative tactics, then intoxication tactics, and that force tactics were the least frequently used by both men and women.

Women also obtained or attempted to obtain a variety of sexual contact through coercive means. Significantly more men (65%) than women (48%) reported obtaining or attempting to obtain sex play through coercive means. Significantly more men (37%) than women (17%) also reported obtaining or attempting to obtain oral sex through coercive means. Men and women did not, however, differ in their reports of obtaining or attempting to obtain vaginal or anal sex (26% of men and 16% of women). These results were consistent with studies of male sexual victimization that revealed women engage in a wide range of sexual activities with unwilling men, including non-penetrative and penetrative acts (Krahé, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Bieneck, 2003; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1998). For example, Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1998) found that 36% of men reported experiencing at least one incident of coerced sexual touch (non-intercourse) by a woman, whereas 27% of men reported at least one coercive incident involving intercourse.

Although men and women appeared to be engaging in similar kinds of sexually coercive behavior at similar rates, the attitudes and desires behind the coercive behavior varied significantly by gender. After creating a latent trait for sexual coercion that captured both the coercion tactics people used and the sexual contact people aimed to engage in, structural equation models predicting sexual coercion were estimated separately for men and women. Sexual dominance and sociosexuality emerged as keystones of a male sexual coercion model, consistent with Malamuth's (1996, 1998)

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two-path confluence model. Sexual compulsivity proved to be an important predictor as well, bearing its influence on sexual coercion via the dominance construct as previously shown by Knight and Sims-Knight (2003). Finally, prior sexual abuse predicted sexual coercion via sexual dominance. The structural equation model for males had a very good fit (CFI = .97, RMSEA = .07), with 23% of the variance in sexual dominance and 35% of the variance in sexual coercion being accounted for. In stark contrast to the male model, sexual compulsivity emerged as the keystone of a female model of sexual coercion. Although sexual dominance and sociosexuality appeared to exert some influence on female coercion via compulsivity, these keystones of the male model were clearly less potent predictors of women's coercive behavior. Also, prior sexual abuse predicted sexual coercion directly and indirectly via sexual compulsivity. The female structural equation model had an excellent fit (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00), with 20% of the variance in sexual compulsivity and 34% of the variance in sexual coercion being accounted for.

These findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al. were in line with traditional feminist theory, which pinpoints power, dominance, and control as the motivating forces behind male sexual coercion (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975). To this extent, the male model conjured the image of a coercive man, high in sociosexuality and sexual dominance, exerting power and control to establish an impersonal, disconnected dynamic between himself and a woman as he is seducing , manipulating, or forcing her to engage in unwilling sexual contact. The findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al. were also in line with research suggesting that female sexual coercion is not primarily motivated by power, dominance, or control

(Russell & Oswald, 2001; Zurbriggen, 2000), and alternatively, may be motivated by a desire for intimacy within the context of feeling desperate or out of control (Struckman-Johnson, Anderson, & Struckman-Johnson, 2000; Zurbriggen, 2000). This intimacy seeking model could be integrated into the Schatzel et al. results by hypothesizing that the coercive woman, high in sexual compulsivity, may lose control as she attempts to establish an intimate connection with a man and is rejected. Consequently, she compulsively may resort to coercive action in an attempt to salvage her desired sexual power.

Although these findings contributed to the development of a preliminary model of female heterosexual coercion, there were several limitations to the study. The overall sample was from a small, private university, likely representing middle- to upper-class young adults. Ethnic and racial diversity was also severely limited (87% White; 9% Asian; 2% Latino; 2% Black; and < 1% Native American). Given these sample limitations, rates of female heterosexual coercion or any predictive female model cannot be generalized to working class women or women living in poverty. Generalizing results to women of color is also precluded. To address these limitations, the present study aimed to replicate the findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al. with a sample of racially and socioeconomically diverse college women who identify as heterosexual. Rates of using seductive, manipulative, intoxication, and force tactics were examined and compared to those found in Schatzel-Murphy et al. Types of sexual contact obtained or attempted to be obtained through coercive means were also examined and compared. In other words, the following research questions were the first to be addressed in the present study:

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RQ1: How do racially and socioeconomically diverse groups of college women compare with relatively homogeneous groups of college women in their reported use of heterosexual coercion tactics?

RQ2: How do racially and socioeconomically diverse groups of college women compare with relatively homogeneous groups of college women in their reports of obtaining or trying to obtain various forms of sexual contact through coercive means?

In addition to replicating results about prevalence of sexual coercion, the present study aimed to replicate findings about predictors of sexual coercion. Mean levels of prior sexual abuse, sexual dominance, sociosexuality, and sexual compulsivity were examined and compared. Subsequently, a full replication of the preliminary female model was attempted. Although it was thought to be ideal to achieve a full replication encompassing all variables, replication of the relationships that were the core of the female model were focused upon. Specifically, the present study investigated if sexual compulsivity partially mediated a positive relationship between prior sexual abuse and heterosexual coercion. In other words, the following research question was addressed and the following hypothesis was tested in the present study:

RQ3: How do racially and socioeconomically diverse groups of college women compare with relatively homogeneous groups of college women in their reported levels of sociosexuality, sexual compulsivity, and sexual dominance and their experiences of prior sexual abuse?

H1: Prior experience of sexual abuse will positively predict heterosexual coercion and sexual compulsivity will partially mediate this relationship.

Expanding a Model of Female Heterosexual Coercion with Gender-Related Variables

Schatzel-Murphy et al. focused their attention on a small subset of variables found in extant models of male heterosexual coercion: prior sexual abuse, sexual dominance, sociosexuality, and sexual compulsivity. This focus lent itself to a straightforward and direct comparison of predictors between male and female college students and helped challenge the broad supposition that "violent women must be either trying to be men or just crazy" (Campbell, 1993, p. 144). The preliminary female model indicated that women's use of coercion is not simply "crazy" to the extent that it can be predicted and is an understandable corollary of experiencing sexual abuse, especially when considered within the context of trauma. As previously explicated, the female model also indicated that women's use of coercion is not stereotypically masculine in nature to the extent that it was not primarily or strongly predicted by sexual dominance, but was primarily and strongly predicted by sexual compulsivity.

This focus, however, limited the study's ability to propose and examine variables that exist outside of mainstream, male-centered notions of coercion and violence and that may be particularly effective in or unique to predicting female heterosexual coercion. Specifically, variables that capture women's gender role ideology and women's sexual assumptions and expectations of men were not examined. Such variables are discussed to some extent in the limited body of literature that exists on female heterosexual coercion.

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For example, some researchers (Anderson, 1996; Clements-Schreiber & Rempel, 1995) have investigated how rape myth acceptance is related to women's use of heterosexual coercion. Some researchers have speculated about (Russell & Oswald, 2001), though only one study has examined (Hamburger, Hogben, McGowan, & Dawson, 1996), how extreme and rigid gender role ideology in women, referred to as hyperfemininity, may influence their use of coercion. Conceptual counterparts to these variables, both rape myth acceptance and hypermasculinity have been discussed at length in the literature on male heterosexual coercion. Although this literature is gender-specific and cannot be generalized to women, it provides a model of inquiry that can be referred to as similar or analogous variables are explored among women. The following literature review will thus address rape myth acceptance and hypermasculinity in relation to men's use of heterosexual coercion, and subsequently, will address rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity in relation to women's use of heterosexual coercion.

Rape Myth Acceptance and Hypermasculinity in Relation to Men's Heterosexual Coercion

Numerous studies have examined gender-related attitudinal and belief systems and their relation to the use of sexual coercion by men. One of the most common belief-based constructs studied is rape myth acceptance (e.g., DeGue & DeLillo, 2005). Rape myths, originally defined by Burt (1980) as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists," (p. 217) have been shown by Burt to be strongly related to sex role stereotypes, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal

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violence. Examples of rape myths are "only bad girls get raped," "any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to," and "women ask for it" (Burt, 1980, p. 217). Acceptance of rape myths and other rigid gender stereotypes have consistently been found to predict a range of sexually coercive behavior among men (DeGue & DeLillo, 2005).

For example, Muehlenhard and Falcon (1990), drawing from Burt's original rape myth acceptance scales and other measures of sexism, created a Traditionality measure, tapping the belief that men and women should conform to traditional gender roles, and a Dominance measure, tapping the belief that men should sexually dominate women. Eighty-five college males were split into five groups based on the maximum level of sexual coercion they reported ever employing against a woman: only consensual sex; arguing; lying; getting a woman intoxicated; and physical force. Comparison of the groups on the two gender belief measures revealed that men who had lied and gotten a woman drunk to have sex held significantly more traditional gender beliefs and believed more strongly in male dominance than men who had only argued or not used coercion to have sex. Furthermore, men who reported using physical force had the highest levels of both traditionality and dominance.

In a more recent study, Burgess (2007) developed a new multi-factor measure of rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs that was purported to be less "antiquated in language and meaning" (p. 974) than Burt's scales and that included situational variables like alcohol and condom use. The new measure contained items related to five belief domains: denial that acquaintance rape causes trauma to victims, believing that women's

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behavior or appearance is the cause of rape, acceptance of sexual coercion as a legitimate means to acquire sex, problematic attitudes and beliefs about the male sex role, and dislike of the feminine. Among 368 college males, Burgess found that all domains of rape-supportive beliefs and attitudes correlated significantly with the use of sexual coercion, which encompassed the use of verbal threats and the use of force.

In addition to rape myth acceptance, the concepts of hostile masculinity and hypermasculinity have emerged in the literature as key predictors of male sexual coercion. Malamuth's (1998) confluence model contends that hostile masculinity, described as an insecure, defensive, hypersensitive, and hostile orientation, particularly toward women, combined with a gratification from controlling or dominating women (Malamuth, Heavey, & Linz, 1993), is one of the primary characteristics of sexually coercive men. Lisak and Roth (1988) proposed that anger towards women and the desire to dominate them may be especially useful in discriminating between men who are willing to use physical force to obtain sex and men who are not willing to surpass the use of nonphysical coercive tactics. Hypermasculinity has been described as being supported by a particular ideological script, a "hypermasculine variant of a traditional normative gender ideology that emphasizes destructive power rather than productive or integrative power" (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984, p. 201). Several studies have found a connection between hypermasculinity and male use of sexual coercion (e.g., Mosher, 1991). For example, Lisak and Roth (1990) found a notable presence of hypermasculine traits and a dearth of stereotypically feminine traits among nonincarcerated, self-reported rapists. As measured by the California Personality Inventory (CPI; Gough, 1975), scores indicative

of high femininity are thought to reflect a person who is emotionally sensitive and high

strung, whereas low femininity scores are thought to reflect a person who is decisive and

unsentimental (Donnellan, Ge, & Wenk, 2002).

Rape Myth Acceptance and Hyperfemininity in Relation to Women's Heterosexual

Coercion

In contrast to the large body of literature devoted to describing sexually coercive

men, little has been written about female sexual coercers and the internalized belief

systems that may motivate them to take coercive action upon males. As a starting point,

researchers have attempted to assess whether known cognitive predictors of male sexual

coercion are relevant for predicting female sexual coercion, namely beliefs supportive of

rape and rigidity around gender roles.

Despite traditional Western social and sexual scripts that have discouraged

women from expressing sexual interest or initiating sexual behaviors (McCormick,

1987), in a study of 212 college women attending sexuality classes, Anderson (1996)

found that 28% of the women reported using nonphysical coercive tactics to obtain

sexual contact from a man and 7% reported using physical force tactics. Nonphysical

tactics included pressuring with verbal arguments, threatening to end the relationship, and

questioning the man's sexuality. Use of both nonphysical and physical coercive tactics

were found to be significantly and positively related to scores on Burt's (1980)

Adversarial Beliefs Scale (ABS), a major component of Burt's broader conceptualization

of rape myth acceptance. Adversarial beliefs are described by Burt as beliefs that "sexual

relationships are fundamentally exploitative in that each party is manipulative, sly, cheating, opaque to the other's understanding and not to be trusted (p. 218). Sample items from the ABS include "Men are out for only one thing" and "A lot of men talk big, but when it comes down to it, they can't perform well sexually." Interestingly, the scale also includes items that capture negative beliefs about women (e.g., "Most women are sly and manipulating when they are out to attract a man.") and support for male dominance (e.g., "A woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her."). This finding seems to support the idea that sexually coercive women, similar to sexually coercive men, subscribe to rigid and adversarial gender role stereotypes that cast men as domineering and exploitative and women as seemingly passive yet actually sly and manipulative.

A study by Clements-Schreiber and Rempel (1995) specifically examined women's endorsement of stereotypes about male sexuality and their hypothetical likelihood of using various strategies to obtain sexual contact from a reluctant man. The stereotypes assessed were related to women believing that men are sexually voracious and weak in controlling their desires, (e.g., "In general, most men are always ready to have sex and they will say or do just about anything to get it."), and thus, always available for sex (e.g., "If a woman wants to have sex, she has a right to expect her partner to make themselves available to her.") In essence, these stereotypes were presented as rape-supportive myths about men that are analogous to rape-supportive myths about women. First, the study revealed that large percentages of women reported that it was likely they would use strategies with a reluctant man that could be described as

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physically seductive such as "Let your hands wander around his body a little" (76%) or

verbally seductive such as "Tell him how turned on you are and how much you want

him" (60%). Sizable percentages also reported that they would likely use strategies that

could be described as manipulative such as "Try to make him jealous" (21%),

intoxication-based such as "Get him a little drunk" (20%), and even strategies that

involve some level of physical force such as "Push him onto the bed and begin to undress

him" (61%). Although Clements-Schreiber and Rempel did not group and analyze the

strategies in this exact fashion, when controlling for age and education, they did find that

likelihood of using strategies the authors labeled as manipulative was significantly and

positively related to believing men were sexually weak and available. Based on this

finding, Clements-Schreiber and Rempel proposed that if women believe men will not, or

are incapable of, refusing an opportunity to have sexual contact, then women may not

take male refusals seriously and may be more likely to use high pressure tactics.

In a study by Russell and Oswald (2001), certain types of adversarial beliefs were

examined in relation to use of coercion, as well as gender role attributes. Fifty-two

sexually coercive and 231 noncoercive female college students were compared, and it

was hypothesized that coercive women, like coercive men, would exhibit higher levels of

social dominance and endorse a ludic lovestyle, described as an emotionally uninvolved

and manipulative approach to intimate relationships. It was also hypothesized that

coercive women would embrace a masculine sex role as opposed to a feminine sex role,

as measured by the Personality Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence, Helmreich, &

Stapp, 1975). Masculinity items on the PAQ tap such traits as "independent,"

"competitive," and "superior" and are conceptualized as characteristics men are stereotyped to possess to a greater extent than women and that are generally viewed as desirable. Femininity items on the PAQ are conceptualized similarly and tap traits such as "emotional," "gentle," and "aware of feelings of others." Logistic regressions revealed that a ludic lovestyle did predict sexual coercion among women as hypothesized, but that social dominance was unrelated to sexual coercion. These findings support the idea that coercive women, like coercive men, hold adversarial beliefs about relationships to the extent that they approach interactions with men in an emotionally detached and manipulative manner. However, the specific desire to dominate the opposite sex does not seem prevalent among sexually coercive women, as it does among sexually coercive men.

Furthermore, contrary to Russell and Oswald's hypothesis, highly feminine attitudes were found to characterize the sexually coercive women, whereas masculine attitudes better characterized the noncoercive women. Given this overall pattern of findings, the authors speculated "women who have exaggerated femininity may use femininity in a manipulative manner. Perhaps excessively feminine, coercive women perceive their strategies as being 'seductive' rather than coercive" (p.112). Although the femininity scale used by Russell and Oswald was designed to tap desirable feminine qualities, not "excessive" or "exaggerated" feminine characteristics (those that would seem to have a negative connotation), Russell and Oswald's speculation does seem to have merit. Although not specifically examined by the authors, it may be that endorsing many of the feminine qualities and few of the masculine qualities on the PAQ, in

combination, reflects a type of "hyperfemininity" that parallels the concept of hypermasculinity found in the male sexual coercion literature.

Murnen and Byrne (1991) published the first study to systematically assess the existence of "hyperfemininity" among 145 college women. They argued "in a rape-prone society, some women might learn to view themselves as sexual objects rather than actors, and they might come to view their sexuality as a commodity to use in relationships with men" (p. 481). They go on to define hyperfemininity as exaggerated adherence to a stereotypic feminine gender role and emphasize how maintenance of the feminine gender role itself perpetuates male dominance. They propose:

> …the hyperfeminine woman believes that her success is determined by developing and maintaining a relationship with a man and that her primary value in a romantic relationship is her sexuality; hyperfeminine women use their sexuality to obtain the goal of relationship maintenance…[and] hold expectations that men will also uphold their part in a traditional relationship—that of aggressive, sometimes forceful, initiators of sexual activity (p. 481).

Although Murnen and Byrne did not link hyperfemininity to female use of sexual coercion against men, they did find that scores on a hyperfemininity measure were positively related to cognitive variables that have been linked to use of sexual coercion, including rape myth acceptance, adversarial relationship beliefs, negative attitudes toward women, and traditional and rigid beliefs about gender roles. Clements-Schreiber and Rempel (1995) note that acceptance of male sexual stereotypes, such as that sex is the most important aspect of relationships for men and that men have difficulty distinguishing lust from love, may encourage women to seek relationships with men via sexual avenues. Such efforts at using sex as an entry point to men's intimate lives seems

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in line with the hyperfeminine tendency to view and use sexuality as a commodity. Also, several of the items used to capture hyperfemininity seem to tap directly into a manipulative or "ludic" approach to heterosexual relationships and sex: "Sometimes I cry to influence a man;" "I sometimes act sexy to get what I want from a man;" and "I sometimes say 'no' but really mean 'yes.'" Finally, Murnen and Byrne found that hyperfemininity was related to prior sexual victimization, a variable that has been found to predict female use of sexual coercion (e.g., Anderson, 1996; Schatzel-Murphy et al., 2009).

In a later study that stemmed from research on hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity, Hamburger, Hogben, McGowan, and Dawson (1996) validated a gender-neutral measure of adherence to these extreme stereotypic gender beliefs. Referred to as hypergender, the measure was found to positively and strongly relate to hypermasculinity in men and hyperfemininity in women. The ability of a single scale to tap the extreme ideologies of both genders seemed to highlight the complementary nature of these ideologies. Specifically, both hypergender men and hypergender women believed that men should be risk takers and use violence when necessary, and in turn, that women should value relationships with men above all else and use their appearance and sexuality as a commodity. Furthermore, Hamburger et al. specifically examined the link between hypergender and use of sexual coercion and found that both hypergendered men and hypergendered women reported higher levels of engaging in sexual coercion than their non-hypergender counterparts. The first study to examine this among women, the

authors noted that, "if replicated, these findings may have a strong impact on current theoretical perspectives regarding the gender-specific use of sexual coercion" (p. 175).

Similar to how hypermasculine men are theorized to maladaptively over-focus on brute domination and misuse the power often attributed to the male role, perhaps hyperfeminine women over-focus on some form of superficial "togetherness" and misuse the emotional acumen often attributed to the female role to seduce and manipulate uninterested males into sex. Seemingly in line with this notion, Zurbriggen (2000) compared 79 male and 79 female heterosexual community members from a U.S. city and found that high power motivation predicted use of sexual coercion among men, whereas high affiliation-intimacy motivation predicted sexual coercion among women. Motives were determined via coding of written stories in response to Thematic Apperception Test pictures, and the sexual coercion measure included a broad range of nonphysical and physical tactics. Furthermore, participants completed a lexical-decision priming task that provided an index of the strength of their cognitive association between the concepts of "power" and "sexuality." For men, power-sex associations predicted sexual coercion across the board, whereas for women, power-sex associations predicted sexual coercion only when affiliation-intimacy motivation was high. In light of the literature on hyperfemininity, these findings seem to suggest that sexually coercive women can be described as hyperfeminine to the extent that they play out sexual scripts that emphasize their value as sexual objects to men and drive them to establish intimate, and thus sexual, relationships in manipulative, power-infused ways – all the while, feeding into and

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perpetuating a patriarchal system's establishment of rigid gender roles, superiority of men, and ultimately, conflict and violence between the sexes.

Given the research reviewed above, and assuming that H1 (prior sexual abuse → sexual compulsivity → heterosexual coercion) was confirmed to some extent, the present study aimed to test a model of female heterosexual coercion that encompasses rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity, in addition to prior sexual abuse and sexual compulsivity. Prior sexual abuse was expected to be positively related to both rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity, given that Murnen and Byrne (1991) found sexual victimization to be related to hyperfemininity, and hyperfemininity to be related to rape myth acceptance. Although sexual compulsivity has not been examined in relation to women's rape myth acceptance or gender ideology, it was expected that these variables would be positively related. This was expected to the extent that sexual compulsivity reflects a feeling that one does not have control over one's sexuality and sexual behaviors, whereas both rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity seem to reflect a woman's willingness, or at least lack of resistance, to allow their sexuality and sexual behaviors to be controlled by men. In other words, the following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

H2: Rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity will be positively related.

H3: Prior sexual abuse will be positively related to rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity.

H4: Sexual compulsivity will be positively related to rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity.

H5: Rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity, in conjunction with sexual

compulsivity, will partially mediate a relationship between prior sexual abuse and

sexual coercion.

Expanding a Model of Female Heterosexual Coercion with Race-Related Variables

In addition to examining gender-related variables, the present study examined the

role race-related variables play in predicting female heterosexual coercion among various

racial groups. Sue (2003) notes that issues of race are often overlooked in research on

sexual coercion, given that the vast majority of studies are conducted with White men

and women. Even when samples do comprise some degree of racial diversity, the

intersection of race and gender and its cultural impact on sexual coercion as a

phenomenon is rarely addressed. For example, although some research indicates that

White men and women accept fewer rape myths than Black men and women (e.g.,

Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), White et al. note that most of these studies lack theoretical

models that explain the meaning and implication of these racial differences. Sue (2003)

elaborates on this point, explaining that it is impossible to unpackage the meaning of

observed differences between ethnic groups when the psychocultural constructs typically

associated with ethnicity are not considered.

Some studies have, however, succeeded at both examining culturally diverse

samples and examining relevant psychocultural variables. Hall, DeGarmo, Eap, Teten,

and Sue (2006) investigated self-reports of using heterosexual coercion among 1,039

university men, roughly half of which were Asian American and half of which were

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European American. In addition to comparing the prevalence rates of sexually coercive behavior between these two ethnic groups, the following gender and ethnicity-related constructs were measured and analyzed: acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape myths; hostile masculinity; ethnic identity; perceived minority status; and loss of face. The ethnic identity measure was described as assessing the process of exploring and resolving ethnic identity issues and developing positive ethnic attitudes for multiple ethnic groups (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group"). Perceived minority status was described as measuring the extent to which a person identifies as being part of a minority group and is conscious of being stereotyped because of their minority status (e.g., "The police mistreat members of my ethnic group"). The loss of face measure was described as assessing the importance of the threat to or loss of one's social integrity (e.g., "I do not criticize others because this may embarrass them") and was conceptualized as being a salient psychocultural factor in collectivist cultural groups that emphasize interpersonal harmony, including most Asian cultural groups.

First, Hall et al. (2006) found that rates of using sexual coercion (37%) did not significantly differ by actual minority status given that the rates did not differ between the Asian American and European American men. Based on this finding alone, the authors could have concluded that ethnicity does not play a role in sexual coercion. However, upon examining the psychocultural variables, they concluded that, despite Asian American men having higher scores on acceptance of interpersonal violence, rape myths, and hostile masculinity (predictors of sexual coercion in the sample as a whole), high scores on loss of face seemed to serve as a protective factor against use of sexual

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coercion by Asian American men. Two previous studies (Hall, Sue, Narang, & Lilly, 2000; Hall, Teten, DeGarmo, Sue, & Stephens, 2005) also found concern for loss of social integrity to be associated with lower levels of sexual coercion among Asian-American men. On the other hand, whereas ethnic identity was unrelated to sexual coercion, perceived minority status, and thus perceived stigmatization or discriminatory experiences, was found to be related to increases in sexual coercion for all men.

Consistent with Comas-Díaz's sociopolitical analysis of sexual abuse within Puerto Rican communities (Comas-Díaz, 1995), Hall et al. (2006) note that a theoretical explanation for the relationship between perceived minority status and use of heterosexual coercion is that men displace the negative emotional effects of minority oppression onto women in the form of abusive behavior. They also note that European-American men, though part of the U.S. ethnic majority, may perceive themselves as minorities on some dimensions (e.g., socioeconomic status) and displace their emotions onto women as well. Similar models of emotional displacement have been explicated by Milburn, Conrad, Sala, and Carberry (1995) and Begany and Milburn (2002) in relation to experiences of childhood abuse, necessary denial and suppression of anger and other negative emotions resulting from the abuse, and later displacement of negative emotions on ethnic minorities, women, and other groups that are systematically deprived of power. To this effect, White men may seem to displace their emotions, not as a function of perceiving themselves to be part of an ethnic minority, but as a function of perceiving themselves to be part of an ethnic majority and taking destructive advantage of that privilege. Milburn et al. (1995) suggest that the destructive process of emotional

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displacement among men may be minimized if they have the opportunity to confront their denial of negative emotions and channel it in a constructive way through some therapeutic process.

Unfortunately, research on race and women's use of sexual coercion has yet to be conducted. In the same way, however, that research on gender-related variables and male sexual coercion can lay a framework for research on gender-related variables and female sexual coercion, research on race-related variables and male sexual coercion can lay a framework for studying such variables among women. Given that the present study was conducted with a racially diverse sample of women, the study aimed to test a model of female heterosexual coercion that encompasses actual minority status, perceived minority status, and ethnocentrism. Because specific racial groups were not focused on in the present study (e.g., Asian), psychocultural constructs that are thought to be specific to certain racial groups (e.g., loss of face) were not examined. Despite a dearth of research on race-related variables and women's use of heterosexual coercion, the following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

H6: Actual minority status will not be related to heterosexual coercion.

H7: Perceived minority status will positively predict heterosexual coercion.

H8: Ethnocentrism will positively predict heterosexual coercion.

H9: Perceived minority status will moderate the main effects of prior sexual abuse, sexual compulsivity, rape myth acceptance, and hyperfemininity on heterosexual coercion.

H10: Ethnocentrism will moderate the main effects of prior sexual abuse, sexual

compulsivity, rape myth acceptance, and hyperfemininity on heterosexual

coercion.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants were a convenience sample ($n = 177$) composed of undergraduate

women from two public universities, one located in the northeast ($n = 72$) and one located

on the southwest coast ($n = 72$), and one private university located in the northeast ($n =$

33). Because use of sexual coercion within heterosexual contexts is the focus of the

present study, only data from participants who identified primarily as heterosexual were

included in analyses and only those without large amounts of missing data. Age of the

women ranged from 17 to 48 years, with a mean age of 19.7 years and a standard

deviation of 3.9 years. Compared to the sample in Schatzel-Murphy et al., the present

sample was similar in age on average but varied more widely (SD = 3.9 vs. SD = 1.4).

Racial diversity of the sample was as follows (note that each participant could

check off one or more racial groups to describe their own racial identity so total does not

equal 100%): 68% White; 16% Latina/Hispanic; 13% Asian; 6% Black; 2% Native

American or Alaskan Native; and 5% Other. Overall, 63% of the women identified as

White only, whereas 37% identified as any race other than White only (e.g., White and

Black, Asian, etc…). Compared to the sample in Schatzel-Murphy et al., the present

sample captured greater racial diversity (68% White vs. 87% White). Socioeconomic

status was assessed with the item, "Growing up, how would you describe the financial situation of your family?" Socioeconomic diversity of the sample was as follows: 2% Routinely unable to meet basic needs; 17% Occasionally unable to meet basic needs; 54% Never worried about basic needs being met; 27% Had more than enough to meet needs.

Procedure

After obtaining university IRB approval, the experimenter and two colleagues began data collection in April 2009. Participants were recruited via electronic Psychology 101 participant pool websites as well as through a blast email that was sent to all students in selected departments (i.e., Justice Studies, Psychology). At all universities, participating in the study was described in the Informed Consent Form as answering "questions about your feelings and your life experiences. Questions deal with such topics as sexual fantasies and behaviors, past relationships, and experiences with alcohol. Some of the items may be difficult to answer due to their personal and/or sexual nature." Data collection was associated with a host of studies on female sexual coercion being led by other investigators.

A computerized questionnaire was administered in a lab on up to seven computers at one time. Upon each participant's arrival, the administrator asked the participant to read the Informed Consent Form and gave each participant the opportunity to ask questions, raise concerns, or decline from participating. Two credits toward completing a research participation course requirement were offered for completing the study at two of

the universities. Participants who did not wish to participate in any experiments could achieve the same credits by completing a short writing assignment. At the other university, students were offered extra credit (at their instructor's discretion) for participating. Once each participant signed and dated the Informed Consent Form, each was seated at a computer where she could take the questionnaire in complete privacy. No other participant or the administrator could see the computer screen of the participant while she was taking the questionnaire. On average, participants took roughly 1 hour and 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Once the participant completed the questionnaire, she was given a printed explanation of the study and given the opportunity to ask any questions that she wished. Participants were then given proof of participation for credit purposes.

Measures

The questionnaire administered was a modified version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Development, Sex, and Aggression (MIDSA) (MIDSA Clinical Manual, 2008). The MIDSA, originally created for male sex offenders and subsequently broadened to be appropriate both for juvenile and for non-criminal male samples, is a comprehensive inventory addressing various aspects of sexual behavior and attitudes, in addition to a wide variety of life experiences. The reliability and validity of scales included in the MIDSA have been previously demonstrated (Knight & Cerce, 1999; Knight, Prentky, & Cerce, 1994; Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004, 2005). The MIDSA was modified for the present study to the extent that items pertaining specifically to women,

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such as women's gender ideology (e.g., hyperfemininity) and women's notions of men's sexuality (e.g., rape myths about men), were added. Items capturing various aspects of racial and ethnic identity were also added. These new items will be used in conjunction with items that are original to the MIDSA.

Sexual coercion. Sexual coercion is defined in the present study as employment of tactics aimed toward engaging in sexual contact with an unwilling peer-aged or adult person. Four broad categories of sexual coercion tactics were assessed: seduction (e.g., flirting, massaging) of an unwilling partner; manipulation (e.g., making false promises, ignoring and pouting, crying, threatening to end the relationship); intoxication (e.g., engaging in contact with a person too drunk or high to object, giving alcohol or drugs to a person so s/he could not object); and force (e.g., grabbing, hitting, holding down). Intoxication and force items were original to the MIDSA, whereas items capturing the use of seductive and manipulative tactics were added to an earlier version of the MIDSA and were based on tactics that O'Sullivan and Byers (1993) and Waldner-Haugrud and Magruder (1995) proposed are commonly employed by coercive women (see Appendix for all items). Seductive tactics were those that a majority of men and women judged as relatively benign when employed with an unwilling partner, whereas manipulative tactics were those that were judged by a majority of men and women to be relatively negative in impact.

Within each coercive category, four types of sexual contact were assessed: sex play (fondling, kissing, or petting), oral sex, attempted sexual intercourse, and completed sexual intercourse. A total of 36 items were administered and participants could endorse

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an item by indicating how often they have employed the given tactic to obtain or attempt to obtain a given type of sexual contact, from never (0 times) to very often (50 or more times). All sexual coercion measures were thus incidence-based as opposed to results-based to the extent that the coercive behavior was the focus as opposed to the outcome or result of the coercive behavior.

Given that sexual coercion is a multi-faceted phenomenon, multiple measures of sexual coercion were created to ensure that it was examined from several angles. First, responses for each category of sexual coercion (e.g., manipulation) were collapsed and four dichotomous variables were created that each captured whether a person had reported ever using that particular type of coercive tactic or not. These dichotomous variables were created so that potential differences between racial groups could be examined in a simple fashion.

Responses across all categories of sexual coercion were again collapsed, yielding four dichotomous variables that each captured whether a person had reported ever using coercion to obtain or attempt to obtain a particular type of sexual contact (sex play, oral sex, attempted intercourse, or completed intercourse). These dichotomous variables were created so that potential differences between racial groups in coercive contact could be examined in a simple fashion.

Item Response Theory (IRT) analyses reported in Schatzel-Murphy et al. indicated that participants who reported coercing someone at higher levels (i.e., force tactics) or who reported obtaining more invasive forms of sexual contact (i.e., intercourse) were not any more likely to also have reported coercing someone at lower

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levels (i.e., seductive tactics) or to have reported obtaining less invasive forms of sexual contact (i.e., sex play). Additional analyses reported in Schatzel-Murphy et al. showed that examining each coercive tactic or each type of sexual contact separately, as opposed to as a composite, did not yield any unique information about predicting use of sexual coercion. Based on these previous findings, sexual coercion was predicted in the present study by simply collapsing all sexual coercion items into a single measure reflecting the mean frequency of using coercive tactics to obtain or attempt to obtain sexual contact from unwilling persons.

Prior sexual abuse. Sexual abuse was defined as the experience of unwilling sexual contact prior to adulthood. It was assessed using up to 429 individual items and covered sexual contact in both childhood and adolescence with various family members, authority figures, peers, and strangers. These items also captured the nature, extent, and frequency of contact ranging from touching to intercourse. Sexual abuse was ultimately collapsed into a continuous variable capturing the number of distinct abusers (e.g., stepfather, babysitter, girlfriend, boyfriend, stranger) with whom the participant reported experiencing unwilling sexual contact. A dichotomous variable capturing whether a person has experienced any prior sexual abuse was also created so that potential differences between racial groups could be examined easily.

Prior sexual harassment. Given that sexual abuse was found to predict a variety of sexuality constructs in Schatzel-Murphy et al., though not to a strong extent, an additional measure capturing prior experience of sexual harassment was examined in the present study. Sexual harassment was defined as the experience of unwanted sexual

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attention or exposure to unwanted sexual content. It was assessed using 12 individual items and covered harassment across the lifetime (i.e., "ever") and across people (i.e., "anyone"). These items captured a range of specific experiences (e.g., crude or sexist remarks based on my gender, staring/leering, a person of authority exerting sexual pressure, etc…). Sexual harassment was ultimately collapsed into a continuous variable capturing the mean frequency of experiencing sexual harassment. A dichotomous variable capturing whether a person has experienced any sexual harassment was also created so that potential differences between racial groups could be examined easily.

Sexual dominance. Sexual dominance was defined as deriving sexual pleasure from dominating someone in a sexual situation. Four items assessed sexual dominance (e.g., "I enjoy dominating someone in a sexual situation.") The scale was computed as the mean of the four items and ranged in value from 0 (no or extremely low sexual dominance) to 4 (very high sexual dominance). Reliability analysis of the sexual dominance scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .71.

Sociosexuality. Sociosexuality was defined as one's willingness to engage in uncommitted sexual relations or casual sex (Simpson & Gangestad, 1991). Eight items assessed sociosexuality (e.g., "I can imagine myself being comfortable and enjoying 'casual' sex with different partners."). The scale was computed as the mean of the eight items and ranged in value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low sociosexuality) to 4 (reflecting very high sociosexuality). Reliability analysis of the sociosexuality scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .83.

Sexual compulsivity. Sexual compulsivity was defined as difficulty controlling sexual urges. Seven items assessed sexual compulsivity (e.g., "I have not been able to stop myself from a sexual act, even when I wanted to stop."). The scale was computed as the mean of the seven items and ranged in value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low sexual compulsivity) to 4 (reflecting very high sexual compulsivity). Reliability analysis of the sexual compulsivity scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .88.

Rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance was defined as acceptance of beliefs that support, condone, or minimize the use of sexual coercion to obtain unwilling sexual contact from a person. Eight items adapted from The Male Sexual Stereotypes Scale (Clements-Schreiber & Rempel, 1995) were added to the MIDSA and were factor analyzed along with existing items capturing rape myths specifically about women and other items capturing beliefs about gender ideology, including hyperfemininity. Five rape myths about men (e.g., "Most men always want sex and will do or say anything to get it.") and two rape myths about women (e.g., "If a female does not strongly resist sexual advances, it means she is willing to have sex.") were found to form a cohesive factor and so were combined into a single scale. The scale was computed as the mean of the seven items and ranged in value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low acceptance of rape myths) to 4 (reflecting very high acceptance of rape myths). Reliability analysis of the rape myth acceptance scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .70.

Hyperfemininity. Hyperfemininity was defined as an exaggerated adherence to a stereotypic feminine gender role. Thirteen items adapted from the Hyperfemininity Scale (Murnen & Byrne, 1991) were added to the MIDSA and factor analyzed along with

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existing items capturing beliefs about gender ideology, including rape myth acceptance.

A total of eight items were found to form a cohesive factor that captured both viewing

female sexuality as a commodity (e.g., "I enjoy playing hard to get.") and accepting

stereotypically masculine behavior from men (e.g., "When a man whistles at me I feel a

bit flattered.") The scale was computed as the mean of the eight items and ranged in

value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low hyperfemininity) to 4 (reflecting very high

hyperfemininity). Reliability analysis of the hyperfemininity scale yielded an alpha

coefficient of .59.

Actual minority status. Actual minority status was defined as identifying as any

racial group or groups other than or in addition to White. Racial identity was assessed

using the following item: "Which group below most accurately describes your racial

background? (check all that apply): Black; Latina/Hispanic; White; Native American or

Alaska Native; Asian; Other race (please specify)" Responses to this item were collapsed

to create a dichotomous variable where one group identified exclusively as White

(assigned a value of "0") and the other did not identify exclusively as White (e.g., White

and Black, Asian) (assigned a value of "1").

Perceived minority status. Perceived minority status was defined as identifying as

a racial or ethnic minority and being conscious to some degree of being stereotyped based

on perceived minority status. Four items adapted from The Stigma Consciousness scale

(Pinel, 1999) (e.g., "I feel that people often interpret my behaviors in light of my race or

ethnicity.") and two items based on the work of Phinney (1996) and Sidanius, Pratto, and

Rabinowitz (1994) (e.g., "I think of myself as a member of an ethnic minority group")

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were added to the MIDSA and factor analyzed along with other items designed to capture perception of gender-based oppression and ethnocentrism. Five items were found to form a cohesive factor that captured perception of being a minority (e.g., "Stereotypes about my race have impacted me personally.") The scale was computed as the mean of the five items and ranged in value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low perceived minority status) to 4 (reflecting very high perceived minority status). Reliability analysis of the perceived minority status scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .75.

 Ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism was defined as belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group. Four items adapted from the Ethnocentrism Inventory (Newuliep & McCroskey, 1997) (e.g., If everyone lived like the people in my culture, they would be happier.) were added to the MIDSA and factor analyzed along with other items designed to capture perception of gender-based oppression and perceived minority status. Two items were found to form a cohesive factor that captured ethnocentrism (e.g., "Many people from cultures other than mine just don't know what's good for them.") The scale was computed as the mean of the two items and ranged in value from 0 (reflecting no or extremely low ethnocentrism) to 4 (reflecting very high ethnocentrism). Reliability analysis of the perceived minority status scale yielded an alpha coefficient of .64.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Replication of Previous Findings

To address the first two research questions, chi-square analyses were calculated and are presented in Table 1. Some significant differences between the relatively homogeneous Schatzel-Murphy et al. sample (the previous sample) and the relatively diverse present sample were revealed across different tactics of sexual coercion (RQ1). Significantly more women from the previous sample reported employing one or more coercion tactics. Significantly more women from the previous sample also reported employing seductive or intoxication tactics. Chi-squares did not reveal significant differences between the samples on their use of manipulative or force tactics. One significant difference between the samples was revealed across different forms of sexual contact (RQ2). Significantly more women from the previous sample reported obtaining or attempting to obtain sex play through coercive means. The samples did not, however, differ in their reports of obtaining or attempting to obtain oral sex or vaginal/anal sex (i.e., intercourse).

To address the third research question (RQ3), independent samples *t*-tests, as shown in Table 2, were calculated and revealed that the samples did not differ significantly on sociosexuality, sexual compulsivity, or sexual dominance. Women from

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the previous sample did, however, report having been sexually abused by significantly

more people than women from the present sample. Additionally, significantly more

women from the previous sample (48.4%) than from the present sample (24.3%) reported

experiencing any prior sexual abuse ($\chi^2_{(1, n = 270)}$ = 16.12, p < .001).

Table 1

Chi-Square Analyses of Coercion Tactics and Coercion Contact by Sample

Measure	Present Sample ($n = 177$)		Schatzel-Murphy et al. Sample ($n = 93$)		χ^2	p
	n	$\%$	n	$\%$		
Any Coercion	46	26.0	46	49.5	14.96	<.001
Seductive	21	11.9	22	23.7	6.33	.012
Manipulative	38	21.5	28	30.1	2.46	ns
Intoxication	9	5.1	16	17.2	10.66	.001
Force	5	2.8	5	5.4	1.11	ns
Sex Play	43	24.3	45	48.4	16.11	<.001
Oral Sex	23	13.0	16	17.2	0.87	ns
Vaginal/Anal Sex	33	18.6	15	16.1	0.26	ns

Given that the previous and present sample seemed sufficiently comparable,

replication of the key findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al. was attempted. The structural

equation model found to fit the previous sample (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, see Figure

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1) was estimated with the present sample using Amos 16.0 (see Figure 2). After making a single modification by adding a direct path from sociosexuality to sexual coercion, the overall fit of the model to the present sample's data was very good, indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2{}_{(3, n = 177)} = 5.60$, $p = .133$), a comparative fit index (CFI) of .98 (Bentler, 1990: CFI ranges from 0 (poor fit) to 1 (excellent fit); Byrne, 2001), and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .07 (Brown & Cudeck, 1993: RMSEA below .08 indicates an acceptable fit). All paths of the model were statistically significant at the $p = .02$ level, except for the path between sexual abuse and sexual compulsivity ($p = .370$) and the covariance between sociosexuality and sexual dominance ($p = .074$), which were still both determined to make substantive contributions toward the strength of the model. H1 was partially confirmed to the extent that sexual abuse was found to predict sexual coercion both directly and via sexual compulsivity, though a true mediational model was not achieved. Overall, however, the key findings of Schatzel-Murphy et al. were sufficiently replicated, laying the foundation upon which to expand the model of women's heterosexual coercion with the present sample.

Table 2

Independent Samples t-test Analyses of Coercion Predictors by Sample

Measure	Present Sample (*n* = 177)		Schatzel-Murphy et al. Sample (*n* = 93)			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*P*
Sociosexuality[a]	0.81	0.87	1.02	0.82	-1.88	Ns
Compulsivity[a]	0.66	0.82	0.62	0.67	0.40	Ns
Dominance[a]	0.71	0.80	0.61	0.71	1.04	Ns
Sexual Abusers[b]	0.40	0.95	.77	1.07	2.86	.005

[a] Absolute range, 0-4.
[b] Absolute range, 0-39.
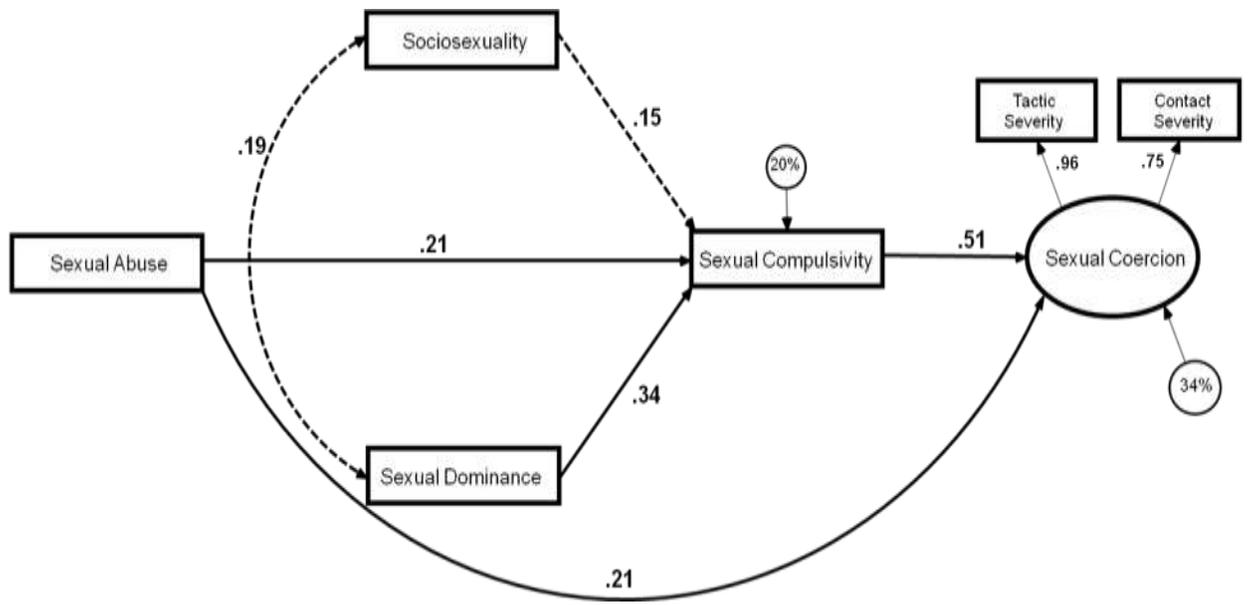
Figure 1. Structural equation model (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00; Schatzel-Murphy et al.,

2009) with standardized estimates predicting heterosexual coercion, tested in a sample of

90 undergraduate women. Twenty percent (20%) of the variance in sexual compulsivity

and 34% of the variance in sexual coercion was accounted for by the model. Solid arrows

indicate that the standardized beta is significant at $p < .05$. Dashed arrows indicate that

the standardized beta is not significant at $p = .05$, but that the path was determined to

make a substantive contributions toward the strength of the model.
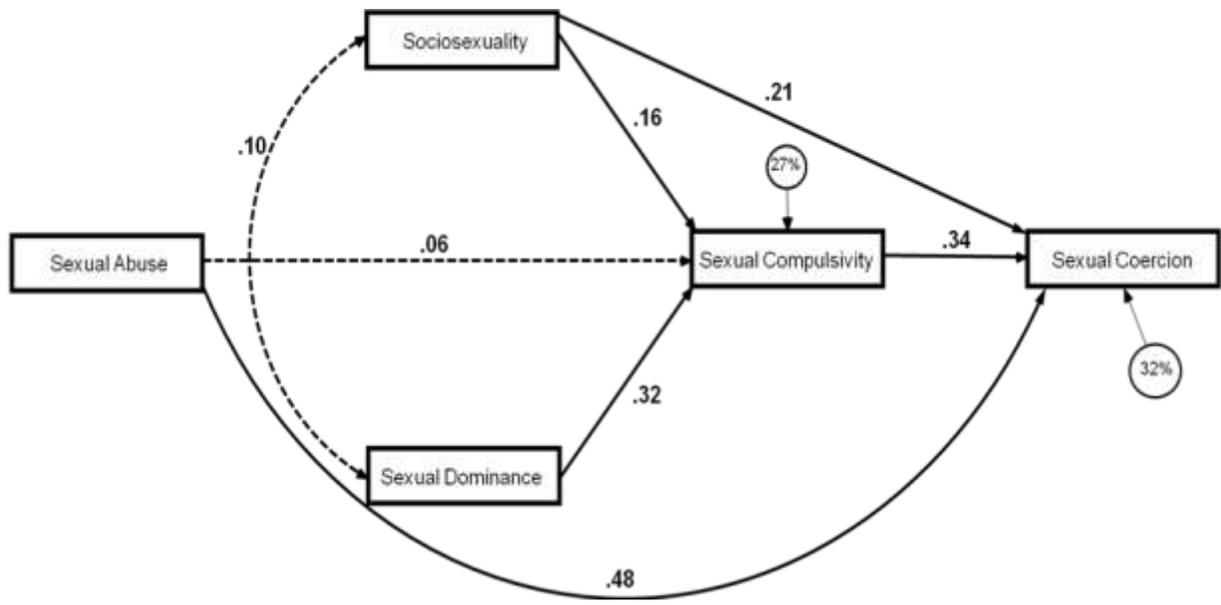
*Figure 2.* Structural equation model (CFI = .98, RMSEA = .07) with standardized

estimates predicting heterosexual coercion, tested in a sample of 177 undergraduate

women. Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the variance in sexual compulsivity and 32% of

the variance in sexual coercion was accounted for by the model. Solid arrows indicate

that the standardized beta is significant at *p* < .02. Dashed arrows indicate that the

standardized beta is not significant at *p* = .05, but that the path was determined to make a

substantive contribution toward the strength of the model.

Expanding the Model with Gender-Related Variables

Prior to examining the relationships between the variables included in the

Schatzel-Murphy et al. model and the new gender-related variables of the present study,

descriptives of the new variables were calculated: Hyperfemininity, M = 1.64, SD = 0.59;

Rape Myth Acceptance, $M = 1.69$, $SD = 0.73$. Correlations of all variables considered for inclusion in the expanded model were then calculated (see Table 3). H2 was confirmed given that rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity were significantly and positively related. Although the strength of the correlation suggested that both measures could be tapping the same underlying construct, factor analyses conducted during scale construction, along with the unique pattern of significant relationships that emerged with other variables, established an acceptable level of discriminate validity.

H3 was not confirmed, given that prior sexual abuse did not positively relate to rape myth acceptance or hyperfemininity. It is, however, notable that prior experience of sexual harassment was significantly and positively related to hyperfemininity. This finding, in addition to the finding that reported levels of sexual abuse were relatively low in the present sample, suggested that reported sexual harassment may be a more reliable and effective predictor of dysfunctional sexuality than sexual abuse alone. Finally, H4 was partially confirmed to the extent that sexual compulsivity was significantly and positively related to hyperfemininity but not rape myth acceptance. Based on these findings, it was decided that both rape myth acceptance and hyperfemininity would be included in the expanded model, though hyperfemininity would be expected to play a more central role in the model.

An expanded structural equation model of female heterosexual coercion was then estimated using Amos 16.0. A latent trait intending to capture prior sexual mistreatment was created that comprised both the observed sexual abuse measure and the observed sexual harassment measure. The factor loadings of the two observed measures onto the

latent sexual mistreatment trait were acceptable (both greater than .50), establishing

convergent validity of the measures and suggesting that they were both tapping a

common latent construct.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix of Model Variables (n = 177)

Measure	SA	SH	SS	SC	SD	RM	HF	SN
Sexual Abusers (SA)	—							
Sexual Harassment (SH)	.29‡	—						
Sociosexuality (SS)	.13	.18*	—					
Sexual Compulsivity (SC)	.14	.28‡	.23†	—				
Sexual Dominance (SD)	.14	.13	.14	.51‡	—			
Rape Myth Acceptance (RM)	.04	-.03	.02	.14	.21†	—		
Hyperfemininity (HF)	.09	.20†	.25†	.33‡	.39‡	.45‡	—	
Sexual Coercion (SN)	.39‡	.32‡	.32‡	.43‡	.24†	.05	.30‡	—

*$p < .05.$ † $p < .01.$ ‡$p < .001.$

The final expanded model depicted in Figure 3 was arrived at in two steps. First,

an *a priori* model, based on the replicated model and the new correlational findings, was

tested. The overall fit of the *a priori* model to the present sample's data was very good,

indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(16, n = 177)} = 23.74$, $p = .095$), a comparative

fit index (CFI) of .97, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .05. A modification, however, was suggested by Amos 16.0, and so accordingly, a direct path between sexual mistreatment and sexual compulsivity was added to the model. This second model was then estimated and found to have a slightly improved fit, indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 177)} = 19.41$, $p = .196$), a comparative fit index (CFI) of .98, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .04. Allowing for the expansion of sexual abuse into sexual mistreatment, H5 was partially confirmed by the final model. Although rape myth acceptance was not found to mediate any relationships in the model, hyperfemininity, in conjunction with sexual compulsivity, did indeed partially mediate the relationship between prior experience of sexual mistreatment and use of sexual coercion.
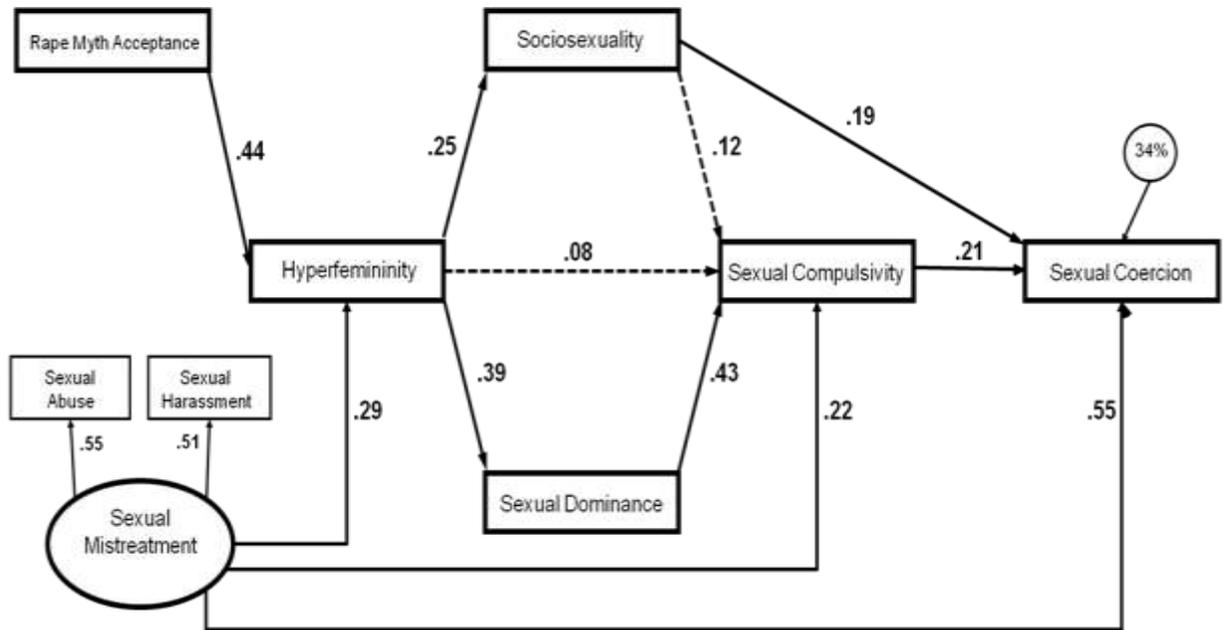
Figure 3. Structural equation model (CFI = .98, RMSEA = .04) with standardized

estimates predicting heterosexual coercion, tested in a sample of 177 undergraduate

women. Thirty four percent (34%) of the variance in sexual coercion was accounted for

by the model. Solid arrows indicate that the standardized beta is significant at $p < .02$.

Dashed arrows indicate that the standardized beta is not significant at $p = .05$, but that

the path was determined to make a substantive contribution toward the strength of the

model.

Testing Race-Related Moderators

Before examining the moderating effects of the race-related variables on the

expanded model, descriptives were calculated for the entire sample: Perceived minority

status, median = 1.4, M = 1.43, SD = .93; Ethnocentrism, median = 0.5, M = .76, SD =

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.81. Regarding actual minority status, 63% of participants identified as White only and 37% identified as non-White or not exclusively White. Correlations were then calculated between the race-related variables and all variables included in the model (see Table 4). H6 was confirmed given that actual minority status was not significantly related to use of sexual coercion. However, neither H7 nor H8 were confirmed. Perceived minority status was not significantly related to use of sexual coercion. Although the relationship approached significance in the hypothesized direction, ethnocentrism was not significantly ($p = .091$) related to use of sexual coercion.

Actual minority status, perceived minority status, and ethnocentrism were all found to be significantly and positively related. Actual minority status and perceived minority status were also found to positively and significantly relate to prior experience of sexual abuse, rape myth acceptance, and sexual dominance. Ethnocentrism was found to positively and significantly relate to sexual dominance, rape myth acceptance, and hyperfemininity.

After splitting the sample by actual minority status, the expanded model was estimated on each sub-sample. The overall fit of the model to the racially homogeneous, White sub-sample was very good, as indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 111)} = 18.42$, $p = .244$), a comparative fit index (CFI) of .97, and a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .05. The overall fit to the racially heterogeneous, non-White sub-sample was relatively weaker, as indicated by a significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 66)} = 26.51$, $p = .033$), a CFI of .91, and a RMSEA of .11. Thus, actual minority status moderated the fit of the model to a mild degree. Given the relatively small size of the

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non-White sub-sample, however, combined with the fact that quite different minority groups are combined into one overall group, this finding must be interpreted with caution.

After splitting the sample at the median of perceived minority status, the expanded model was estimated on each sub-sample. The overall fit of the model to the women who, relatively, did not perceive themselves to experience oppression related to race or ethnicity was excellent, as indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 99)} =$ 13.52, $p = .562$), a CFI of 1.00, and a RMSEA of .00. The overall fit to the women who, relatively, perceived themselves as experiencing oppression related to their race or ethnicity was relatively weaker, as indicated by a nearly significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 78)} = 24.29$, $p = .060$), a CFI of .92, and a RMSEA of .09. Thus, H9 was partially confirmed given that perceived minority status moderated the fit of the model to a mild degree.

After splitting the sample at the median of ethnocentrism, the expanded model was estimated on each sub-sample. The overall fit of the model to the women who, relatively, held weak ethnocentric beliefs, was decent, as indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 98)} = 25.21$, $p = .047$), a CFI of .95, and a RMSEA of .08. The overall fit to the women who, relatively, held strong ethnocentric beliefs, was marginal. Although the chi-square was non-significant ($\chi^2_{(15, n = 79)} = 23.22$, $p = .081$) and the RMSEA was .08, the comparative fit index (CFI) was only .81. Notably, with a single modification (adding a direct path from rape myth acceptance to sexual compulsivity), the model achieved an excellent fit, as indicated by a non-significant chi-square ($\chi^2_{(14, n =}$

$_{79)}$ = 10.82, p = .703), a CFI of 1.00, and a RMSEA of .00. Thus, H10 was largely not

confirmed.

Table 4

Correlation Matrix of Race-Related Variables and Model Variables (n = 177)

Measure	Actual Minority Status	Perceived Minority Status	Ethnocentrism
Actual Minority Status (AM)	—		
Perceived Minority Status (PM)	.71‡	—	
Ethnocentrism (EC)	.17*	.26†	—
Sexual Abusers (SA)	.22†	.27‡	-.02
Sexual Harassment (SH)	-.07	.00	-.01
Sociosexuality (SS)	-.05	.00	.06
Sexual Compulsivity (SC)	.06	.05	-.01
Sexual Dominance (SD)	.15*	.16*	.20†
Rape Myth Acceptance (RM)	.23†	.19†	.38‡
Hyperfemininity (HF)	.05	.12	.31‡
Sexual Coercion (SN)	.07	.04	.13

*p < .05. † p < .01. ‡p < .001.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Implications of Model Replication

Despite the women in the present sample reporting fewer experiences of both

victimization (i.e., prior sexual abuse) and perpetration (i.e., sexual coercion) than the

previous Schatzel-Murphy et al. sample, the preliminary model tested in Schatzel-

Murphy et al. was sufficiently replicated in the present study. This finding establishes a

certain level of reliability of the model and justified its use as a basis for model

expansion.

Specifically, the replication confirmed that sexual compulsivity is a key predictor

of sexual coercion among women and that sexual dominance, a key predictor among

men, bears an indirect influence on women's use of sexually coercive tactics via sexual

compulsivity. This finding lends further support to the notion that women's use of sexual

coercion is not simply a random phenomenon with no understandable correlates, nor is it

simply a case of women taking on a male role and behaving aggressively to achieve

dominance. The data continue to suggest that women engage in heterosexual coercion in

a context of feeling "out of control," though may be doing so in a misguided and

desperate attempt to feel "in control." Such states of emotional and behavioral dissonance

are often observed among individuals with sexual trauma histories who struggle with

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emotion dysregulation (e.g., Linehan, 1993) and may account for the dominance/compulsivity path of the replicated model.

The current replication also lends further support to the idea that sociosexuality plays a role in women's use of heterosexual coercion. Although sociosexuality was only an indirect predictor in the previous sample, it proved to be both a direct predictor of sexual coercion and an indirect predictor via sexual compulsivity in the present study. Thus, sociosexuality emerged as a relatively stronger predictor in the present sample. This finding highlights the possibility that there are two or more distinct groups of women (i.e., types) who engage in heterosexual coercion: perhaps one type who are characterized by emotional dysregulation and compulsive use of coercion tactics (i.e., captured by the dominance/compulsivity path) and a second type who may be characterized by less emotional conflict and more of an impersonal, callous approach to sex (i.e., captured by the sociosexuality path). It is also quite possible that there are no distinct groups, but that sociosexuality simply serves as a further disinhibitor for those women who resort to compulsive action in hopes of achieving some sense of control.

Unlike the model in Schatzel-Murphy et al., the path between sexual abuse and sexual compulsivity in the present model was not significant. Although the path did make a substantive contribution to the overall model in predicting sexual coercion, the indirect path was not itself robust. Sexual abuse predicted sexual coercion more directly in the present sample. This difference in strength of findings could be accounted for by the relatively low variance of self-reported sexual abuse in the present sample. It seems possible that prior sexual abuse is capturing an influential developmental risk factor,

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though not to a reliable enough degree, and thus, that expanding the sexual abuse predictor into a broader measure of sexual mistreatment (which was done for the model expansion) was warranted.

Rape Myths and Hyperfemininity Predict Female Heterosexual Coercion

The replicated model was successfully expanded with the gender-related variables hyperfemininity and rape myth acceptance. This expansion bolstered the notion that women's use of heterosexual coercion is tied, not to feeling or behaving rigidly and stereotypically masculine, but to feeling and behaving rigidly and stereotypically feminine. The addition of rape myth acceptance to the model suggests that women's coercive behavior is driven by gender-based misperceptions of both men and women's ability to clearly resist or consent to sexual contact, and overall, that sexual interactions are adversarial by nature. Expanding the model of female heterosexual coercion with such gender-based variables emphasizes the importance of taking a gender-specific approach to the assessment and treatment of this problematic behavior.

More specifically, the expanded model suggests that the developmental trajectory of women's use of sexual coercion is at least two-pronged, with one trajectory being triggered by personal experience of sexual mistreatment (i.e., adversarial sexual interactions) and another being rooted in learning or acceptance of myths about adversarial or non-consensual sexual contact. Sexual mistreatment was also found to have a direct relationship to use of heterosexual coercion, suggesting that there are variables yet to be included in the model that may mediate this relationship and improve the

predictive power of the model overall. Including both mistreatment and myths as developmental origins thus seems important, especially given that both make unique predictive contributions to the emergent heart of the proposed model: hyperfemininity.

The expanded model highlights the central role hyperfemininity plays in driving the psychosexual constructs that lead to heterosexual coercion among women. As noted by previous research (Hamburger, Hogben, McGowan, & Dawson, 1996), this finding is crucial in understanding how men and women's use of sexual coercion are distinct yet complementary phenomena. In the present study, hyperfemininity was composed of two main factors: viewing female sexuality as a commodity and expecting dominant behavior from men (i.e., expecting hypermasculinity). It seems that both aspects of hyperfemininity can provide insight into how such a gender role identity can lead to coercive behavior via the paths specified in the model. Although the present findings could be discussed from a variety of perspectives (e.g., evolutionary perspective), the sociocultural variables examined in the study, such as hyperfemininity, seem to lend themselves well to interpretation within a framework of social learning. Specifically, sexual script theory seems to offer some compelling insight into why individuals of particular genders may behave as they do in certain sexual scenarios.

Gagnon and Simon (1973) first defined the script concept as the organization of mutually shared conventions that allows two or more actors to participate in a complete act involving mutual dependence. They explain that scripts are shaped by cultural norms and values that are shared by the actors involved in a behavioral sequence and that scripts dictate what behaviors will be carried out, how they will be carried out, and the meaning

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that will be assigned to the behaviors (Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Simon & Gagnon, 1986). Heusmann (1988, 1998) later rooted the concept of the script in a social learning framework, emphasizing the cognitive nature of scripts and the consequent link between learning histories, cognition, and behavior – specifically, aggressive behavior. Gagnon and Simon went on to coin the terms "gender script" and "sexual script," Gagnon (1990) noting that "Western societies now have a system of gender and sexual learning in which gender differential scripts are learned prior to sexual scripts, but take their origins in part from the previously learned gender scripts" (p. 5). In other words, men and women develop structured notions of how to act their gender, how these actions differ between genders, and finally, how to act in sexual situations such that these differences are maintained.

Krahé (2000) provides a particularly compelling description of how sexual scripts are interactional and how cognitions about gender can lead to certain behavior:

> It is important to stress that sexual scripts are inherently interactional in that they comprise the behaviors and characteristics of both the actor and his or her sexual partner. Scripted representations of the partner and his or her likely feelings and behaviors (e.g., "women like playing hard to get and don't really mean no when they say so") are critically important in the retrieval of scripts pertinent to a given heterosexual encounter as well as to the evaluation of the normative appropriateness of behavioral options suggested by the scripts (e.g., accepting or ignoring a woman's rejection of sexual advances) (p. 276).

In simplified, dichotomous terms, sexual script theory asserts that models of masculinity and femininity lead men to seek sex and lead women to restrict men's access to sex. The theory accounts quite well for the traditional sexual coercion script where a man sexually coerces a woman. The theory does not, however, *obviously* account for a

scenario wherein a woman sexually coerces a man. Does this mean that sexual script theory is wrong or inadequate – do men and women *not* have shared expectations of how each will behave in a sexual situation? Or, is it possible that sexual script theory is sound, providing a man and a woman a default script of the sexual encounter, but not precluding either from going "off script" or improvising, depending on the interactions and emotions that ensue? In other words, it seems likely that a man and a woman could behave outside of the script (certainly some women do initiate sex and some men do decline), but relatively unlikely that neither would be aware on any level of the discrepancy being acted out. Depending on how strong each expectations are of themselves and the other, there would likely be some pressure or pull to return to the script in the event the interaction ventured outside the charted course (or alternatively, some satisfaction or excitement from resisting the pull toward normalcy).

What happens to the script when a hyperfeminine woman steps onto the sexual stage? The hyperfeminine role seems to introduce a slight twist or opportunistic extension to the traditional "man seeker, woman restrictor" script; given hyperfemininity casts sex as what men want and what women have (notions bolstered by a history of humiliating sexual mistreatment and/or acceptance of adversarial myths), it may predispose a women to attempt to gain back some of her stripped power, at least temporarily or in a limited capacity, by using her sexuality as a commodity. Sociosexual attitudes may further disinhibit such a pursuit, and also possibly increase the chance that a woman is seeking short-term attention or admiration in exchange for sex vs. a more intimacy-driven goal such as a longer-term relationship.

In the event that a hyperfeminine woman initiated sex with a man, it would be consistent with her outlook (viewing men as hypermasculine and rape-immune) that she would expect him to feel grateful and to enthusiastically reciprocate her sexual advance. If he does reciprocate, then the default script can quickly and safely resume – she can comfortably return to her passive female character whereas he can comfortably take on his active male lead. But what happens if he does not readily reciprocate? How does a rigid gender role influence the woman's ability to tolerate deviations from the script? How might such a rejection feel to a woman who views her sexuality as her most promising point of leverage? How does she feel and how does she react when her expectations have been violated?

As mentioned previously, it seems feasible that a hyperfeminine woman faced with such a rejection may become emotionally dysregulated – sadness, fear, shame, guilt and/or anger thrown into a state of confusion and chaos. It is times like these that experts on emotion regulation (e.g., Linehan, 1993) suggest that impulsive and compulsive behavior often takes place. Intense emotional dysregulation may even lead to dissociation, further increasing the likelihood of reactive behavior. The hyperfeminine woman may now resort to sexual coercion in a desperate attempt to resume the script – to "remind" the rejecting man of what he is supposed to be doing, of the role he is supposed to be playing that complements hers so well. Given her rigidity and circumscribed self-worth, her ability to tolerate such a harsh violation of her expectations is low and she works to "right the wrong" even if it means violating her desired partner. Again, sociosexuality may increase the callousness of her approach, whereas sexual dominance

may fuel a sense of entitlement. The rigidity of the man's gender role would also likely interact with the final outcome of the encounter and/or any emotional aftermath. Dissonance experienced on both the woman's and the man's part may help explain the sizeable portion of men who report feeling "neutral" or ambivalent after such an interaction, even when they have clearly identified it as a coercive incident (e.g., Lisak, 1994; Lottes, 1991; O'Sullivan et al., 1998; Struckman-Johnson, 1988).

Overall, hyperfemininity's central role in the present model pinpoints the destructive impact that rigid gender role socialization can have on both men and women. This general finding is consistent with research supporting the notion that androgynous men and women are more flexible and have higher levels of well-being than either highly masculine or highly feminine individuals (e.g., Bem, 1974; Bem, 1995). Certainly the present findings shed light on how gender polarization can disrupt the development of satisfying intimate relationships, an important part of global well-being. Some research further proposes that individuals with androgynous gender-role orientations are more self-confident and have stronger feelings of self-efficacy and control when specifically compared to highly feminine individuals, regardless of actual sex (Allgood-Meten & Stockard, 1991; Choi, 2004; Mueller & Dato-On, 2008). Bem (1995) specifically targets dichotomous gender socialization as a driving force behind women's oppression, writing "to interrupt the social reproduction of male power, we need to dismantle not only androcentrism and biological essentialism but also gender polarization and compulsory heterosexuality" (p. 329). Bem (1993) also notes that a successful psychological

revolution would result in a society where "biological sex would no longer be at the core of individual identity and sexuality" (p. 196).

However, how does the specific finding that hyperfemininity contributes to sexual coercion of men fit into this broader perspective? Is it plausible that men are increasingly finding themselves trapped within and betrayed by the same gender constraints that generally serve to maintain men's power over women? Some might jump to the conclusion that women's sexual coercion of men is some sort of deserved punishment for patriarchy, that women are simply giving men a 'taste of their own medicine,' and that in the grand scheme of sexual relations, it should not be worried about. However, it can be argued that such a conclusion would be short-sighted and even a potential roadblock to women's liberation from sexual violence. It is possible that women's sexual coercion of men is a disturbing reflection of how engrained and virulent sexism and androcentrism remains to be in contemporary U.S. culture.

The present findings seem to suggest that sexually coercive women, secondary to their own sexual mistreatment and oppressive socialization, are participating in and adding momentum to cycles of violence as opposed to recognizing them and working to resist them. Recapitulation of abuse not only seems incompatible with liberation from it, but also, may be reinforcing it. Men experiencing women as simultaneously hyperfeminine and abusive may encourage misogyny and other attitudes that contribute toward widespread abuse of women. Such a phenomenon would only be amplified by society's denial of women's capacity to abuse men and the consequent rejection of men's need to seek help in the event they are abused (e.g., Trepal, 2010). Overall, the present

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model seems to epitomize the tragic and repetitive transformation of victim into perpetrator and highlights how socially prescribed gender roles that serve to emphasize gender differences and limit gender flexibility contribute to power differentials, conflict, and violence, not only for women, but for society at large.

Do Race-Related Variables Moderate the Model?

The present model was tested on a racially diverse sample of women in hopes of assessing the generalizability of the model to women who do not identify as exclusively White. Although some predictors included in the model were found to significantly relate to actual minority status, perceived minority status, and ethnocentrism, none of these race-related variables were significantly correlated with actual use of sexually coercive tactics. This is consistent with the previous finding that actual minority status is not associated with rates of sexual coercion among European American and Asian American men (Hall et al., 2006). However, the present findings contrast with previous findings indicating that perceived minority status is related to increased use of sexual coercion among men regardless of actual race (Hall et al., 2000; 2005). Although sociopolitical analyses (e.g., Comas-Díaz, 1995) suggest that men who perceive themselves as oppressed may displace their negative emotions onto women in the form of abuse, the present findings imply that such an analysis may not apply to women who perceive themselves as oppressed given the lack of relationship found. It is possible that women do not process and displace their racial oppression in the same way as men, given

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women's differing position in the hierarchy of social power and how racial oppression may interact with gender oppression.

The present model was found to fit differentially well, depending on the actual minority status of the sub-sample, the perceived minority status, and the level of ethnocentrism endorsed. Given relatively small sub-sample sizes, the fit indices of the models must be interpreted with caution, and conclusions should only be viewed as preliminary. Although all model fits were in the grossly acceptable range, the model had a very good to excellent fit for the White women and for the women who perceived experiencing low levels of racial oppression. The model had relatively weaker fits for the women who did not identify exclusively as White, and the women who perceived experiencing high levels of racial oppression. Again, however, these differences in fit could be attributable solely to the differences in sub-sample sizes. With a single modification (adding a direct path between rape myth acceptance and sexual compulsivity), the model had an excellent fit for women regardless of their level of ethnocentrism. These findings suggest that the proposed model of female heterosexual coercion may be adequate for women who do and do not identify as racial minorities. A larger sample of racial minority women would be needed to further support this conclusion. It is also possible that adjustments to the model could improve the predictive accuracy for racial minorities. Given that no distinctions were made between different racial groups (e.g., Black vs. Asian), it is important to consider that the model may have fit better or worse for particular racial minority groups or for women who identify with specific cultural values and worldviews.

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Potential adjustments to the model could encompass those predictors that were found to significantly relate to both actual minority status and perceived minority status such as prior experience of sexual abuse and rape myth acceptance. Although research has suggested that many racial minority women feel more susceptible to rape (e.g., Wyatt, 1992) and simultaneously disclose their rapes at lower rates (e.g., Feldman-Summers & Ashworth, 1981; Wyatt, 1992), the present study revealed that racial minority women and women who perceived themselves as experiencing racial oppression reported higher numbers of previous sexual abusers than non-minority women and women who did not perceive racial oppression. Although it may be the case that minority women are less likely to report sexual abuse to public agencies in fear of disbelief and rejection (Feldman-Summers & Ashworth, 1981), the minority women in the present study may have felt more able to accurately report their abuse histories in the context of an anonymous, computerized questionnaire.

It is also notable that racial minority women in the present study and women who perceived themselves as experiencing racial oppression endorsed higher levels of rape myth acceptance than the other women. Previous research has found that White women accept fewer rape myths than Black women (e.g., Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), yet more specifically, that African American women in the early stages of racial identity development accepted rape myths, whereas those in the more advanced stages rejected rape myths (White, Strube, & Fisher, 1998). In the study, Black racial identity formation (Cross, 1989, 1995) was characterized by movement from a stage of valuing White dominance and devaluing Black culture, to a stage of intense rage toward White

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Americans, to a stage of celebrating "Blackness" while committing oneself to social equality for all oppressed groups. The study's finding supported the idea that confronting, struggling with, and ultimately making peace with one's experiences of oppression may free people of adversarial beliefs such as rape myths. Given that the majority of women in the present study were relatively young (college-aged), and acknowledging that the study noted may or may not be generalizable to non-Black minorities, it is feasible that the present findings best represent women who are actively perceiving high levels of racial oppression and who are still developing their sense of racial identity.

It is interesting that women in the present study who were aware of their being discriminated against reported experiencing more sexual abuse and endorsed more rape myths, yet did not report higher levels of engaging in sexual coercion despite that fact that sexual abuse and rape myths predicted heterosexual coercion in the rest of the sample. Does this reflect the presence of some type of protective factor among these women? Similar to how Hall et al. (2006) found that high scores on a measure of loss of face seemed to serve as a protective factor against use of sexual coercion by Asian American men, perhaps heightened awareness of stigmatization as both a woman and a racial minority somehow reduces the likelihood of these women acting out in accordance to the rape myths they accept? It is also feasible that there are other variables, not assessed by the present study, that serve as protective factors. Overall, it would be ideal if the present model could be expanded or adjusted in such a way as to account for racial minority women's higher levels of developmental risk (i.e., sexual abuse and rape myth

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acceptance) in the absence of higher levels of problematic behavioral outcomes (i.e., heterosexual coercion).

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present study aimed to gather data from a racially and socioeconomically diverse sample of heterosexual women. Although the sample was quite racially diverse, socioeconomic diversity was somewhat limited and thus not specifically addressed in the analyses of the study. Also, the sub-sample size of women who identified as racial minorities was relatively small, limiting the ability to interpret findings and to investigate the specific experiences of different racial groups. Age diversity of the sample was also limited. A future study designed to replicate the present findings would ideally have a larger sample of women who identify as racial minorities. Further expanding of the model's generalizability would require testing with women from an increased range of socioeconomic backgrounds.

The model proposed in the present study suggests, though does not specifically provide evidence for, a tendency towards emotional dysregulation among sexually coercive women. By virtue of the model encompassing aspects of sexual trauma, rigidity and/or disruption around self-identity (i.e., hyperfemininity), and an emotional conflict (or perhaps dialectic) of wanting sexual control and feeling sexually out of control, pointed investigation into emotional dysregulation and coercion seems warranted given the web of connections that these variables are found to have in the literature on trauma and personality disorders, specifically Borderline Personality Disorder (Linehan, 1993).

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Along this line, dissociation may also be a construct worth exploring in relation to emotional dysregulation and the predictors in the present model.

Given that sexual compulsivity and sociosexuality seem to represent two distinct paths in the present model, it would be fascinating to statistically explore whether these paths capture two distinct types of sexually coercive women or represent two psychological processes unfolding in parallel within one sexually coercive group of women. Furthermore, broadening an understanding of the functional role of both sexual compulsivity and sociosexuality would greatly strengthen the model's explanatory power and clinical relevance. For example, it is quite possible that sexual compulsivity is simply one factor in a larger constellation of sexuality measures that contributes to women's use of heterosexual coercion. In male models of sexual coercion (e.g., Knight & Sims-Knight, 2003), sexual compulsivity is highly correlated with sexual preoccupation. Perhaps sexually coercive women are both obsessive and compulsive around sex, thinking about and directing energy toward sexual activity in an excessive manner in addition to feeling out of control once they are engaging in sexual behavior. Examining sexual preoccupation in a future study could thus prove fascinating. At the same time, sociosexuality may be capturing just one aspect of a women's larger capacity for impersonal and possibly callous interpersonal interactions. Investigating measures that tap general criminality or psychopathy may assist in the development of a more sophisticated clinical profile of sexually coercive women.

Finally, the direct path between sexual mistreatment and sexual coercion must be fleshed out in order to provide further insight into how experiences of victimization

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among women psychologically and behaviorally lead to instances of perpetration against men. Fleshing out this path may also raise the possibility of a third or more type of sexually coercive woman. Ultimately, although the present model accounts for a respectable portion of variance in female sexual coercion, a majority of variance remains unexplained and should be examined in future studies.

APPENDIX

ITEMS USED IN STUDY

Unless otherwise noted, the response scale for all items used in the present study was a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*) or 0 (*definitely false*) to 4 (*definitely true*).

Sexual Coercion Items
Each sexual coercion tactic was assessed for each of the following forms of sexual contact: sex play (fondling, kissing or petting); oral sex; attempted vaginal or anal intercourse; completed vaginal or anal intercourse.

Even when a person was unwilling to have sex with me, I still persisted to persuade them to engage in the following sexual activities by:
> Flirting with them or complimenting them.
> Using gentle physical means such as petting, stroking, massaging, tickling, or pinching.
> Saying things I thought they wanted to hear (ex. I love you) or making false promises (ex. we'll stay together).
> Doing such things as discontinuing all physical activity, moving away from them, refusing to talk to them, or pouting and sulking.
> Making them feel guilty or jealous by doing such things as crying, questioning their feelings for me, or comparing them to someone else.
> Doing such things as insulting them, questioning their sexuality, threatening to end the relationship, or threatening to tell others something unflattering about them.

I have manipulated or bribed someone to go along with the following acts even when they really did not want to.
I have done the following acts with someone who was so drunk or high on drugs that they were not able to say no.
I have given someone alcohol or drugs on purpose so that they could not say no to my doing the following sexual acts with them.
I have threatened to use physical force on someone (saying I would hit grab hold or hurt them) to make them go along with the following sexual acts.
I have used some physical force such as pinning someone against a wall grabbing them hitting them holding them down or hurting them to make them go along with the following sexual acts.

Sexual Dominance Items
It turns me on to think about overpowering someone sexually.
I have become sexually aroused while emotionally manipulating someone.
I have become sexually aroused by emotionally dominating someone.

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I enjoy dominating someone in a sexual situation.

Sociosexuality Items
For me, sex without love (impersonal sex) is highly unsatisfactory. (*reverse scored*)
Absolute faithfulness to one's partner throughout life is nearly as silly as celibacy.
Group sex appeals to me.
If I were invited to take part in an orgy with people I found attractive, I would probably accept.
I can imagine myself being comfortable and enjoying "casual" sex with different partners.
I would have to be closely attached to someone (both emotionally and psychologically) before I could feel comfortable and fully enjoy having sex with him or her. (*reverse scored*)
It would be difficult for me to enjoy having sex with someone I did not know very well. (*reverse scored*)
I could enjoy having sex with someone I was attracted to, even if I did not feel anything emotionally for him or her.

Sexual Compulsivity Items
I am not able to control my sexual behavior.
I have not been able to stop myself from a sexual act, even when I wanted to stop.
I have had a problem controlling my sexual feelings.
I have to fight sexual urges.
Sexual feelings overpower me.
I can't stop thinking about sex.
I have felt an overpowering urge to do a sexual behavior that I had thought about.

Prior Sexual Abuse Items
Prior to age 18, the following people had sexual contact with me:
    Mother
    Stepmother
    Adoptive mother
    Foster mother
    Father
    Stepfather
    Adoptive father
    Foster father
    Sister
    Stepsister
    Brother
    Stepbrother
    Grandmother
    Grandfather
    Other male relative

Other female relative
Friend of parents
Babysitter
Neighbor (not friend of parents)
Some professional person (such as, priest, teacher, doctor, Scout leader)
Stranger
Girlfriend
Boyfriend
Friend of mine

When I had sexual contact with [previously endorsed contact]:
    I was manipulated or tricked to have sex.
    I was bribed to have sex.
    I was forced to have sex with verbal threats.
    I was physically forced to have sex.

When I had unwanted sexual contact with [previously endorsed contact] it involved:
    Putting their finger in my butt
    Putting an object in my butt
    Touching, fondling or sexual kissing
    Taking pictures or movies
    Oral sex
    Attempted anal or vaginal intercourse
    Completed anal or vaginal intercourse

Prior Sexual Harassment Items

Have any of the following happened to you?
    One or more males have made offensive, crude, or sexist remarks to me based on my gender.
    One or more males told suggestive stories about my gender that have made me feel uncomfortable.
    One or more males displayed material that was offensive to my gender.

How often has someone given you unwanted sexual attention in the following ways:
    One or more males have attempted to discuss sex with me.
    One or more males have attempted to establish a sexual relationship with me.
    One or more males have repeatedly asked me out despite my refusal.
    One or males have started at or leered at me.
    One or males have attempted to stroke or fondle me in ways that made me feel uncomfortable.

Has anyone who was in a position of authority (official or unofficial) over you ever done any of the following:
    He or they attempted to stroke or fondle or touch me in a way that made me feel uncomfortable.
    He or they made me feel that I had to engage in sexual contact with him (them) in order to be treated well.

He or they made me feel that I had to engage in sexual contact with him (them) in order to avoid being treated badly.

He or they made me feel I would pay for rejecting him (them) sexually.

Rape Myth Acceptance Items

Most men always want sex and will do or say anything to get it.

When men are turned on by a woman, they will do anything for her.

Men enjoy getting sexual advances from women, even if they act like they don't.

Most men would not pass up a chance to make out or have sex, even if it means they are being unfaithful.

If a man has an erection, he wants to have sex, even if he claims he doesn't.

Females who get drunk at a party are at fault if someone takes advantage of them.

If a female does not strongly resist sexual advances, it means she is willing to have sex.

Hyperfemininity Items

It is acceptable for men to be somewhat forceful in getting sex.

A real man needs to have sex almost every day.

Sex is the most important part of a relationship for men.

When a man whistles at me I feel a bit flattered.

I enjoy playing hard to get.

Sometimes I say no when I mean yes.

Sometimes I manipulate a man to do what I want by acting sexy.

Women should be able to have sex whenever they want to.

Actual Minority Status Items

Which group below most accurately describes your racial background? (check all that apply)

    Black
    Latino/Hispanic
    White
    Native American or Alaska Native
    Asian
    Multiracial (please specify)
    Other race (please specify)

Perceived Minority Status Items

I feel that people often interpret my behaviors in light of my race or ethnicity.

People have mistreated me because of my race or ethnicity.

The police mistreat members of my ethnic group.

I think of myself as a member of an ethnic minority group.

Stereotypes about my race have impacted me personally.

Ethnocentrism Items
If everyone lived like the people in my culture, they would be happier.
Many people from cultures other than mine just don't know what's good for them.

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