MASCULINITY AND RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE
IN THE DEEP SOUTH

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ABSTRACT

The current study explores the relationship between rape myth acceptance and masculinity in the Deep South. Rape myth acceptance has been studied in great detail, with many researchers asserting that the greatest predictor for rape myth acceptance is gender. However, no previous research has examined how southern masculinity is related to rape myth acceptance. In this study, I analyzed the relationships between masculinity and rape myth acceptance in the South using the updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA), which measures belief systems that endorse a culture of sexual violence (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999; McMahon & Farmer, 2011) and the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI), which measures men’s conformity to masculine norms (Burns & Mahalik, 2008), controlling for all relevant variables. Results from this study do not support a relationship between masculinity, rape myth acceptance, and the Deep South. The current study contends that future research needs to develop a specific and comprehensive measure of southern masculinity that captures what it truly means to be a man from the Deep South.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

$P$  Probability associated with the occurrence under the null hypothesis of a value as extreme as or more extreme than the observed value

$b$  Probability of Type II error in any hypothesis test—incorrectly concluding no statistical significance

$n$  Sample size

$<$  Less than

$>$  Greater than

$=$  Equal to
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control & Prevention report that 1 in every 6 women has been a victim of attempted or completed sexual assault (1998). According to the U.S Department of Justice (2013), nearly 25% of women experience attempted or completed rape during their collegiate career. Similarly, Sampson (2002) found that women in college are at greater risk for sexual assault than women of the same age who have not attended college. Because of these findings, researchers have paid special attention to the problem of sexual assaults on college campuses. In 2013, nearly 80 colleges have been identified in a federal investigation into their handling of such allegations. As the most underreported crime, sexual assault is becoming more problematic for women. More problematic, however, is that 97% of perpetrators will not serve time for their crimes (U.S. Department of Justice, 2013).

Rape myths are common falsehoods about rape that are endorsed by society and are used to justify male aggression. Examples of modern rape myths include “only ‘bad’ women get raped”, and “women lie about being raped”, among others (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 135-136). Previous research has consistently revealed that men are more likely than women to accept rape myths. Specifically, college men accept rape myths at higher rates than non-college men (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2005). Further, college men in fraternities are more likely than other college men to accept rape myths (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). Men who exhibit higher adherence to masculinity, or are hypermasculine, have also been found to be more accepting of rape myths (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007).
Although research has established the link between masculinity and rape myth acceptance, previous studies have not taken into account the impact of region on the relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), norms of masculinity vary by region. In fact, some research has found support for a distinct “southern masculinity” in the United States, especially. White men from the South have historically been characterized as more violent, more conservative, and more supportive of traditional ideals compared to their northern counterparts (e.g. Hackney, 1969; Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Moore, 1986; Nisbett, 1993; Anderson, 1989). This research will examine the relationships between masculinity, region, and rape myth acceptance. Because they endorse conservative ideologies at higher levels, white southern men are expected to adhere to masculinity norms at higher rates than men from other regions. As a result of the greater importance of achieving masculine ideals, white men from the south are expected to endorse rape myths at higher rates. This research will add to the scholarly knowledge about rape myth acceptance, region, and masculinity.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Rape Myths Defined

According to Burt (1980), rape myths are false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rape perpetrators that are prejudicial against and often blame victims. Burt cites several examples of rape myths, including “promiscuous women get raped”; “women cry rape when they regret their decision to engage in consensual sex”; “women who dress, dance, or flirt provocatively get raped because they ask for it”; and “only women get raped” (p. 217). Other rape myths assert that rape did not actually occur either because alcohol was involved or the rape was unintentional (McMahon, 2010). According to Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994), although many researchers agree on the basic concept of what a rape myth is, operational definitions of rape myths are not consistent. In addition, researchers have yet to develop a definition that has sound theoretical support. However, in their synthesis of research on rape myths across varying disciplines, Lonsway and Fitzgerald discovered that all definitions of rape myths contain three similar components: (1) rape myths are common false beliefs endorsed and reiterated by society; (2) rape myths both explain and (3) justify existing cultural phenomena, such as male aggression and sexual violence against women. Essentially, rape myths help sustain stereotypes about sexual violence.

Rape myths are integrated into social, professional, and legal contexts. They also exist in the belief systems of individuals who interact with both victims and perpetrators of rape. Berger (1977) argues that rape myths are institutionalized into the law. For instance, the idea that only women can be victims of rape is apparent in the law’s original definition, which describes rape
as nonconsensual sexual intercourse with a woman against her will. McMahon (2010) found that individuals assumed that victims of rape behaved in certain ways, such as consuming alcohol or flirting, which were assumed to lead to their rapes. Other individuals believe that rape could be both unintentional and accidental. As described by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994), the acceptance of rape myths reinforces ideas about violence against women, male aggression, and sex role stereotypes.

Functions of Rape Myths

Attitudes towards rape affect how individuals interact with both rape victims and perpetrators. To explain why individuals accept rape myths, it is necessary to discuss the many functions or purposes of these myths. According to Brownmiller (1975), a paramount function of rape myths is to dismiss the existence of rape. By denying that there are rape victims, rape myths justify the actions of the perpetrator. Rape myths also perpetuate the discrimination of women. According to McMahon (2010), more than half of the respondents to a survey about rape myth acceptance and bystander attitudes agreed to the statement “If a girl acts like a slut, she is eventually going to get into trouble” (p. 9). This is just one example of how the labeling of women as promiscuous has denied their victimhood and protected men who engage in forced sexual activity.

Another function of rape myths is to justify the actions of men by blaming the victims. Rape myths are instruments through which society justifies dismissing sexual assault incidents, mainly by denying that rapes occur. Victim blaming is present in rape myths that focus on stereotyping the victim (e.g. “she wanted it”, “she lied”, and “it wasn’t really rape”). These attitudes shift blame from the offender to the victim and impede victims from seeking justice. McMahon (2010) asserts that victim-blaming and perpetrator-excusing beliefs still exist despite
the fact that most people today have received sexual violence education. Victim blaming justifies sexual aggression against women and explains why the victim deserved to be raped (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Rape myths that label certain women as promiscuous or sexually active discriminate against all women and deny them of the right of reporting victimization. These ideas persist despite the fact that research reveals that women who are sexually active or promiscuous are not more likely to be victims of rape. In fact, victimized women are not different from non-victimized women (Koss, 1985). Koss’s social control model of rape victimization measured the degree to which individuals adhered to traditional sex roles, their attitudes about rape, and the degree to which individuals endorsed a rape-supportive belief system. Koss found that women with rape-supportive belief systems would be less likely to report victimization because they did not believe that they were raped. In turn, this belief system increases vulnerability to rape. Similarly, research conducted by Frese, Moya, and Megias (2004) that included measurements of rape myth acceptance and rape vignettes discovered that when individuals reported high levels of rape myth acceptance, they were less likely to view rape as a traumatic event, and therefore were less likely to advise a hypothetical victim in the vignette to report her assault.

Moreover, rape myths act as social control mechanisms that perpetuate the oppression of women by punishing women who deviate from traditional gender norms (Burt, 1980). By functioning to justify the sexual crimes of men against women, rape myths keep women subservient to unjust sexual violence, subject to discrimination, and compliant with the coercive and sexual power enacted by men.
Consequences of Rape Myths

The perpetuation of rape myths is problematic for many reasons, namely that they result in the underreporting of rapes. One of the most pervasive, and perhaps most damaging, rape myths suggests that women often lie about being raped. In a study on the prevalence and effects of rape myths in newspaper headlines, Franiuk, Seefelt, and Vandello (2008) found that the rape myth “she’s lying” was the most commonly believed of rape-supportive statements. The prevalence of such ideas leads to higher likelihood of women not reporting an incident of rape than falsely reporting rape. As a result, research indicates that rape is the most underreported crime (Koss, 1988; Koss, 1992). Koss’s (1985) research about college women’s experiences with rape revealed that although 38% of the women recounted sexual victimization, only 4% reported it to the police. Furthermore, almost half of the 2,016 women Koss surveyed did not confide in anyone about their victimization. According to the Justice Department’s National Crime Victimization Survey in 2012, only 28% of the 350,000 rapes and/or sexual assaults are ever reported to law enforcement. Although there has been improvement in the reporting of rape/sexual assault, the odds of a victim not reporting rape is still high. Compared to all other violent crimes, rape/sexual assault is the most underreported crime by 25%. The pervasiveness of rape myths is part of this underreporting problem. Because of underreporting and other issues surrounding being able to prove sexual assault in the legal system, less than 1% of the men who sexually assault 15% of victimized women are prosecuted (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). The underreporting of the crime, in turn, perpetuates rape myths (Grubb & Turner, 2012).

Furthermore, the acceptance of rape myths about false reporting results in perpetuating misinformation about the false reporting of rapes. Because media outlets focus on false reporting, the number of exaggerated rapes is assumed to be much higher than the approximately
2% of reported rapes that turn out to be false (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). In a content analysis of headlines, newspapers were most likely to use the terms “accuser”, “alleged victim”, and “victim” (Franuiik, Seefelt, & Andello, 2008), and almost all of these newspaper headlines used the term “accuser” in the article itself. According to Bohner (2001), the language used in newspaper articles shifts the blame from the offender to the victim, thereby exonerating the offender. When media outlets fail to identify perpetrators of rape, society undermines the enormity of rape, resulting in fewer efforts towards eradicating rape and sexual violence.

Overall, rape myths that endorse ideas about “crying rape” perpetuate the myth that there are not ‘true victims’ (Grubb & Turner, 2012).

In addition to rape myths affecting the ways that victims are perceived, endorsing rape myths also affects treatment of victims. According to Burt (1980), rape myths account for the maltreatment of rape victims. This maltreatment comes in the form of discrimination, labeling, and self-blame (Franuiik, Seefelt, & Vandello, 2008). This fear of being discriminated against is another reason for the underreporting of rape. When instances of rape are not reported, the likelihood of future sexual assaults increases, (Franuiik, Seefelt, & Vandello, 2008) and tolerance for male sexual aggression towards women is perpetuated. In addition, by not reporting rapes, victims will not receive necessary medical or psychological treatment. The result of rape myth acceptance is a rape-supportive milieu, rather than a victim-friendly culture (Grubb & Turner, 2012).

Predictors of Rape Myth Acceptance

In his seminal research on rape myths, Burt (1980) attributed sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs (a distrust of the opposite sex; a belief that the opposite sex is unfaithful and manipulative), and/or acceptance of interpersonal violence (a belief that force or
coercion is a legitimate and justified way to gain compliance for sex) to rape myth acceptance. These factors were the strongest predictors of an individual’s likelihood to accept rape myths. Individuals who were more likely to support sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and/or accepted interpersonal violence were more likely to accept rape myths. Similarly, Klemmack and Klemmack (1976) found sex role stereotyping to be directly related to rape myth acceptance. In a study that examined the relationships between rape myth acceptance and sexism, Aosved and Long (2006) found that racism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance were all factors associated with higher levels of rape myths acceptance.

Basow and Minieri (2010) applied Sexual Exchange Theory to date rape scenarios and found that when men paid for an expensive date, they were more likely than women to believe that both participants in the date should expect sexual intercourse. This finding is consistent with Mehlenhard (1988), who discovered that when men paid for a date, they perceived rape as justifiable. Individuals who believed that force or coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance for sex also believed rape myths at higher rates. Thus, individuals who viewed rape as an expected part of a date, and/or view the opposite sex as deceitful, unfaithful, and manipulative are more likely to accept rape myths.

**Gender.** Research consistently reveals that men are more likely than women to endorse rape myths (e.g. Burt, 1980; Ashton, 1982; Kopper, 1996; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; Aosved & Long, 2006; Franiuk, Seefelt, & Vandello, 2008; Basaow & Minieri, 2010; McMahon, 2010). Franiuk Seefelt, and Vandello (2008) found that upon viewing newspaper headlines about rape, men were more likely than women to believe that the implicated perpetrator was not guilty, while women were likely to side with the victim (Grubb & Harrower, 2008). The notion that men are less likely than women to blame men for sexual assaults is consistent with the findings of
Muehlenhard (1998) and Basaow and Minieri (2010). Similarly, Jones, Russell, and Bryant (1998) suggested that there is a gender gap in how men and women gauge accuracy in victim reports of rape and assign responsibility for the occurrence of sexual assaults. The researchers attributed this finding to men’s inability to empathize in a variety of situations.

It is also important to note that gender expectations influence rape myth acceptance. For example, Truman, Tokar, and Fischer (1996) found that men who adhere to traditional gender roles were more likely to support date rape scenarios. These traditional beliefs include Burt’s (1980) three attitudinal antecedents for rape myth acceptance: sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs or distrust of the opposite sex, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. Murnen and Kohlman (2007) found that hypermasculinity was strongly correlated with rape myth acceptance, especially when men were members of fraternities. Attitudes of hypermasculinity often involve aggression towards women. Truman, Tokar, and Fischer (1996) also attributed men’s acceptance of rape myths to their attitudes towards feminism. In other words, men who endorsed conservative views on feminism or adhered to traditional masculine behaviors, such as the devaluing of women, were more likely to believe that women should be submissive to men, which leads to justifications of rape.

According to Kassing, Beesley, and Frey (2005), individuals who were characterized as homophobic, and had higher aspirations of success, power, and competiveness were more likely to accept rape myths. As previously mentioned, Aosved and Long (2006) found that men reported higher levels of racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance than women. In other words, oppressive belief systems, which are more often endorsed by men, predicted rape myth acceptance. However, out of all of these predictors, sexism was related to the most support for and internalization of the norms of hegemonic
masculinity. To elaborate, men who have internalized that heterosexuality, youth, strength, competition, and aggression are necessary components of manhood are likely to accept intolerant and oppressive beliefs that lead to rape myth acceptance. Thus, part of expressing heterosexuality includes homophobia and sexism and in turn, expressing heterosexuality is part of hegemonic masculinity.

**“At Risk” Environments and Fraternities.** Banyard, Moynihan, and Crossman (2009) labeled college campuses “at risk” environments for rape. Approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of college women will experience sexual assault and/or rape (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2005). Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2001) asserted that most sexual assaults occur in social settings, such as residence halls or fraternities. McMahon (2010) found that members of athletic programs on campus and those who were pledging sororities/fraternities had higher acceptances of rape myths.

Fraternity men are more likely than other college men to use alcohol to achieve sexual intercourse (Boeringer, Shehan, & Akers, 1991; Boeringer, 1999; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Boeringer, Shehan, and Akers (1991) found that fraternity men also reported having more friends who have used alcohol/drugs to guarantee sex. Specifically, one-fourth of fraternity members reported having friends who used alcohol to ensure they obtained sex from a woman. Fraternity men are also less likely than nonfraternity men to believe their friends would disapprove of these coercive actions. More importantly, fraternity men were more likely to report that their friends approved of forcing women to have sex. Although Boeringer, Shehan, and Akers (1991) did not find a difference between fraternity and non-fraternity members on their endorsement of sexual coercion, they did find college men who adhere more strictly to traditional belief systems, such as fraternity members, are more likely to commit acts of sexual aggression.
Boswell & Spade (1996) described differences between ‘high risk’ and ‘low risk’ fraternity houses. High-risk fraternity houses host parties with uneven gender ratios and apparent gender segregation. Men are also more likely to be disrespectful to women and engage in behaviors that are degrading to women in these houses. There may be nudity, crude jokes, and sexual comments. In high-risk houses, women’s restrooms were filthy. The morning after high-risk house parties, men engage in sexual storytelling, which involves fraternity men discussing sexual exploits over breakfast (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Boswell & Spade, 1996). Similarly, Boering, Shehan, and Akers (1991) found that fraternities provide a social context in which men can and are encouraged to engage in sexual aggression.

Men in these high-risk fraternity houses also participate in the ‘hook up’ scene (Boswell & Spade, 1996). As described by men, a ‘hook up’ is generally with a woman you do not know and can involve kissing or more intimate activities such as sexual intercourse. Following a hook up, if a woman spent the night at the fraternity house, she takes the ‘walk of shame’, and as women walk out of the house, men sit on their porches and yell disrespectful and degrading slurs at the women. It is the assumption that these women slept with men who did not care enough about them to drive them home. Moreover, in high-risk fraternity houses women are oppressed by subordination and remaining ‘faceless’ victims (women who the high-risk fraternity members do not know or will not remember).

Conformity is an essential part of Greek life. There is intense pressure to ‘do gender’ in traditional ways in fraternity settings (Janis 1972; Martin & Hummer 1989; Boswell & Spade, 1996). According to Janis (1972), the Greek system, and fraternities specifically, display ‘groupthink syndrome’, or the psychological drive for general agreement at any cost. This intense loyalty to a group impedes an individual’s moral judgments, which is related to the
internalization of intolerant or oppressive beliefs. According to Boswell and Spade (1996), the anxiety over being accepted and adhering to fraternity norms bolsters the rape culture on college campus, especially at ‘high-risk’ fraternity houses, by engaging in negative homosocial behaviors (i.e. behaviors that encourage male bonding), such as degrading and distancing themselves from women, and sometimes rape.

Bleecker and Murnen (2005) examined the relationship between fraternity membership and ownership of images portraying women as sex objects (e.g. posters, Playboy magazines). Bleecker and Murnen argued that the displaying of sexually degrading images was associated with problematic views about women and sexuality, eventually resulting in rape supportive beliefs. These images may also contribute to beliefs that the male sex drive is uncontrollable, that women are subordinate to men, and that men are ‘entitled’ to have sex with women (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005). These attitudes in turn reflect the current culture of masculinity and lead to men’s acceptance of rape myths. In other words, as men endorse these degrading images they are supporting masculine ideals about the subordination of women.

**Theoretical Framework**

Masculinity is the social construction of manhood based on cultural traditions. In the United States, normative, or hegemonic, masculinity is characterized by norms such as competition, aggression, control, domination, and the degrading or exploitation of women (Johnson, 1997). According to West and Zimmerman (1987), the act of performing the normative expectations of gender is referred to as “doing gender”. Gendered expectations influence how people perceive gender and the social hierarchy, and adherence to gender norms is rewarded (Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005). Thus, it is important to note that masculinity is not a
fixed characteristic; rather, it is achieved through interaction. In other words, gender is what one does, not who one is (Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

As defined by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), adhering to hegemonic masculinity in contemporary Western cultures leads to rewards of power, prestige, and status amongst peers. It is different from other forms of subordinated masculinities and is the most honored type of manhood. Masculinity is achieved through many actions, but in sexual relationships it is characterized by asserting power over and devaluing women.

**Manhood status and power.** Manhood is an elusive status that requires repetitive achievement (Bosson & Vandello, 2011). In other words, manhood must be maintained through actions and achievements. Adhering to norms of power leads to achieving status amongst peers, gaining respect in the workplace, and gaining control over others, especially women. Manhood acts, or actions performed by males to achieve dominance, aim to establish privilege. According to Schrock and Schwalbe (2009), men achieve manhood status through acts of intimidation, which demonstrates that they are “real men” and is consistent with hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is an ongoing pattern of practice that involves primarily seeking approval from other men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore, the goal of hegemonic masculinity is to impress other men, and the result is the perpetuation of patriarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

At young ages, boys learn to perform hegemonic masculinity; they learn to express sexual desires towards women, to downplay or control their emotions, and to make aggressive play a significant part of their lives (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Men essentially learn to modify their behaviors based on the amount of prestige given by their peers for each action (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). Manhood status then becomes the driving force for most of the
daily actions carried out by men. The power of manhood status is so strong that men who would not typically follow traditional hegemonic masculine values can become emotionally detached, competitive, and willing to objectify women when around their male peers (Bird, 1996).

**Homosociality.** Studies on masculinity have labeled the strong social bonds between men as homosociality. Flood (2008) reiterated the link between homosociality and masculinity. Because men’s lives are highly organized by their relationships with other men, they often adapt their behaviors to illicit approval from and compete against other men in their peer groups for social status. The fear of rejection from other men is what drives men to participate in hegemonic masculinity (Johnson, 1997). In interviews with fraternity men, Boswell and Spade (1996) found that men felt a pressure to be disrespectful to women when they were around fellow brothers. Therefore, status within a homosocial group can only be achieved when “real men” acknowledge and approve the behaviors of other men (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010).

Although manhood status is primarily achieved by impressing men, women play a role in manhood acts. Flood (2008) argues that male bonding is achieved through storytelling that follows heterosexual sex. Sex with women, then, is the means by which men achieve masculinity in peer groups. One of the sanctions of not adhering to hegemonic masculinity is being labeled gay or feminine by peers, which reduces one’s status in the peer group. Thus, men must constantly engage in activities and adhere to belief systems that demonstrate some sort of power and control.

According to Flood (2008), “male bonding feeds sexual violence against women and sexual violence feeds male bonding” (p. 12). In college fraternities, young men mutually affirm their manhood by collectively defining women as “servers” and as sexual “bait” or “prey” (Martin & Hummer, 1989). Groups of closely-knit male friends, in this case fraternity brothers,
bond over viewing women as sexual bait. Men use forms of sexual coercion and other forms of persuasion to ‘score’. This ability to wear down women’s resistance to sex plays an important role in sexual conquest (Gailey & Prohaska, 2007). This ‘wearing down’ of resistance is achieved through the use of alcohol, compliments, or giving special attention to a woman who is considered ‘easy’. Men categorize women as ‘easy’ because they are seen as ‘fat’, ‘ugly’, or otherwise undesirable to most men. Men believed these women would not deny them sexual access, and thus pursue women labeled undesirable. Men believe that their chances of hooking up with these women are high, and if the sexual act occurs, the men when will achieve status in their peer group.

Sexually violent acts such as the ‘rodeo’ or ‘pulling a train’ also are related to men’s need to impress other men. In the act of rodeo sex, the male enters the woman ‘doggy style’ and at some point during sex whispers something offensive to the woman, such as calling her by the wrong name or calling her offensive names. Once she reacts, enraged and trying to escape, the men will attempt to remain inside of the woman. Men view this as a game or competition, with the winner remaining inside of the woman the longest while she tries to break free, much like the rodeo competition where a bull rider tries to stay on a bucking bull for the longest amount of time. Flood (2008) describes the act of a rodeo as a ‘game’ where a group of men wait in a hotel room for another man to bring back a woman. The man ties her to the bed and begins to have sex with her while the others wait in a closet. At some point, the man having sex with the woman will call out to the hiding men and they will jump out and take pictures. The woman will likely struggle to leave, and the man tries to hold on as long as possible. Prohaska and Gailey (2010) account for this act with one interviewee who recalled:
“We uh [laughing], this sounds kind of bad, we uh, have you ever heard of a rodeo? Usually on a night when a bet like that happens we do a rodeo. And we get pictures of it; usually the girl gets pretty pissed. But it’s funny, we think it’s funny” (p. 20).

These hypermasculine, homosocial acts create blurred lines of consent, which affect the reporting of the event as assault. This combination of masculinity, alcohol, traditional ideologies about gender, and rape myth acceptance creates a culture where women have a greater potential for victimization and men have a greater potential for perpetration.

**Regional masculinity.** Connell and Messerschmitt (2005) argue that hegemonic masculinity is empirically analyzed at three levels: local, regional, and global. In other words, masculinities vary depending on location due to traditional cultural values and varying social constructions of gender. For example, region shapes how individuals of a certain region view masculinity and operates within that community accordingly. Using this logic, achieving hegemonic ideals in the Deep South may involve some different beliefs and behaviors than normative masculinity in other regions of the United States.

**Male honor and southern masculinity.** Research has shown support for a distinct “southern masculinity” in the United States. According to Friend & Glover (2004), the South actively established its differences from the North during the Civil War by defining themselves as the both the Confederates and non-Union; in other words, the South distanced themselves from norms they deemed Northern. After the war, the south was in poverty and cut-off from the rest of the country, which enhanced the South’s separate identity and expanded the uniqueness of Southern culture.

Many scholars have identified violence as a normative part of white southern masculine culture (Hackney, 1969; Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Moore, 1986; Nisbett, 1993; Anderson, 1989). Statistics reveal that more homicides are committed by white males in the south
particularly in rural areas) than by their northern counterparts (Nisbett, 1993). Bourdie (2001) argued that violence against women is a part of achieving male dominance. By engaging in violent behavior against women, men assert their authority over women, and keep women subordinate to them. This tendency towards violence is a part of what has been labeled a *southern culture of honor*, which is often reaction to an insult or threat to home or property (Nisbett, 1993). Friend and Glover (2004) contribute this culture of honor to a desire to defend the South because failing to do so would mean giving up one’s distinct southern identity.

Historically, white southern men valued protecting themselves, their status, their property (which includes their women), and slavery (Hackney, 1969; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). These values have historical roots in the American Civil War. Originally, southerners saw the north as threatening to their senses of self, and were vehemently opposed to abolitionists, northerners in general, communism, atheism, feminism, socialism, carpet baggers, civil rights advocates, and any progressive thinking (Hackney, 1969, p. 924-925). Historically, southerners have been resistant to change because they perceive it as a threat to their values. According to Hackney (1969), “Being southern, then, inevitably involves a feeling of persecution and a sense of being passive. From the southern past arises the symbiosis of profuse hospitality and intense hostility towards strangers and the paradox that the southern heritage is at the same time one of grace and violence.” (p. 925).

Some research has found support for this distinct white, southern identity persisting today. In a study by Cohen and Nisbett (1994), southerners were more likely to approve of the idea that people can only learn through violence. Like Nisbett (1993), they also found endorsed violence in response to insults and for protection (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). When reading scenarios about men who did not react with violence to someone who insulted or threatened
them, southern men criticized them and discredited them as men. Cohen and Nisbett (1995) found that the media in the south was more likely to justify acts of violence. Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, and Schwartz (1996) found that southerners were more likely to feel that their masculinity was being threatened and more likely to engage in aggressive behavior when arbitrarily bumped into and called a name by a stranger. Thus, they argued that the value of violence has been institutionalized within the culture of honor. Moreover, the culture of honor—stemming from roots in slavery, a heightened sense of achieving masculinity, and learned violence—perpetuates violence against women by encouraging aggressive behaviors and advocating for the importance of ‘being a man’ (Glover, 2003). Because of this intensified stress placed on achieving masculinity and proving manhood, values of being a sexual creature and asserting authority through aggression and oppression becomes more important than abiding the law.

**Southern masculinity and conservatism.** Another key component of southern masculinity is conservatism. Previous research has consistently shown that Southerners hold more conservative views than their non-southern counterparts (Abrahamson & Carter, 1986; Schuman et al., 1997; Carter & Borch, 2005). Abrahamson and Carter (1986) found that southerners have more traditional views than individuals from other regions. These views included lack of support for civil liberties, opposition to euthanasia, and support for prohibition. Similarly, Schuman et al. (1997) found that despite the general liberalism increase across all regions, the south is still less tolerant, thus indicating a consistent regional gap in values.

Hurlbert (1988) asserted that the South is characterized as a conservative subculture that values traditionalism and intolerance. This includes endorsing conservative/traditional gender roles (Twenge, 1997; Carter & Borch, 2005). For example, southerners are more likely to believe
that women are not as qualified as men for political positions (Hurlbert, 1988). Perhaps more
telling, southerners would be less likely than non-southerners to vote for a woman president.
Southerners are also more likely to believe that women should refrain from working outside of
the home (Rice & Coates, 1995). According to Genovese (1994), *southern conservatism* is also
is thought of as *the southern tradition*. In this way, southern culture values family, custom,
church, state, and tradition. Southern tradition is understood as, “an embodiment of ‘givens’ that
must constantly be fought for, recovered in each generation, and adjusted to new conditions” (p.
4-5). However, southern conservatism is an ideology specific to whites with class privilege.

Essentially, men commit rape and sexual assault because it is imperative to achieve sex
by any means necessary, even if a woman chooses not to engage in sexual intercourse. By having
sex with women, men ensure their achievement of masculinity, thereby gaining status amongst
men. The risk of being arrested and convicted of rape and/or sexual assault is low because rape
myths are endorsed by society. The result of widespread rape myth acceptance is that many men
are less fearful of being charged with a crime, which in turn increases the likelihood of sexual
assaults. Men, in particular white men from the south, are particularly susceptible to endorsing
this line of thinking because of a history of accepting violent ideologies and because of
conservative views about gender roles and politics. These conservative gender roles perpetuate
the oppression of women and capitalize on the subordination of women, particularly in sexual
encounters with men. Southern men then are more likely to expect women to be complicit with
their sexual advances.

The current study explores the relationship between southern masculinity and rape myth
acceptance. First, the study will assess the degree to which particular components of masculinity
may be different or exaggerated in the south. Second, an analysis of the affect of masculinity on
men’s acceptance of rape myths will be conducted. Finally, an examination of how region affects
the relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance will be conducted. Previous
literature has not addressed this relationship and the current study will seek to address the gap.
CHAPTER 3: HYPOTHESIS

Research has consistently shown that men are more likely than women to accept rape myths and condone a culture of violence against women. Specific men, including members of fraternities, have demonstrated higher levels of acceptance of these myths and in some cases may act out on their violent beliefs. There is also evidence linking masculine behaviors and sexism to violence against women. Dominant masculinities also vary by region. Presumably, in regions where individuals strictly adhere to gender norms and value tradition and honor, such as the Deep South, men would endorse hyper-masculine norms—an extreme adherence to masculinity, and thus display higher levels of support for rape myths. The current study seeks to explain how southern masculinity is related to rape myth acceptance.

Hypothesis 1: Previous research has demonstrated that masculinity norms vary by region. These masculinities differ because of local cultural values and social constructions of gender. Thus, men from the Deep South are expected to adhere to norms of masculinity at higher rates than men of other regions.

Hypothesis 2: Research has revealed that the Deep South is known for its violence, its strict culture of honor, conservatism, and its endorsement of traditional gender roles. Previous research has already linked masculinity to higher rates of rape myth acceptance. Hypermasculinity, which is expected to be higher in the Deep South, has also been linked to higher levels of rape myth acceptance. Thus, I hypothesize that men from the Deep South will have higher levels of rape myth acceptance than men from other regions.
Hypothesis 3: Previous research has established a link between masculinity and rape myth acceptance, yet no studies have looked the impact of region and masculinity on rape myth acceptance. Based on evidence presented, I predicted that men who identify as being from the south and men who have higher levels of masculinity will also have higher levels of rape myth acceptance, controlling for other variables previously related to rape myth acceptance (race, gun ownership, age, sport involvement, fraternity membership, political views, alcohol use, and where an individual lives).

Hypothesis 4: Previous research has acknowledged the link between ideologies and rape myth acceptance. People who identify with racist, sexist, classist, and homophobic views are more likely to have higher levels of rape myth acceptance. Thus, this research expects that men who support traditional ideologies about gender, race, class, and sexuality will accept rape myths at higher rates, controlling for all variables in Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 5: While masculinity is expected to result in higher levels of rape myth acceptance, the result is expected to vary by region and race. As the literature has shown, masculinities vary by region. These masculinities are contingent on the local culture, values, and social constructions of gender. White Southern masculinity has been defined as violent and leading to an acceptance of traditional ideologies. Thus, this research predicted that region and race would moderate the relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance, controlling for all variables from Hypothesis 4.
CHAPTER 4: METHODS

Measures

**Dependent variables.** The first dependent variable was rape myth acceptance. This study used the updated *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMA)*, which measures belief systems that support and maintain a culture of sexual violence (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999; McMahon & Farmer, 2011). The original *IRMA* is considered to be one of the most reliable rape myth scales. The overall scale reliability is .93. The updated *IRMA* (McMahon & Farmer, 2011) is a modified version of the 1999 *IRMA* (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The updated scale reduced the 45-item scale (which included 7 subscales) to 22 items and 4 subscales. The updated scale was adapted to better reflect the language used by college students and to assess more subtle rape myths. The items on the Likert scale range from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Example items include, “If the accused ‘rapist’ doesn’t have a weapon, you can’t call it rape”, “If a girl goes to a room alone with a guy at a party, it is her own fault if she is raped”, and “Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at guys”. The entire scale was reverse coded so that higher scores would indicate higher acceptance of rape myths. The scores were then totaled for a cumulative or aggregate score and then divided by the number of items. The overall scale reliability of the updated scale is .87 (McMahon & Farmer, 2011). In the current study, the alpha reliability was .948.

The second dependent variable in this study was masculinity. This variable described men’s conformity to normative masculine behaviors, attitudes, and roles. This study used the
updated *Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory (CMNI)*, which measures an individual’s conformity to masculine norms (Burns & Mahalik, 2008). The original *CMNI* (2003) consisted of 94 items that explore 11 dimensions of masculinity (Winning, Emotional Control, Risk-Taking, Violence, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Power Over Women, Disdain for Homosexuals, and Pursuit of Status) (Burns & Mahalik, 2003). The updated *CMNI* is reduced to 22 items that explore these same dimensions and was found to be strongly correlated with the original inventory, \( r = .86 \). The items are rated on a 4-point Likert scale, where 0 represents ‘strongly disagree’ and 3 represents ‘strongly agree’. In this sample, the alpha reliability for the *CMNI* was .758. Items include, “it would be awful if someone thought I was gay”, “winning isn’t everything, it’s the only thing”, and “I love it when men are in charge of women”. For analysis, 9 of the items were recoded. Then the entire scale was recoded, so that 1=’strongly disagree’ and 4=’strongly agree’, then summed and divided by the total number of items, with higher scores reflecting greater conformity to traditional masculinity norms.

**Independent variables.** Several independent variables were expected to influence participant acceptance of rape myths. The first variable was masculinity. Masculinity has previously been shown to influence rape myth acceptance. Higher levels of rape myth acceptance have been attributed to men with hypermasculine ideals. Masculinity was measured using the *CMNI*, which was discussed above.

Several independent variables were expected to influence participants’ level of masculinity. The literature has shown that region impacts masculinity. Masculinity norms vary depending on region. Historically, the ‘Deep South’ has been comprised of the 11 states that made up the Confederacy, including Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. However, recent
studies have included Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in their operational definitions of the Deep South (Stovel, 2001; Bernstein, Chadha, & Montjoy, 2003). However, more recently, the U.S. Census Bureau has defined the Deep South region as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina (U.S Census Bureau, 2015), which the current study used to operationalize Deep South. Respondents were asked to indicate their state of origin. Region is a dichotomous variable, which was recoded 1 for Deep South as operationalized by the Census, and 0 for Non-Deep South, which includes all other states not included in the U.S Census definition of Deep South. Southern identity will also be measured. Thus, the survey will ask respondents to indicate whether or not they consider themselves to be a southerner by responding yes or no.

Previous research has shown that greater sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia leads to greater levels of rape myth acceptance (Aosved & Long, 2006). Thus, sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia were also expected to influence participants’ acceptance of rape myths. Some of these variables were measured using measures from Aosved & Long’s (2006) study on rape myth acceptance. The first, sexism, was measured using the Neosexism scale, an 11-item, 7-point scale that measures gender prejudice (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). The questions prompted the participant to indicate whether they ‘agree’ or disagree’ with statements such as, “in a fair employment system, men and women would be considered equal” and “women shouldn’t push themselves where they are not wanted”. All items were added together for a composite score and divided by the number of items in the scale, which was inversely coded when negative responses correspond with neosexism (Cronbach’s alpha = .85).

The second variable, racism, was measured using the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS) (Henry & Sears, 2002). The scale assesses racial antipathy, suggesting that modern racism is less
blatant then old-fashioned racism. The scale consists of 8 items on a 4-point Likert scale, where 1 = strongly agree and 4 = strongly disagree. In the current sample, alpha reliability for the scale was .866. Items on this scale include “over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve”, and “generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class”. For analysis, 6 items were reverse coded. Then, the raw scores are added together for each item, and divided by the number of items in the scale. Higher scores reflected higher levels of discrimination against the poor.

The third variable, classism was measured using the *Attitudes Toward Poverty Short Form (ATP)* (Yun & Weaver, 2010). The scale was modified from Atherton et al.’s ATP scale (1993) to create a modern, short form version (Cronbach’s alpha = .87). The scale consists of 21 items that measure three factors related to poverty: stigma, the structural perspective on poverty, and personal deficiency. The items are measured on a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores indicating that poverty has structural causes and lower scores indicating individual-level cause of poverty. Items include “unemployed poor people could find jobs if they tried harder”, “there is a lot of fraud among welfare recipients”, and “society has the responsibility to help poor people”. For analysis, 8 items from the scale are reverse coded. Then, the scores are summed and divided by the number of items. In this sample, the alpha reliability was .887.

The fourth variable, homophobia, was measured using the modified *Homophobia Scale (HS)* (Wright, Adams, & Bernat, 1999). The scale consists of 22 items on a 5-point Likert scale, where 5 = strongly disagree and 1 = strongly agree. The higher scores indicate greater homophobia (Cronbach’s alpha = .845). For analysis, 15 items were recoded. After the items
were summed, 25 was subtracted from the total scale score, making the range of possible scores between 0 (least homophobic) and 100 (most homophobic) (Wright, Adams, Bernat, 1999).

Control variables. This study also controlled for several variables that were related to rape myth acceptance in previous research. Age has previously been considered to have an impact on rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980), however this relationship has proven to be inconsistent (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Here age is measured as a continuous variable.

Race has also been shown to affect rape myth acceptance. Previous research has revealed that African Americans are more accepting of rape myths than whites (Field, 1978; Dull & Giacopassi, 1987; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Respondents were asked to indicate their race, choosing between African American, Asian, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, or other. Race was later recoded into White, Black and other, due to a lack of participants reporting being Hispanic, Asian, or other races.

Fraternity membership has also been correlated with higher levels of rape myth acceptance. This variable was measured by asking respondents to indicate whether or not they are or ever were members of a fraternity. Fraternity membership is a dichotomous variable which was dummy coded as 0 for nonmember and 1 for member. Participants who were members of a fraternity were expected to have higher levels of rape myth acceptance.

Alcohol use was also expected to influence participant’s level of masculinity. Basow (1980) argues that drunkenness is an aspect of masculinity and is seen as an acceptable behavior. This is consistent with current research indicating that a component of masculinity entails risk-taking behaviors, such as higher alcohol consumption. Thus, alcohol was measured using the Perceived Normative Drinking and Actual Alcohol Use Scale, which examines perceived norms of alcohol consumption and actual alcohol use (Labrie, Hummer, Grant, & Lac, 2010). The scale
consists of 5 items, each asking two questions (one about perceived norms and one about alcohol consumption). Scores were summed and divided by the number of items, where higher scores indicated higher risk-taking behaviors. Alpha reliability for this scale was .946.

Gun ownership was also expected to influence participant’s level of masculinity. Previous research has established a relationship between gun ownership, racism, and conservatism (Ellison, 1991), which are all related to the southern culture of honor. Gun ownership was measured by asking respondents to indicate whether or not they own a firearm or use firearms regularly.

This study was also concerned with where students live. Location has previously been found to impact the occurrence of rape. In general, college campuses are considered “at risk” environments for rape. Fraternities specifically are even more prone to sexual violence. Thus, individuals who live in fraternity housing were predicted to have a greater acceptance of rape myths. These individuals living in all-male housing were also expected to adhere to masculinity norms at higher rates. The survey asked respondents to identify the best answer that describes their current housing situation, choosing between single gender dormitory, co-ed dormitory, Greek housing, other on-campus housing not provided, off-campus housing or living with parents.

Sexual orientation was also considered to impact masculinity and rape myth acceptance. Hegemonic masculinity, or normative masculinity, requires men to be heterosexual. Thus, gay men were predicted to adhere less to masculinity norms and were predicted to accept rape myths at lower rates than heterosexual men and, consequently, heterosexual men would accept rape myths at higher rates than gay men. The survey asked respondents to identify their sexual
orientation by choosing the best answer that describes them: heterosexual, gay, bisexual, or other.

It was also important for respondents to identify their year in college. Year in college was asked as a proxy for age, and respondents indicated if they were freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, in or graduate or professional post-bachelor’s degree programs.

Previous research has found southerners to be more conservative and more accepting of traditional gender roles, which have also been correlated with higher rates of rape myth acceptance. Thus, the current study was also interested in participants’ political ideologies. The survey asked participants to identify if they are more conservative or liberal on a 5-point Likert scale of general political attitudes, with 1 representing very liberal and 5 representing very conservative. Lastly, athletic involvement was expected to impact both masculinity and rape myth acceptance. Athletic involvement has previously been shown to impact both men’s and women’s acceptance of rape myths. Athletes participating in group sports (e.g. basketball, football) rather than individual sports (e.g. tennis, track) are more likely to accept rape myths (Sawyer, Thompson, & Chicorelli, 2002). Men participating in group sports were then predicted to be more accepting of rape myths. The survey asked participants to identify their current athletic involvement: group sport participation (e.g. football, basketball), individual sport participation (e.g. tennis, track), or none. The study expected to find that participants who identify as being involved in group sports have higher levels of rape myth acceptance.

Participants

Due to the topic of the study, all participants were males, over the age of 18, and from a large, southeastern university. Because college age students are more likely to be victims and perpetrators of rape and the location of fraternities and college campuses are considered “at risk”
environments for rape, this population is ideal for studying masculinity and rape myth acceptance.

**Design and Procedure**

The current study sampled students aged 18 and older at the University of Alabama. This sample was obtained from large undergraduate sociology and criminal justice courses. An email, that briefly described the study, was sent to all faculty teaching disciplines. The email asked faculty to put the link on their BlackBoard courses. A brief description of the survey provided a web link to the survey on Qualtrics. The use of this online survey allows for faster response times and less expense. In fact, Internet surveys have been found to decrease social desirability issues (Krantz & Dalal, 2000). Once on the website, participants were made aware of the anonymous nature of the study, informed of the risks and benefits associated with the study, and were asked to consent before beginning the survey.

**Analyses**

The current study examined the relationship between masculinity, region, and rape myth acceptance. This study expected to find greater adherence to masculine norms in participants who identify as being from the Deep South. Additionally, participants from the Deep South were expected to have higher levels of rape myth acceptance. Men who support traditional ideologies about gender, race, and sexuality were expected to accept rape myths at higher rates. Finally, region was hypothesized to moderate the relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance.

In order to test these relationships, a series of descriptive statistics was run using SPSS. The appropriate statistics (frequencies for categorical variables and means for continuous variables) were calculated for each variable. For hypothesis 1, a T-test was performed to
compare the means on masculinity by region to examine whether or not men from the Deep South score higher on the CMNI than men from other regions. A T-test was also used to compare means scores of men form the Deep South and men from other regions on rape myths. To test the third and fourth hypotheses, multiple regression models were run to see if masculinity, region (Hypothesis 3), and other ideologies (Hypothesis 4) affect rape myth acceptance, controlling for all other variables. Finally, to test Hypothesis 5, a set interaction terms were created between region, race, and masculinity to find out if the relationships between being white, living in the south, and scores on the masculinity scale affect rape myth acceptance.
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The means and standard deviations of continuous variables and percentages of categorical variables are presented in Table 1.

<p>| Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations for all Relevant Variables (N=175) |
|---------------------------------|----------|-----------------|-----|
| Variable                        | N        | Means/Proportions | SD  |
| <strong>DEPENDENT VARIABLE</strong>          |          |                  |     |
| Rape Myth Accept.               | 133      | 2.7              | 0.743 |
| <strong>INDEPENDENT VARIABLE</strong>        |          |                  |     |
| Masculinity                     | 123      | 2.55             | 0.324 |
| Deep South                      | 115      | 65.7             |      |
| Non-Deep South                  | 60       | 34.3             |      |
| Sexism                          | 137      | 3.19             | 0.956 |
| Racism                          | 114      | 2.37             | 0.646 |
| Homophobia                      | 141      | 36.8             | 12.78|
| Classism                        | 148      | 3.13             | 0.62  |
| Alcohol                         | 145      | 4.44             | 1.88  |
| <strong>SOUTHERN IDENTITY</strong>           |          |                  |     |
| Yes, Southern                   | 115      | 65.7             |      |
| No, not southern                | 51       | 29.1             |      |
| <strong>POLITICAL VIEWS</strong>             |          |                  |     |
| Political View                  |          | 3.32             | 1.001 |
| <strong>AGE</strong>                         |          |                  |     |
| 18-19(Freshmen/Sophomore)       | 23       | 13               |      |
| 20-22(Junior/Senior)            | 95       | 54.3             |      |
| 23+(Graduated)                  | 57       | 36.2             |      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>RACE</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>71.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>98.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>98.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
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<tr>
<td>Freshmen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sophomore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Junior</td>
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<td>Senior</td>
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<td>Graduate School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Professional/ Post Bachelor’s degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>On-Campus</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Off-Campus</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>36.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Greek</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>61.1</td>
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<th><strong>SPORT INVOLVEMENT</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participated in Sports</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Participate in Sports</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>49.7</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>GUN USEAGE</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used Guns</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Use Guns</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>38.9</td>
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</table>
In the sample of 175 men, the mean score for rape myth acceptance was 2.7, with a standard deviation of .74, indicating that men in this sample have moderate levels of rape myth acceptance. For masculinity, men in our sample scored a mean of 2.55, with a SD of .32, indicating that on a 4-point scale, men in this sample had higher than average levels of masculinity. When looking at region, 17.1% of respondents identified as being from the north \((n = 30)\), 70.3% identified as being from the south \((n = 123)\), and 6.3% identified as being from another region not specified \((n = 11)\). When looking at regional identity, 65.7% of respondents labeled themselves southern, \((n = 115)\), while 29.1% did not \((n = 51)\). When asked about state of origin, 60% of respondents identified their home state as Alabama \((n = 105)\), while 2.3% were from California \((n = 4)\), 1.2% were from Colorado \((n = 2)\), 1.7% were from Connecticut \((n = 3)\), 2.9% were from Florida \((n = 5)\), 4% were from Georgia \((n = 7)\), 0.6% were from Iowa \((n = 1)\), 0.6% were from Illinois \((n = 1)\), 0.6% were from Kentucky \((n = 1)\), 0.6% were from Louisiana \((n = 1)\), 0.6% were from Massachusetts \((n = 1)\), 2.9% were from Maryland \((n = 5)\), 1.7% were from Michigan \((n = 3)\), 0.6% were from Minnesota \((n = 1)\), 1.1% were from North Carolina \((n = 2)\), 2.3% were from New Jersey \((n = 4)\), 1.7% were from New York \((n = 3)\), 1.1% were from Pennsylvania \((n = 2)\), 3.4% were from Tennessee \((n = 6)\), 2.3% were from Texas \((n = 4)\), 1.2% were from Virginia \((n = 2)\), and 1.7% identified as being from outside of the United States \((n = 3)\). The variable region was created from the responses to the home state question using the U.S Census definition discussed above (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Deep South included Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina while all others were coded as Non Deep South. As shown in Table 1, 65.7% of respondents were from the Deep South, \((n = 115)\), and 34.3% were not from the Deep South \((n = 60)\).
When looking at ideological variables, sexism, which was measured using a 7-point scale, had a mean score of 3.19 (SD = .96), indicating that the sample had lower than average levels of sexism. Racism had a mean score of 2.37 (SD = .65), indicating that the sample reported slightly higher than average levels of racism on a four-point scale. The mean score for homophobia was 36.8 (SD = 12.78) indicating that the sample conveyed low levels of homophobia. Classism was measured using a 5-point Likert scale. As shown in Table 1, the mean score for classism was 3.13 (SD = .62), indicating that on a five-point scale, the sample reported higher than average levels of discrimination against the poor.

For the continuous control variables, alcohol use had a mean score of 4.44 (SD = 1.88), indicating that the sample reported relatively moderate perceived and actual drinking norms. When looking at political views, 5.1% were very liberal (n = 9), 30.3% were liberal (n = 21), 34.3% were moderate (n = 53), 34.3% were conservative (n = 60), and 8.6% were very conservative (n = 15). As shown in table 1, the mean score for political views was 3.32 (SD = 1.001), indicating that the men in this sample were generally politically moderate. Because of the wide variation in responses, the continuous variable age was recoded into three categories: 18-19 (1), 20-22 (2), and 23+ (3). In the sample, 13.1% of the men were 18 or 19 (n = 23), 54.3% were between the ages of 20 and 22 (n = 95), and 32.6% were over the age of 23 (n = 57).

When looking at the categorical control variables, the majority of the respondents were white (n = 125) representing 71.4% of the men in our sample, while 16.6% were African American men (n = 29), 1.1% were Asian men (n = 2), 2.9% were Hispanic/Latino men (n = 5), and 1.7% identified as being of another race not listed (n = 3). Because of the small numbers of men of Latino, Asian, or other races in the sample, race was recoded into white (1), black (2), and other race (3). The majority, 71.4%, of the respondents were white males (n = 125), 16.6%
were African American men \((n = 29)\), and 5.7% were of another race \((n = 10)\). For gender identity, 98.3% of men identified as male \((n = 172)\), and 1.7% identified as female \((n = 3)\). When looking at year in college, 6.9% of the respondents were freshmen \((n = 12)\), 17.7% were sophomores \((n = 31)\), 34.3% were juniors \((n = 60)\), 24.6% were seniors \((n = 43)\), 5.1% were in graduate school \((n = 9)\), and 8% were in another professional or post bachelor’s degree \((n = 14)\). The majority of respondents (74.9%) reported living in off-campus housing \((n = 131)\), while 1.7% lived in a single gender dormitory \((n = 3)\), 5.1% lived in a co-ed dormitory \((n = 9)\), 4.6% lived in Greek housing \((n = 8)\), 3.4% lived in another form of on-campus housing not provided \((n = 6)\), and 3.4% lived with their parents \((n = 6)\). For analysis purposes, this variable was recoded where on-campus housing = 1 and off-campus housing = 2, with 14.9% of the men reporting living on-campus \((n = 26)\) and 78.3% reporting living off-campus \((n = 137)\). When looking at Greek system involvement, 36.3% of respondents identified as being a member of a fraternity \((n = 61)\), while 61.1% were not members of a fraternity \((n = 107)\). In this sample, 26.3% of men participated in group organized sports \((n = 46)\), 5.7% participated in individual organized sports \((n = 10)\), 14.3% participated in both organized and individual sports \((n = 25)\), and 49.7% do not participate in any organized sports \((n = 87)\). For analysis purposes, organized sport involvement was recoded into sport involvement (1) and no sport involvement (2), with 46.3% of men participating in some form of organized sports \((n = 81)\) and 49.7% not participating in any form of organized sports \((n = 87)\). When looking at gun ownership and use, 38.9% did not own a firearm, 48.2% owned firearms, and 10.3% reported not owning a firearm, but using firearms regularly. For analysis purposes, this variable was recoded into gun use (1) and non-use (2), with 56% of respondents reporting use of firearms \((n = 98)\) and 38.9% reporting they did not use firearms \((n = 68)\).
Table 2: Means (Standard Deviations) by Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Deep South</th>
<th>Non-Deep South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity (N = 123)</td>
<td>2.55(.346)</td>
<td>2.57(.273)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape Myth Acceptance (N = 133)</td>
<td>2.62(.782)</td>
<td>2.73(.727)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**T-Tests.** Table 2 presents the results from Hypotheses 1 and 2, which tested the impact of region on masculinity and rape myth acceptance. Hypothesis 1 was not supported. As shown in Table 2, men from the Deep South (M = 2.55) reported similar scores on masculinity as men from other regions (M = 2.57, p > .05). However, because there have been a variety of ways that scholars have defined being southern or “deep southern” (Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1969; 2009; Whetten & Reif, 2006; Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 2009), multiple region variables were created using various definitions of which states represent the southern United States. Using multiple definitions of regions allows for assessing if results were affected by how region was operationalized (results available upon request). The variable measuring southern identity was also used to operationalize region. However, no matter how region was defined, there was not a statistical difference between participants from the Deep South or other regions when looking at the mean scores on the masculinity scale.

Hypothesis 2 was also not supported. There was no significant difference between men from the Deep South and men from other states on levels of rape myth acceptance. Men from the Deep South (2.62) have approximately the same average levels of rape myth acceptance as men from the other regions (2.73, p > .05). Once again, no matter how Deep South was operationalized, region did not significantly relate to rape myth acceptance.
Table 3: Rape Myth Acceptance Regressed on Region (1), Ideologies (2), and Interaction Terms (3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Hypothesis 3</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hypothesis 4</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hypothesis 5</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>.245</td>
<td>-.378</td>
<td>.334</td>
<td>.495</td>
<td>.684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep South (1=yes)</td>
<td>-.123</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>-.195</td>
<td>.149</td>
<td>-.548</td>
<td>.375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White (1=yes)</td>
<td>-.665</td>
<td>.219**</td>
<td>-.765</td>
<td>.231**</td>
<td>-.101</td>
<td>.320**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other race (1=yes)</td>
<td>-.742</td>
<td>.330*</td>
<td>-.647</td>
<td>.365</td>
<td>-1.647</td>
<td>.593**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun Use (1=yes)</td>
<td>.426</td>
<td>.162**</td>
<td>.181</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.230</td>
<td>.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior/Senior (1=yes)</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>.476</td>
<td>.262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Graduate (1=yes)</td>
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<td>.257</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.295</td>
<td>.464</td>
<td>.300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek only (1=yes)</td>
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<td>.170</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.107</td>
<td>.175</td>
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<tr>
<td>On campus (1=yes)</td>
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<td>.204</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>.209</td>
<td>.279</td>
<td>.206</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport Involvement (1=yes)</td>
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<td>.144</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.147</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political View</td>
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<td>.072</td>
<td>-.103</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>-.180</td>
<td>.086*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homophobia</td>
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<td>.009</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.008*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classism</td>
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<td>-.307</td>
<td>.181</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>.354</td>
<td>.181</td>
<td>.491</td>
<td>.183**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexism</td>
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<td>.128</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White2 X DS</td>
<td>.289</td>
<td></td>
<td>.409</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White2 X MC</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.667</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR X DS</td>
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<td>.715*</td>
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<tr>
<td>OR X MC</td>
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<td>DS X MC</td>
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<td>.677</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-Square</td>
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<td>0.302</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05  ** p < .01

1 See methods section for scaling information on masculinity, political views, alcohol, homophobia, classism, racism, & sexism
**Regression analyses.** Table 3 shows the results of the regression models. The first model, testing hypothesis 3, regressed rape myth acceptance on masculinity and region, controlling for all other variables. Because of the lack of variation in gender identity and sexuality, these variables were excluded from the regression models. For the regression model several categorical variables were dummy coded for analyses: region (Deep South was included in the model, Other Region was the reference group), race (White and Other were included in the model, with Black as the reference group), firearms (Gun Use was included in the model, Non-Use was the reference group), fraternity membership (Greek Only was included in the model, Non-Greek was the reference group), sport involvement (Sports was included in the model, No Sports was the reference group), age (age was categorized into three variables; Junior/Senior and Post-Graduate respondents were included in the model, with Freshman/Sophomores as the reference group), and students who lived on-campus only were included in the model, with off-campus as the reference group).

Hypothesis 3 was not supported. In the model, the adjusted R-square was .159, indicating that the variables in the model explained 15.9% of the variance in rape myth acceptance. However, neither masculinity \((b = .063, p > .05)\) nor Deep South \((b = -.123, p > .05)\) was related to rape myth acceptance. Of the control variables, sport involvement, fraternity membership, age, masculinity, and residence in proximity to campus did not impact rape myth acceptance. However, being white \((b = -.665, p < .01)\), being of another race other than white or black \((b = -.742, p < .01)\), and gun ownership/use \((b = .426, p < .01)\) were significantly related to rape myth acceptance. Individuals who reported owning or regularly using a firearm had greater levels of rape myth acceptance than respondents who did not use firearms. Compared to black respondents, whites reported lower rates of rape myth acceptance. And compared to black
respondents, respondents of a race other than black or white reported lower rates of rape myth acceptance.

The second model, which tests hypothesis 4, added the ideological variables to the previous model. The adjusted R-square for model 2 was .302, indicating that the variables the model explain 30.2% of the variance in rape myth acceptance. This hypothesis was not supported. Sexism, racisim, homophobia, and classism had no effect on rape myth acceptance, controlling for all other variables. However, the addition of the ideological variables renders the effect of gun ownership on rape myth acceptance insignificant. Race remained significant in model 2; compared to black men, white men had lower levels of rape myth acceptance ($b = -.765$, $p < .01$). In this model, other race was no longer significant.

The third regression model looks at interactions between race, region, and masculinity to test hypothesis 5, which looked to see if either being white and/or from the Deep South moderated the relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance. First, the variable masculinity was centered to increase interpretability of interactions and eliminate issues of multicollinearity. Previous researchers have recommended this step to ensure the interaction term created is not highly correlated with the original independent or parent variable (Aiken, West, & Reno, 1991; McClelland & Judd, 1993). A set of interaction terms was created between race and region (White2_X_DS, Black2_X_DS, Otherrace2_X_DS, White2_X_Non_DS, Black2_X_Non_DS, Other_race2_X_Non_DS,), race and masculinity (White2_X_Masc_Centered, Black2_X_Masc_Centered, Otherrace2_X_Masc_Centered), and region and masculinity (DS_X_Masc_Centered and Non_DS_X_Masc_Centered) before creating the three way interaction terms (White2_X_DS_X_Masc_Centered, Otherrace2_X_DS_Masc_Centered). For hypothesis five, the two-way interaction terms were
added to model 2. There was no support for Hypothesis 5. In the model, the adjusted R-square was .380, indicating that the variables in the model explain 38.0% of the variance in rape myth acceptance. Being from the Deep South did not result in an increase in the effect of being white on rape myth acceptance ($b = -.101, p > .05$). However, being from the Deep South moderates the effect of being a race other than white or black on rape myth acceptance ($b = 1.75, p < .05$). In other words, being from the Deep South intensified the effect of being a race other than white or black on rape myth acceptance. However, a number of other variables became significant in this model. Men with more liberal ideologies had higher rates of rape myth acceptance ($b = -.180, p < .05$). Homophobia also became significant in the model, indicating that men who scored higher on the homophobia scale had higher levels of rape myth acceptance ($b = .019, p < .05$). Lastly, racism became significant in the model, indicating that men who scored higher on the racism scale had higher levels of rape myth acceptance ($b = .491, p < .01$). However, it was likely that issues with the model are causing insignificant variables to appear significant. This will be discussed further in the discussion section. Because masculinity was not significant in any of the two-way interactions, it was unnecessary to run the model with the three-way interaction terms.
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Although past research has established a relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance, no previous research has looked at the impact of region and masculinity on rape myth acceptance. Theorists maintain that masculinity norms vary by region (e.g. Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005). Because hegemonic masculinity varies by location and culture, the current study hypothesized that hegemonic ideals in the Deep South would vary from other regions of the United States and result in different levels of rape myth acceptance. The findings discussed in this paper do not support these hypotheses nor are they consistent with previous literature. The following section will detail the inconsistencies and offer possible explanations for these differences.

Hypothesis 1, which analyzed the differences in masculinity norms between men who identified as being from the Deep South versus other regions of the United States, was not supported. Based on previous literature on regional masculinity (Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005) and research on the southern culture, which acknowledges a distinct southern masculine culture in the United States (Hackney, 1969; Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Moore, 1986; Nisbett, 1993; Anderson, 1989; Friend & Glover, 2004), the current study expected southern men to have a greater adherence to hegemonic masculinity norms. However, this hypothesis was not supported. Men from the southern United States reported similar means on masculinity as men from other regions in the United States regardless of how region was measured (e.g. using data about the respondent’s state of origin or measured by asking if the respondent identified as southern). One explanation for this finding is that regional differences between the north and the
south may be declining. This explanation is supported by previous research that found little to no regional ideological differences (Goodstein, 1954; Powers et al., 2003; Carter & Borch, 2005), indicating that ideological differences by region in the United States are diminishing. Furthermore, Rice and Coates (1995) found that southerners and non-southerners report few, if any, differences in gender-role attitudes despite the fact that southerners held more conservative views. These findings may not indicate that masculinity varies by region, but perhaps that a homogeneous hegemonic masculine culture in the United States that does not vary by region.

Hypothesis 2, which analyzed the differences in rape myth acceptance between men from the Deep South and men from other region, was also not supported. Based on previous literature about the southern culture of violence (Nisbett, 1993; Cohen & Nisbett, 1995) and southern violence against women (Glover, 2003), the current study expected men from the south to have higher levels of rape myth acceptance. However, this hypothesis was not supported. Although the sample of men had moderately high levels of rape myth acceptance, these levels did not vary by region. As with hypothesis 1, this suggests that regional differences in the United States are diminishing (Goodstein, 1954; Rice & Coates, 1995; Powers et al., 2003; Carter & Borch, 2005). These explanations can also account for the lack of support for hypothesis 3; which regressed rape myth acceptance on masculinity and region controlling for all other variables. Neither region nor masculinity was related to rape myth acceptance.

One possible explanation for the lack of a significant relationship between masculinity and rape myth acceptance could be that the CMNI scale used in the current study did not assess aspects of hostile masculinity. This explanation is supported by previous research that found the aspects of masculinity that are the best predictors of rape myth acceptance and sexual violence to be those that reflect power over women or others and engagement in casual sex (Locke &
Mahalik, 2005). Because the current study used the short form version of the CMNI (Burns & Mahalik, 2008), which reduced the original scale from 94 to 22 items, these aspects of masculinity are lacking. Thus, future research should either use the original 94-item scale, or perhaps a hostile masculinity scale such as Malamuth and Thornhill’s (1994) Hostile Masculinity Scale, which predicts hostile behavior towards women based on behaviors such as self-reported sexually aggressive behaviors.

Race and gun ownership did impact rape myth acceptance. In this sample, individuals who reported owning or regularly using a firearm reported higher levels of rape myth acceptance. Previous research reported that gun ownership rates are highest in the southern and western United States (Kleck & Gertz, 1995). A more recent study found that white men are more likely to reside in a house that has a gun or to carry a gun for self-protection (Copes, Kovandzic, Miller, & Williamson, 2009). In this respect, it is possible that the gun ownership is a proxy for southern masculinity that better operationalizes the southern culture of honor than the interaction term that combined the CMNI and Deep South.

Consistent with previous research, the current study found that compared to black men, white men and men of other races had lower levels of rape myth acceptance. Field (1978) found that African Americans were more accepting of rape myths than whites. Similarly, previous studies have also found that African Americans (Dull & Giacopassi, 1987; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986) and Hispanics (Fischer, 1987) are more accepting of rape myths than whites. In addition, William and Holmes (1981) found that African Americans were more likely than whites to blame the victims of a rape and less likely than whites to want to prosecute the offender. Williams and Holmes explain these racial differences in rape myth acceptance as a result of cultural differences, arguing that the history of lynching Black men for the rape of White women
has resulted in African American men shifting the blame for sexual assault from themselves to women (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986), which could account for higher levels of rape myth acceptance. In addition, Fischer (1987) has argued that Latinos report more conservative gender role ideologies, which could account for the higher levels of rape myth acceptance.

Previous studies have found relationships between sport involvement, fraternity membership, age, masculinity, alcohol use, political views, and residence in proximity to campus to rape myth acceptance. In this study, none of these control variables had an impact on rape myth acceptance. The first of the controls, age, did not significantly impact rape myth acceptance. However, research has shown inconsistent support for the relationship between age and rape myth acceptance (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). According to Lonsway and Fitzgerald, “there is no conceptual rationale for expecting that biological age alone would be directly related to rape myth acceptance” (p.144). They offer the explanation that any relationship between age and rape myth acceptance is actually evidence of a third factor, such as education.

Additionally, participation in sports did not affect rape myth acceptance. This is consistent with at least one study, which concluded that participation in sports did not predict rape myth acceptance (Locke & Mahalik, 2005). Another explanation for the findings could be in the operationalization of ‘sport involvement’. Much of the previous research that found sport involvement to effect rape myth acceptance measured participation in sports as being a part of a collegiate team, whereas the current study included individuals who play on club, intramural, or other recreational sport teams (e.g. Koss & Gaines, 1993; Caron et al., 1997; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). In these previous studies, sport involvement looked solely at intercollegiate scholarship athletes, who were often given gifts/allowances, special residences, and leniency in course work. According to Caron et al., these aspects of being a college athlete can lead to a
since of entitlement and strong male-bonds, leading to higher levels of rape myth acceptance. Because of the small amount of intercollegiate athletes in this sample, this study could not tap into these intrinsic value systems that coincide with collegiate athleticism.

Although a majority of the previous research has found fraternity membership to result in higher levels of rape myth acceptance, the current study did not find this link. One possible explanation for this finding could be that the IRMAS (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999; McMahon & Farmer, 2011) measured attitudes about rape stereotypes rather than actual participation in sexual violence or rape scenarios. Although fraternity men did not have higher levels of rape myth acceptance, previous literature has found fraternity members (when compared to non-fraternity members) have higher levels of sexual aggression (e.g. Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Boeringer, 1996; Schwartz & Nogrady, 1996) and higher instances of gang rape involvement (O’Sullivan, 1991). Perhaps negative belief systems about sexual violence and women are not synonymous with engaging sexually violent behavior. In other words, although fraternity members may not report individually having attitudes supportive of rape myths, the group pressures of fraternity involvement influence engagement in sexually violent behaviors.

Although previous research has consistently found alcohol use to be related to rape myth acceptance and masculinity, alcohol was not significant in the current study. One possible explanation for this finding could be that the scale used, Perceived Normative Drinking and Actual Alcohol Use (Labrie, Hummer, Grant, & Lac, 2010) included perceived normative drinking of their peers in the scale. Thus, the score summations may not best reflect personal alcohol use and instead are better reflection of general conceptions about peer alcohol use. Future research should use scales that measure only personal use.
In contrast to previous research, having conservative ideals did not impact rape myth acceptance in this sample. The current study used only question on a 5-point Likert scale, asking respondents to identify how conservative or liberal they were. Thus, one possible explanation for this inconsistency could be that the study did not use a comprehensive scale to adequately identify whether or not a respondent was conservative or liberal in their beliefs. Future research should include this type of measure.

Although previous research has found that living in on-campus housing predicted rape myth acceptance, the current study did not find this relationship. One possible explanation could be how the variable was recoded. Only 4.6% of respondents reported living in Greek housing, which has previously predicted greater levels of rape myth acceptance (e.g. Bleeker & Murnen, 2005). Thus, the variable for housing was recoded into on-campus versus off-campus housing. Future research should sample a larger amount of fraternity members to assure variation in the sample.

Hypothesis 4 added ideological variables to the regression model. Previous research found a number of ideological variables to impact rape myth acceptance. Higher levels of sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism have been shown to result in higher levels of rape myth acceptance (Aosved & Long, 2006). When controlling for all other variables, the added ideological variables (sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism) had no effect on rape myth acceptance. One possible explanation for this inconsistency with previous research is that the means for both homophobia and sexism were low in this sample, explaining why neither variable impacts rape myth acceptance. In addition, classism has only been related to in rape myth acceptance in one previous study, so the relationship between this ideology and rape myth acceptance is not established (Aosved & Long, 2006).
One possible reason for the lack of a relationship between racism and rape myth acceptance is the number of missing responses from the racism scale. No respondent answered every item on this scale, and some questions were answered less than others. For example, only 130 participants answered the question “Over the past few years, black have gotten more economically than they deserve”. These missing responses could have impacted the effect of racism on rape myth acceptance in this sample. Indeed, for most of the ideological variables, a reduced number of participants answered every question used to comprise the scales: (for sexism, \( n = 137 \); for racism, \( n = 114 \); for homophobia, \( n = 141 \); and for classism, \( n = 148 \)). This may indicate that the respondents felt uncomfortable answering these questions. Previous research asserts that despite efforts to ensure anonymity and confidentiality, participants in social science research may still be afraid to disclose information that is socially undesirable (Singer, von Thurn, & Miller, 1995). According to Tourangeau and Yang (2007), item non-response rate is highest for questions that respondents perceive as being intrusive. This smaller sample size may suffer from a lack of statistical power (Heckman, 1979). Future research should strive for a larger sample size.

However, the addition of these ideological variables eliminated the effect of gun ownership on rape myth acceptance, which was significant in the previous model. When adding the ideological variables into the model one at a time, when classism was added to the model, the effect of gun ownership on rape myth acceptance disappeared. The relationship between gun ownership, ideological variables, and rape myth acceptance should be examined in future research. The variable race remained significant in model 2; compared to black men, white men reported lower levels of rape myth acceptance. However, in this model the variable other race was no longer significant.
For Hypothesis 5, interaction terms were created to examine if the race moderated the effects of masculinity and region on rape myth acceptance. Previous research has described the south as having a distinct white southern masculine culture (Hackney, 1969; Huff-Corzine, Corzine, & Moore, 1986; Nisbett, 1993; Anderson, 1989). Thus, the current study expected white men from the south to exemplify this white southern masculine culture, which would ultimately result in higher levels of masculinity and rape myth acceptance. This hypothesis was not supported. However, being from the Deep South intensified the effect of being a race other than white or black on rape myth acceptance. This is consistent with previous research that has found Hispanics/Latinos to have higher levels of rape myth acceptance (Dull & Giacopassi, 1987; Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Fischer, 1987; Williams & Holmes, 1981). It is likely that the more traditional gender ideologies of Hispanic and Asian cultures, coupled with traditional values of the south, are resulting in greater levels of rape myth acceptance for men who identify as a race other than black or white. Upon further analysis, the means on rape myth acceptance for respondents who identified as being a race other than white or black by region for men from the Deep South was 2.87, while men of other race from other regions scored 2.12. When the interaction terms were added to the model, some of the ideological variables became significant. Although these ideological variables appear to have a statistically significant impact on rape myth acceptance, the model is actually suffering from negative confounding variables, which are variables that distort the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. In other words, the presence of negative confounders is distorting the true relationship between these ideological variables (political views, homophobia, racism) and rape myth acceptance, making the relationships seem statistically significant though they bare no practical significance.
The current study used several ideological measures that had been previously related to rape myth acceptance (Aosved & Long, 2006). It is likely that using these measures in the model results in problems of internal validity, which lead to confounding variables. It is likely that these measures are tapping into components of southern masculinity, and/or each of these variables (political views, homophobia, racism) are measuring oppressive attitudes, which is resulting in the presence of negative confounders.

This research suffered from numerous limitations, which may be impacting the results. First, this research was limited to a convenience sample of undergraduate and graduate students from a southeastern university who were enrolled in the criminal justice and sociology courses. One of the main limitations to a convenience sample is bias, which can possibly lead to skewed data (Heckman, 1979). Because students in sociology and criminal justice classes were sampled, the findings presented here are not representative of the general college population.

Additionally, there is the issue of sample size. Although the total sample size included 175 males, once regression analyses were run, the numbers reduced significantly ($n = 92$). This smaller sample size may suffer from a lack of statistical power. It is likely that this small sample size reflects the sensitive nature of the study. It is possible that the series of ideological scales created added emotional stress, which resulted in respondents dropping out of the survey or skipping questions they deemed uncomfortable. According to Tourangeau, Rip, and Risinski (2000), respondents often underreport undesirable behaviors (e.g. discriminatory beliefs). As previously mentioned, item response rates are lowest for questions participants deem as intrusive (Tourangeau & Yang, 2007). In this case, future research should aim to reduce or break up sensitive questions within the survey. It is also possible that this small sample size reflects participants’ fear of being identified despite efforts in anonymous online surveys. According to
Tourangeau and Yang (2007), participants may experience what is termed threat of disclosure, where participants fear the consequences of telling the truth despite efforts to assure anonymity. This could be especially true of college students, who may fear that their responses may affect their grades, even when told otherwise. Future research should strive for a larger sample size and to reassure respondents that their responses are anonymous.

Another limitation may be the operationalization of southern masculinity. Rather than using a variable for general masculinity and then creating interaction terms with measures of Deep South, researchers should create a measure that encompasses traits of the southern culture of honor that scholars have argued is entrenched in the Deep South (Nisbett, 1993; Friend & Glover, 2004). This measure could include items assessing aggression, racism, homophobia, and gun ownership as aspects of this southern culture of honor. Creating one measure of oppressive belief systems may also eliminate the issue of confounders in the regression model. Additionally, the study did not include an indicator of religiosity. Previous research has connected conservative religious values to conservative ideas about women (Davidson et al., 2008). Future research should look at how religiosity affects and rape myth acceptance in the Deep South. Despite these limitations, results from the current study do have implications for future research and policy formation. As noted by Aosved & Long (2006), future research should also assess other intolerant/discriminatory belief systems in relation to rape myth acceptance (eg. Anti-fat beliefs, anti-Muslim beliefs, intolerance for people with disabilities).

With regards to policy implications, this sample reported moderate levels of rape myth acceptance, indicating that stereotypical belief systems about rape, rape victims, and rape perpetrators are still relatively common. The current study also found moderate levels of actual alcohol use and perceived peer alcohol consumption. These findings are important because of the
link between alcohol consumption and sexual assaults (e.g. Richardson & Campbell, 1982; Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998). In addition, the results of this study found high levels of racism and discrimination against the poor. Thus, college campuses should continue to develop and deliver programs that discredit these stereotypes about rape, rape victims, rape perpetrators, and minorities. Previous evaluations of rape education programs argued that current rape programs should include strategies to address co-occurring oppressive belief systems, such as the ideologies examined in the current study (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Therefore, the current study contends that these programs aim to address all discriminatory beliefs that have been previously found to co-occur with rape myth acceptance.
REFERENCES


April 6, 2015

Dixie Rocker
Department of Criminal Justice
College of Arts & Sciences
Box 870320

Re: IRB# 15-001
“Gender and Rape Myth Acceptance in the Deep South”

Dear Ms. Rocker:

The University of Alabama IRB has received the revisions requested by the full board on 3/27/15. The board has reviewed the revisions and your protocol is now approved for a one-year period. Please be advised that your protocol will expire one year from the date of approval, 3/27/15.

If your research will continue beyond this date, complete the IRB Renewal Application by the 15th of the month prior to project expiration. If you need to modify the study, please submit the Modification of An Approved Protocol Form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure Form.

Please use reproductions of the IRB approved stamped information sheet to provide to your participants.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this proposal, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,
Information Sheet for a Non-Medical Study
UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM

Study Title: Gender and Sexual Attitudes in the Deep South

Researchers: Dixie Rocker, graduate student; Dr. Ariane Prohaska, Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice/Sociology

What am I being asked? You are being asked to participate in a research study.

What is this study about? What is the investigator trying to learn? The purpose of this study is to learn about how gender ideology, or an individual’s belief system about femininity and masculinity norms, affects sexual attitudes in the Deep South.

What will I be asked to do in this study? If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey that includes questions about your attitudes toward gender, sexuality, poverty, and race. Other questions include alcohol use, political views, sports involvement, firearms, and demographic information. As part of the study, several statistical analyses will be conducted in order to look at the relationships among these variables. If at any time you feel uncomfortable, feel free to skip the question, decline to respond, or stop filling out the survey. You may discontinue the survey at any time. No penalty will result from any of the above options.

How much time will I spend being in this study? This study involves one online survey that can take up to 30 minutes to complete. If at any time you wish to discontinue, please feel free to stop filling out the survey at any time.

What are the risks (dangers or harms) to me if I am in this study? The main risk for completing this survey is that you may experience minor discomfort disclosing sensitive information. If you are not comfortable answering a particular question on the survey, you are free to skip the question. If at any time you become uncomfortable or if you wish to discontinue, please feel free to stop filling out the survey at any time. There is no penalty for not participating or withdrawing. If further assistance with these problems is needed, you can contact the University of Alabama’s Counseling Center at (205) 348-3863.

What are the benefits (good things) that may happen if I am in this study? There are no direct benefits from participating in this study, but you might benefit from knowing that you are contributing to the research on sexual attitudes and gender ideologies in the Deep South.

How will my privacy be protected? This is an anonymous survey that you can take in a private setting on your own time.

How will my confidentiality be protected? There will be nothing for you to sign so your survey responses can remain anonymous.
What are the alternatives to being in this study? Do I have other choices? Participation in this study is voluntary. There are no alternatives to this study but you do have the choice not to participate in this study or withdraw at any time without penalty.

What are my rights as a participant in this study? Taking part in this study is voluntary. It is your free choice to participate. You can refuse to be in the study with no penalty. Whether or not you choose to participate in this study will have no effect on your relations with the University of Alabama. Furthermore, if you start the study, you can skip any questions you feel uncomfortable answering or stop at any time. You will not receive any penalty for choosing to withdraw or choosing to not participate in this study. The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board ("the IRB") is the committee that protects the rights of people in research studies. The IRB may review study records from time to time to be sure that those involved in research studies are being treated fairly and that the study is being executed as planned.

Who do I call if I have questions or problems? If you have questions about the study right now, please ask them. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study – either before you take it or after you are finished – please call the Dr. Ariane Prohaska at 205-348-7793. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a person in this research study, call Ms. Tanta Myles, the Research Compliance Officer of the University, at 205-348-8461 or toll-free at 1-877-820-3066. You may also ask questions, make suggestions, or file complaints and concerns through the IRB Outreach website at http://osp.ua.edu/site/PRCO_Welcome.html or email us at participantoutreach@bama.ua.edu. After you participate, you are encouraged to complete the survey for research participants that is online at the outreach website or you may ask the investigator for a copy of it and mail it to the UA Office for Research Compliance, Box 870127, 358 Rose Administration Building, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0127.

What do I do if I do not want to participate? If you do not want to complete the following survey, simply close the survey on your computer.

How do I agree to participate? Simply proceed with the survey if you would like to participate.