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Discipline is not Prevention: Transforming the Cultural Foundations of Campus Rape Culture

Megan K. McCabe

On April 4, 2011, the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights issued a "Dear Colleague" letter on the issue of sexual violence on college campuses. It maintains that "The sexual harassment of students, including sexual violence, interferes with students' right to receive an education free from discrimination and, in the case of sexual violence, is a crime."[1] Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1971, which prohibits sex discrimination in higher education, had previously been most commonly known among the general population to stipulate gender equity in university sports. The "Dear Colleague" letter indicated a new enforcement and interpretation of the law, pushing universities to develop policies, procedures, and programs to prevent assault, counsel those who have been victimized, and discipline perpetrators.

One of the most significant and most well-known results of this intervention was the development of Title IX offices run by Title IX coordinators at colleges and universities.[2] And while Title IX coordinators do the work of supporting survivors with the options available to them, their work is most popularly known for the disciplinary measures that have been developed on campuses across the country. Such policies have fostered considerable public debate about the rights of the accused, even prompting an assessment of and revision of the Department of Education's rules and guidelines under current Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos.[3] Some accused students who have

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[1] Department of Education, "Dear Colleague," obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/dear_colleague_sexual_violence.pdf.

[2] Jacquelyn D. Wiersma-Mosley and James DiLoreto, "The Role of Title IX Coordinators in College and University Campuses," *Behavioral Sciences* 8, no. 4 (2018): doi.org/10.3390/bs8040038.

[3] Scott Jaschik, "DeVos Will Move Ahead With Title IX Plans," *Inside Higher Ed*, November 26, 2019, www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2019/11/26/devos-will-move-ahead-title-ix-plans; NBC News, "DeVos to Overhaul Obama-Era Guidance for Campus Sex Assault," NBC News, September 7, 2017,

been formally disciplined by university policies have pursued lawsuits in response under claims of failures of fairness and appropriate due process.[4] Other institutional responses to the demands of Title IX regarding sexual assault have included training for both employees and students. Employees go through what is typically brief, potentially online, training regarding what is expected of them to fulfill Title IX and the Clery Act,[5] namely that they must report any instance of sexual assault when they learn of it. Some universities provide guidelines to faculty to inform students of this requirement to report. Students may hear an instructional talk about consent and assault during first-year orientation or complete a brief online training. Often campus health services or offices within Student Affairs will provide programming about consent, healthy relationships, and assault prevention.

Such institutional programs and policies certainly give universities and colleges things to point to as evidence of a demonstrable effort and commitment to comply with Title IX. However, if success is measured by an actual reduction in sexual assault and dating abuse, their success remains unclear at best. Despite these efforts, sexual assault and other forms of abuse within romantic and sexual contexts persist. Indeed, as one recent study found, "Students were already educated about the importance of consent, but the rote answers they so expertly reproduced about the importance of 'yes' bore little resemblance to the ambiguous realities of sex as they actually described it unfolding in their lives."[6] While policies and training are necessary and have their place, meaningful work toward prevention requires a transformation of the cultural factors that give rise to abuse and allow it to continue, both on campus and in the broader society. Here I examine three such factors: students' senses of self and their value, the use and meaning of alcohol on campus and in cases of sexual violence, and socially defined meanings of gender and sexuality. At the same time, it is impossible to isolate each of these factors from one another. Instead, they come together in mutually informing ways, ultimately allowing for sexual violence and relational abuse to occur as well as covering over these realities.

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www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/betsy-devos-overhaul-obama-era-guidance-campus-sex-assault-n799471.

[4] James Moore and Kursat Christoff Pekgoz, "The Unfairer Sex," *Inside Higher Ed*, December 18, 2019, www.insidehighered.com/views/2019/12/18/men-are-banding-together-class-action-lawsuits-against-discrimination-title-ix.

[5] RAINN, "Clery Act," www.rainn.org/articles/clery-act.

[6] Jennifer Hirsch and Shamus Khan, *Sexual Citizens: A Landmark Study of Sex, Power, and Assault on Campus* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2020), xxix.

THE REALITIES OF ABUSE ON CAMPUS

High rates of rape on college campuses were first reported in 1988 by Robin Warshaw in *I Never Called It Rape,*[7] which included the data from a study conducted by *Ms. Magazine* and Mary Koss. Koss named a now-famous statistic: one in four college women experienced either rape or attempted rape, the vast majority of whom did not identify their experience as an assault. Koss found that a typical sexual assault was perpetrated not by strangers but by somebody known to the victimized person, many of which took place in the context of dates. Today, the contours of campus social life have changed; students typically do not go on dates but instead participate in campus party and hookup cultures. It is in this context that the majority of assaults on campus occur. And while it is now more accurate to talk about "party rape" instead of "date rape" when talking about campus sexual assault, the rates of rape have remained fairly steady. Data similar to Koss's was affirmed in 2009's *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*,[8] which suggested that 20-25 percent of college women were likely to experience an attempted or completed rape. A 2017 study of students at Columbia University and Barnard College found that 13.6 percent of women, and 20.5 percent of women in their fourth year of college, surveyed reported experiencing "penetrative assault."[9] This same study went further than previous research, surveying the student population, not exclusively women on campus, and found that 5.2 percent of men on campus experienced a penetrative assault. This evidence suggests that while women are not exclusively harmed, they are disproportionately represented among those victimized by sexual assault on campus.

Much of the public attention to the problem of sexual violence on campus focuses on the most predatory of perpetrators, such as Brock Turner, who was on the swim team at Stanford University, found guilty of assaulting an unconscious woman, Chanel Miller, behind a dumpster.[10] Such cases appear clear cut and, for many, suggest that the problem of assault on campus would be addressed by rooting out

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[7] Robin Warshaw and Mary P. Koss, *I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994).

[8] Bonnie S. Fisher, Leah E. Daigle, and Francis T. Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower: The Sexual Victimization of College Women* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009).

[9] Mellins, Claude A. et al., "Sexual Assault Incidents among College Undergraduates: Prevalence and Factors Associated with Risk," *PLoSONE* 12, no. 11 (2017): doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0186471.

[10] Christine Hauser, "Brock Turner Loses Appeal to Overturn Sexual Assault Conviction," *The New York Times*, www.nytimes.com/2018/08/09/us/brock-turner-appeal.html.

the repeat offenders.[11] As sociologist Lisa Wade explains, one theory about the problem of assault on campus "holds that rape is a crime committed by dangerous psychopaths: a small percentage of men who deliberately and routinely exploit and abuse women and other men. These men strategically choose their victims, carefully plot their crimes, lie in wait, and rape with glee."[12] As she argues, such serial perpetrators are, indeed, on campus, but the pervasive problem cannot be reduced to those who appear to be the most obviously violent. There are also those who rape due to the environment in which they find themselves: "For these individuals, being in a rape-prone place among rape-supportive people can incite predatory behavior, and even compel it. According to this theory, even otherwise good people may become sexually aggressive in circumstances that allow and reward that behavior."[13] Both situational and serial rapists rape on college campuses. And both cases are enabled by the social environment that dominates college campuses: college hookup and party culture. As Wade maintains, "Hookup culture is implicated—in the first case as a camouflage and in the second as a catalyst."[14]

Many students participate in hookup and party culture in order to have fun and live up to the expectations of the "college experience."[15] They view their time in college as a time to enjoy themselves through partying, sometimes so much so that it becomes a pressure rather than an expression of freedom and fun. Even students who are not themselves partiers believe they are "supposed to" party in college, which includes alcohol use and the pursuit of no-strings-attached sex.[16]

But parties and hookup culture are not the safe spaces for letting loose that many students imagine them to be. The majority of campus rapes occur within the social and party scene that dominates campuses. As first uncovered by Koss in the 1980s, rape on college campuses is most likely to be perpetrated by somebody known to the victim. Women on campus report being assaulted by their classmates, friends, boyfriends, and ex-boyfriends, at parties or in residences, including

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[11] David Lisak and Paul M. Miller, "Repeat Rape and Multiple Offending Among Undetected Rapists," *Violence and Victims* 17, no. 1 (2002): 73–84.
[12] Lisa Wade, *American Hookup: The New Culture of Sex on Campus*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2018), 205.
[13] Wade, *American Hookup*, 205.
[14] Wade, *American Hookup*, 206.
[15] For more on college hookup culture see Wade, *American Hookup*; Jennifer Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics: The Lives and Longings of Emerging Adults* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Kathleen A. Bogle, *Hooking Up: Sex, Dating, and Relationships on Campus* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Jason King, *Faith with Benefits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[16] Elizabeth A. Armstrong, Laura Hamilton, and Brian Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus: A Multilevel, Integrative Approach to Party Rape," *Social Problems* 53, no. 4 (2006): 487; Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 48–49.

both on- and off-campus housing. These assaults are typically after 6 p.m., with the majority occurring after midnight.[17] Such statistics confirm the insights of another study that found that college rapes are not exactly "date rape" but are more accurately described as "party-rapes" that occur in residences, often fraternity houses or other off-campus houses, or in students' residences and dorms after being in a party environment.[18] In agreement with these findings, Wade concludes that hookup culture is "a rape culture, a set of ideas and practices that naturalize, justify, and glorify sexual pressure, coercion, and violence."[19] And further,

> Hookup culture is dangerous because it's the ideal environment for the serial rapist. But it is dangerous, too, because it seduces too many students into thinking that in certain situations sexual aggression is allowed. We need to fear it because it puts students at risk of being victimized, but also because it puts students at risk of committing a crime, even if just once, because hookup culture says that they can and they should.[20]

And it is within this context that student perceptions of their own selves and value, alcohol, and social norms governing gender, power, and sexuality combine to form campus rape culture.[21]

Students' Self-Worth & the Fuel to Participate in Party and Hookup Culture

According to Christian ethicist Jennifer Beste, student reflections consistently reveal that participation in the alcohol-laden party culture and hooking up is often motivated by students' understandings of their own identities and self-worth. As she observes, "Not a single student rated inherent human value more highly than accomplishments/social status."[22] Whether communicated to them by their parents, peers, schools, or popular culture and social media, these students had instead learned, perhaps indirectly, that their identities and self-worth are contingent upon with their accomplishments, achievements, what

[17] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 70–73.
[18] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 483–84.
[19] Wade, *American Hookup*, 206.
[20] Wade, *American Hookup*, 223.
[21] For more on sexual violence and its cultural foundations see, Megan K. McCabe, "A Feminist Catholic Response To the Social Sin of Rape Culture," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 46, no. 4 (2018): 634–57; Karen Ross, Megan K. McCabe, and Sara Wilhelm Garbers, "Christian Sexual Ethics and the #MeToo Movement: Three Moments of Reflection on Sexual Violence and Women's Bodies," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 39, no. 2 (2019): 339–56.
[22] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 131.

they own, peer acceptance, and social status.[23] Beste found through extensive research that students held beliefs that society is based on winners and losers, with their survival being contingent on them being winners.[24] Thus, as she observes, "Many students acknowledged that their priorities about how to spend their time and energy in the present are frequently determined by whether they think these activities will result in securing a successful future."[25] For many students, this pursuit of being a "winner" means that they are stretched between an overloaded academic schedule, internships, co-curriculars, and any jobs they may also be working. Participation in hookup and party culture is both a way to find another form of success and an escape from the demands of academic and professional success that students face.

In partying and hooking up, students noted that they and their peers sought to pursue increased social status on campus. In the context of social life, success meant having the most fun, being the center of attention, drinking the most, or hooking up with the right person.[26] By hooking up with somebody who is considered socially desirable, whether due to physical attractiveness or status on campus, both women and men may hope to increase their own social status or even boost their self-esteem, which may require walking a fine line for women who face a sexual-double standard while men are typically socially rewarded for the same behaviors.[27]

Drug and alcohol induced intoxication allows students to pursue reveling in the party environment with wild and life-of-the-party behaviors without having to face judgment or fear social vulnerability because they can always claim "they were so drunk they didn't know what they were doing." According to Beste, "a lack of self-acceptance underlies the practice of excessive drinking."[28] Students communicated that in seeking to be successful within the social scene they use intoxication as a way to shield themselves from judgment while they engage in potentially outrageous behavior in pursuit of attention and status.[29] At such parties, it is not only expected to drink, but some students report experiencing confused responses or even hostility from their peers when they choose not to.[30] Alcohol and drug use has a more insidious connection to students' lack of sense of their own intrinsic worth. By drinking heavily, often to the point of being "blackout

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[23] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 130.
[24] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 132–33.
[25] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 135.
[26] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 137.
[27] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 227; Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 103–5.
[28] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 163.
[29] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 161.
[30] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 66.

drunk," students both conform to their expectations of the social norm[31] and attempt to escape the anxieties, stresses, and pressures that they face as they strive to become "winners" who can secure professionally successful futures. For many students who party, the weekends bring an alternate persona. As one student reported, "Thanks in large part to alcohol, your behavior and attire are suddenly following a completely different value set and social script: seeking freedom from school pressures, life stresses, and normal inhibitions."[32]

Students certainly do not become rapists or accomplices because they ground their sense of self and self-worth in their worldly successes. But this reality fuels their participation in the hookup and party culture that is the context for sexual harassment and assault to occur. As Wade argued, this environment is, itself, a rape culture, and it can only exist if students actually participate in it. And students' desire to have the "full college experience" and be social "winners" may lead them to accept or remain silent about social norms within this culture that foster a rape-prone environment. Further assessment of the role of alcohol and social norms and scripts about gender and sexuality is necessary to further understand the cultural foundations of sexual assault that must be untangled if universities are going to actually work toward prevention.

Alcohol Use in Hookup Culture & its Connection to Sexual Assault

Alcohol use and participation in campus party culture may be fueled by students' desire to achieve success in the absence of an equally robust sense of their own inherent worth, but this is also the same context as the hyper-sexualized reality of campus hookup culture. In "hookups," students pursue commitment- and consequence-free sexual activity, which may or may not include intercourse. But, as noted above, this is the same environment that the vast majority of campus rapes take place within. Alcohol use is both an essential component of the hookup script and a facilitator of rape on campus.

Heavy alcohol use at parities is a necessary feature of the pursuit of a hookup. As sociologist Kathleen Bogle explains in her seminal study of hookup culture, "When I asked students to explain how someone would end up hooking up with someone with whom they had no prior sexual interaction, they would often answer by saying 'alcohol'

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[31] As Kathleen Bogle found, it is typical of students to believe that their peers are drinking more heavily than they actually are. As a result, "Students' misperception of their classmates' alcohol use negatively affects their own behavior. For example, many students try to 'catch up' with their (false) perception of what 'everyone' is doing drinking-wise." Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 89.

[32] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 17.

or 'I don't know, it just happens.'"[33] Alcohol serves as the "social lubricant" that students believe lowers their inhibitions to make a hookup possible.[34] The students she interviewed also suggested that "beer goggles" are often responsible for leading them to hook up with somebody they would otherwise reject. And, consistent with the findings of other researchers, they were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviors or perhaps go further sexually than they would otherwise.[35] Intoxication facilitates hookups, but also provides social cover, because communication about desires within hookup culture is absent. Rather, students rely on nonverbal cues, which may be difficult to read, but also provide an explanation if one faces rejection. As Bogle explains, rejected students "can easily claim, 'I was drunk, I didn't know what I was doing,' rather than admitting, 'I was rejected.'"[36] Students also use this explanation when they regret their hookups after the fact, especially if the person they hooked up with is not approved by friends.

But alcohol's use to facilitate sexual encounters is also a danger within party culture. The authors of *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, Fisher et al. found that alcohol or drugs were used prior to victimization in little over half of the rape cases, but had been used less often, 43.6 percent of the time, in attempted rape situations.[37] Women on campuses heed cautions to watch their drinks, and companies are developing various on-the-go tests to check for the presence of "date-rape drugs." But these strategies may cause a false reassurance of safety given that alcohol is the most common drug in rape cases. In fact, "Men are three times as likely to assault a woman who has been drinking as one who has not."[38]

This data aligns with the predatory behaviors that students themselves have observed at parties. For campuses with Greek life, fraternity parties offer freedom from university regulations regarding alcohol. Given that sorority rules typically bar women's houses from having alcohol at social events, parties are usually controlled by men. Here, men not only control access to alcohol but also the movement of guests.[39] Such control manifests in weaponizing tactics: "The promise of more or better alcohol was often used to lure women into private spaces of the fraternities."[40] In some cases, men intentionally ply women with alcohol, taking advantage of social norms around femi-

[33] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 89.
[34] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 47.
[35] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 67, 164.
[36] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 168.
[37] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 72.
[38] Wade, *American Hookup*, 312.
[39] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 489.
[40] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 490.

ninity in which "Women are expected to be grateful for men's hospitality, and as others have noted, to generally be 'nice' in ways that men are not."[41] Donna Freitas recounts hearing from one male student, "Girls often get the most drunk at these 'Theme Parties,'[42] which is often the incentive for single guys to attend in the hopes of having sex."[43] Taking seriously the reality of alcohol- and drug-induced rape, one wonders exactly what this student and his peers mean by "having sex." In his study of college-age men, Michael Kimmel spoke with a male student who recounted regularly seeing his roommates plying women with alcohol in order to take advantage of its effects. As he reflected, "Other times I've driven women home who can't remember much of an evening yet sex did occur. Rarely if ever has a night of drinking for my roommate ended without sex. I know it isn't necessarily and assuredly sexual assault, but with the amount of liquor in the house I question the amount of consent a lot."[44] His narrative provides an example of weaponized alcohol and coercive tactics. It also demonstrates the way that this use of alcohol, while it may make this young man uneasy, is not fully recognized for the violence that it is. And Wade further highlights the intentionality and predatory nature of the use of alcohol in these parties:

> "Get the bitches in the right state of intoxication," instructs an email from American University's Epsilon Iota that was meant to stay between brothers. Another from the University of Southern California describes the joy of "taking down" an "easy target" who is drunk. A member of the Phi Kappa Tau fraternity at Georgia Tech sent out a guide called "Luring your Rapebait" that included the tip "If anything ever fails, go get more alcohol" in all capital letters.[45]

In fact, what this student recounts observing and the tactics promoted by these fraternities are typical of party rape. Within the alcohol-fueled party atmosphere, rapes do not typically involve the use of physical violence or weapons, but are:

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[41] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 490.

[42] Theme parties are parties with a set theme which governs the dress code with a power differential according to gender: "CEOs and their Secretary Hos," "Dirty Doctors and Naughty Nurses," "Golf Pros and Tennis Hos," "Professors and Naughty Schoolgirls," "Superheroes and Supersluts," "Politicians and Prostitutes," etc. More about the role of theme parties will be offered later in this article. See Donna Freitas, *The End of Sex: How Hookup Culture Is Leaving a Generation Unhappy, Sexually Unfulfilled, and Confused About Intimacy* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 81–82.

[43] Freitas, *The End of Sex*, 88.

[44] Michael S. Kimmel, *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men* (New York: Harper, 2008), 230.

[45] Wade, *American Hookup*, 312.

> carried out through a combination of low level forms of coercion—a lot of liquor and persuasion, manipulation of situations so that women cannot leave, and sometimes force (e.g., by blocking a door, or using body weight to make it difficult for a woman to get up). These forms of coercion are made more effective by organizational arrangements that provide men with control over how partying happens and by expectations that women let loose and trust their party-mates. This systemic and effective method of extracting non-consensual sex is largely invisible, which makes it difficult for victims to convince anyone—even themselves—that a crime occurred. Men engage in this behavior with little risk of consequences.[46]

The tactics used within campus party and hookup culture to get a woman drunk in order to extract sex forms what Peggy Reeves Sanday calls a "rape-prone" culture.[47] This environment is rape-prone not simply because men at parties try to coerce sex in these ways, but that they receive social approval, or at least passivity, from their friends. The alcohol-laden campus party environment is easily exploited by repeated, predatory rapists on college campuses. But the use of alcohol to facilitate hookups also makes sex with very drunk, perhaps incapacitated, people seem typical and acceptable. Consequently, the pursuit of drunk sexual partners may lead otherwise non-violent men to become situational rapists.

Because of this invisibility and because so many students enjoy the party atmosphere, they are more likely to find ways to blame those who are victimized instead of perpetrators. And women who experienced alcohol- and drug-facilitated rape have been found to be significantly less likely to file a report with the police or even mention the assault to others.[48]

Due to the overlap among campus parties, the presence of alcohol, and sexual assault, media coverage and popular debate often focus on women's use of alcohol or drugs, often questioning if an experience of victimization is her fault and responsibility. Yet as outlined above, alcohol is intentionally weaponized and exploited by perpetrators in this environment. And evidence suggests that perpetrators are even more likely than victims to have used some kind of substance, particularly when harming one's classmate, friend, or girlfriend. As found by Fisher et al., perpetrators of rape use drugs, alcohol, or some kind of substance in 73.8 percent of assaults, and 67.6 percent of the time in attempted assaults.[49]

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[46] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 492.
[47] Peggy Reeves Sanday, "Rape-Prone Versus Rape-Free Campus Cultures," *Violence Against Women* 2, no. 2 (1996): 198.
[48] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 141.
[49] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 72.

The alcohol-fueled nature of campus hookup and party culture makes the campus environment an easy target for serial perpetrators. The social expectation maintained by the majority of students on campus that heavy drinking is a fun escape or the model of social success allows perpetrators to target incapacitated classmates with little chance of consequences. And this environment suggests to all students that it is socially acceptable to try to extract or coerce sex through alcohol. However, the role of alcohol, on its own, does not cause rape to occur. Rather, it mixes with the social norms governing gender and sexuality on college campuses fostering the campus rape culture. And it is this culture that allows both serial rapists and situational rapists to violate and harm their classmates, peers, and friends, often without consequences.

Gender, Power, and Sexuality Within Campus Rape Culture

The rape culture on college campuses hinges on social norms about gender and sexuality that promote male sexual aggression, women's sexual availability, and eroticized violence. This not to say that colleges create these cultural meanings. Rather, they are present within the broader American culture, shaping the lives of students prior to their arrival on campus and manifesting in distinctive ways within the social context of campus life. Within this context, rape is one end of what Liz Kelly has called, the "continuum of sexual violence,"[50] which marks the lives of most women, linking "typical" behavior with what is more often recognized as "aberrant" behavior.[51] As she argues, "Women's experiences of heterosexual sex are not either consenting or rape, but exist on a continuum moving from choice to pressure to coercion to force."[52] Ranges of sexual interactions along this continuum are present within campus hookup and party culture. Thus, while some students do experience fully enthusiastic and consensual sex within this context, there are also many who experience unequal sex, sex they agree to because they believe they should or it is easier than resisting, as well as coercion and rape.

The continuum of sexual violence also includes harassment (both verbal and visual), stalking, unwanted sexual touching, and rape. As a result of the varieties of abuse that women on campus face, Fisher et al. argue that "the risk of female students' victimization is ingrained in the very fabric of normal college life,"[53] which means "that women

[50] Liz Kelly, "The Continuum of Sexual Violence," in *Women, Violence and Social Control*, ed. Jalna Hanmer and Mary Maynard (London: Macmillan, 1987), 46–59.
[51] Kelly, "The Continuum of Sexual Violence," 51.
[52] Kelly, "The Continuum of Sexual Violence," 54.
[53] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 2.

experience a social 'cost' of going to college not imposed on men."[54] This continuum of sexual violence, as expressed in campus life, is shaped by these shared assumptions about male sexual aggression, women's sexual availability, and eroticized violence. The forms of victimization that women disproportionately experience violate human dignity and "naturalize, justify, and glorify sexual pressure, coercion, and violence."[55] They also reveal that the shared assumptions about gender and sexuality must be confronted generally, not only in the most violent and criminal of manifestations, if the cultural transformation which is necessary for sexual assault prevention is going to meaningfully take place.

Hookup and party culture is the dominant social environment on campuses. Certainly not all students participate, but it remains normative and the "*center* of college life."[56] Participation in this environment, and the ability to meet the gendered norms that govern it, is necessary for the social recognition that many students long for. In one long term study of first-year women living within the same on-campus residence, scholars found that "both partiers and non-partiers agreed that one was 'supposed' to party in college."[57] The students they spoke with generally believed that participation in party culture was a way to feel involved in campus life to make friends and fit in. One woman who did not participate felt that she was left without social connections: "There is a group on the side of the hall that goes to dinner together, parties together, my roommate included. I have never hung out with them once…. And, yeah, it kind of sucks."[58] And this social environment has also displaced dating as the primary way that college students engage with one another both romantically and sexually.[59]

Campus hookup and party culture dominates all sexual and romantic interaction, for both LGBTQ+ and heterosexual students, but the social norms within this culture are governed by hetero-relational interactions. Psychologist Lynn Phillips offers the term "hetero-relationality" to name "the interactions, both sexual and seemingly nonsexual, that women have with men and masculinities."[60] Through her research interviewing college women about their experiences of power, violence, and sexuality, she found that "a normalizing of dangerous male behavior and an eroticizing of women's objectification and commodification are woven into the very construction of traditional hetero-

[54] Fisher, Daigle, and Cullen, *Unsafe in the Ivory Tower*, 64.
[55] Wade, *American Hookup*, 206.
[56] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 9.
[57] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 487.
[58] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 487.
[59] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 2; Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 1.
[60] Lynn M Phillips, *Flirting with Danger: Young Women's Reflections on Sexuality and Domination* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), x.

sexuality for women as well as for men."[61] The students Beste surveyed saw that these gender roles are not exclusive to campus life but are present within the broader culture, often communicated through dominant forms of pop culture. These gender roles, masculine predatory sexual aggression and feminine availability, are not unique to the culture of college campuses. But they do take on distinctive forms within the hookup and party culture. These norms may result in behaviors that undermine the complete personhood and dignity of all students, especially women, but also serve as the theoretical foundation that manifests in the form of sexual violence. These norms, thus, serve as both "camouflage and catalyst" of campus rape, as Wade has argued of hookup culture.

Within this culture, the role available to women is that of desired object who is presumed to be sexually available to satisfy the desires of their male peers. For some of the women who choose to participate in this culture, they do so not as an expression of their own desire, but they find meaning in the experience of being desired. As one student said, "It's fun to know that a guy's attracted to you and is willing to kiss you."[62] Others confirmed that participation served as a source of social status and self-esteem as well as social acceptance.[63] Such attention is often carefully curated within the hookup culture; for example, the social norms of parties expect women to dress in sexually revealing ways. This is especially true in "theme parties" which require costumes according to themes, typically placing women in positions of subservience and as sexual objects, compared to men's positions of power. Typical party themes include "CEOs and Their Secretary Hos," "Dirty Doctors and Naughty Nurses," "Superheroes and Supersluts," "Politicians and Prostitutes," or "Pretty Much Anything and Hos."[64] Such themes indicate women's role's within hookup and party culture: if they are to participate, they ought to be in in the role of desired sex object.

The norms of behavior place women in the role of the pursued, with men initiating interactions, often by simply starting to dance with and touch the women without verbal communication or without explicit interest having been expressed. While nonverbal cues in this context facilitate hooking up,[65] this role also manifests unwanted or random sexual touching. One female student questioned,

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[61] Phillips, *Flirting with Danger*, 11.
[62] Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Laura Hamilton, "Gendered Sexuality in Young Adulthood: Double Binds and Flawed Options," *Gender & Society* 23, no. 5 (2009): 605.
[63] Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney, "Sexual Assault on Campus," 488; Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 60.
[64] Freitas, *The End of Sex*, 86.
[65] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 63.

> Does going to a dance mean that your consenting to touching as well? Honestly, I think yes or at least it gives an invitation until you decline or reject such behaviors…. It's just SO widely understood that THAT's what's going to be happening at a dance that most people already know that going in.[66]

As Wade observes about hookup culture, "Men have implicit permission to touch and women have the right to accept or end men's advances."[67] She further observes that one survey found that as many as 90 percent of the 250 college men interviewed "admitted to engaging in non-consensual behaviors: pressing up against women from behind, grabbing bodies, and brushing up against them intentionally to get contact."[68] Such behavior reveals presumed entitlement, which receives broad social acceptance, to women's bodies within public social space.

This same presumed availability and entitlement to women for sexual use or to meet the desires of men is present within multiple points of the "continuum of sexual violence." Women on campus may have their own agency ignored when they try to reject men who seek them out. Some have noted that the only way to successfully reject a male classmate who is pursuing them is to have an excuse, such as already having a boyfriend. Others found that men acted entitled to the attention of women even to the point of stalking.[69] In such instances, friends and even family may even give approval to the stalker's behavior, framing it not as something violent but confusing it with courtship-pursuing behaviors.[70] Similar patterns may appear when men attempt to extract sex from their female classmates. One such approach is the way in which some men intentionally pursue intoxicated women or attempt to weaponize alcohol, as discussed above. Others may complain or use verbal pressure in pursuit of sex. Wade tells the story of a woman called Natalie who began consensually kissing her male friend in what started as a platonic snuggle and hang-out. But when she communicated that she did not want to have sex, he asked her to perform oral sex, which she initially rejected, but when he "argued and pushed and complained"[71] she ultimately agreed. As she explained, "I'm not thinking about it at all in the terms of sexual coercion, I'm thinking of

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[66] Wade, *American Hookup*, 207.
[67] Wade, *American Hookup*, 207.
[68] Wade, *American Hookup*, 206.
[69] Armstrong and Hamilton, "Gendered Sexuality in Young Adulthood," 600.
[70] Eric G. Lambert et al., "Do Men and Women Differ in Their Perceptions of Stalking: An Exploratory Study Among College Students," *Violence and Victims* 28, no. 2 (2013): 196.
[71] Wade, *American Hookup*, 203.

it in terms of him getting his way and making me shop at two different grocery stores."[72] Later in the semester, Natalie heard that her friend was accused of rape and, because of her own experience, believed that he was capable of at least coercion.[73] Natalie's experience with her male friend offers two points on the continuum of sexual violence. He exerted pressure to get Natalie to agree to do what he wanted but perpetrated a more violent violation against another classmate.

If women are presumed to be available or expected to fulfill the role of sexual object, social norms for men assume their aggressive pursuit and predatory behavior. Socially constructed "traditional hetero-sexuality" constructs men to be aggressive. Men looking to extract sex and engaging in sexual touching express this form of male sexual entitlement that is normalized within hookup and party culture. As Beste found, many of her students described this pattern by identifying men with "predators, hunters, or lions who stalk their prey [women]."[74] And, as Wade has argued, this environment allows those who are sexually aggressive, coercive, or predatory, to have social cover: their actions "blend into the behaviors of their peers."[75] This role for men is socially enforced within this culture in that their sexual aggression is a way of proving masculinity. Students have been found to perceive the social standards of masculinity to depend upon the ability to have sex with as many women as possible.[76] Despite complexity in the way that young men explain their involvement in the hookup culture,[77] Bogle has found that male identity is, in practice, shaped and bolstered by sexual activity. For example, when a man has sexual intercourse with somebody, he is congratulated by his peers. And as Kimmel argues, "The time-honored way for a guy to prove that he is a real man is to score with a woman."[78] The converse is also true: men who cannot find hookup partners may be stigmatized.[79] This link can prove dangerous. According to a recent study, when asked behaviorally specific questions, as many as 31.5 percent of college men say they would force a woman to have sex if they were sure that they

[72] Wade, *American Hookup*, 203.
[73] Wade, *American Hookup*, 204.
[74] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 49.
[75] Wade, *American Hookup*, 213.
[76] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 256.
[77] In fact, contrary to a simplistic gloss that would say that men benefit from hookup culture because they always want non-committed sex, many do in fact say that they are looking for more emotional commitment or find the culture depressing, as do women. See Freitas, *The End of Sex*, 97–115; Brian Sweeney, "Party Animals or Responsible Men: Social Class, Race, and Masculinity on Campus," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 27, no. 6 (2014): 804–21.
[78] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 169.
[79] Bogle, *Hooking Up*, 104.

would not get caught. When asked directly if they would be willing to "rape" a woman with a guarantee that they would not get caught, the number drops to 13.6 percent of college men.[80] What this data demonstrates is that coercion and forcing sex receives disturbing broad acceptance, even when the term "rape" is known to communicate wrong and violent actions.

College men demonstrate masculinity through aggressive sexuality not only through sexual conquest but also through the consumption of pornography.[81] It is common for college men to have pornographic posters decorating their dorm room walls and as their screen savers.[82] And for many young men, online pornography is their first exposure to images of sex, serving as a kind of unofficial sex education.[83] It often represents an androcentric model of sex that ignores female pleasure, and generally assumes that women enjoy exactly what the pornography says men enjoy.[84] Women are reduced to the objects of male sexuality that is done to them. More concerning, pornography can link sexuality to violence. Some of the most popular pornography regularly includes violent acts such as slapping and gagging, verbal aggression, and violent sexual acts.[85] As Kimmel questions, "What does it mean that many guys get erections and masturbate to images of women being degraded or humiliated? What does it mean that a scene depicting a woman being gang raped, slapped, spanked, and then ejaculated on would be arousing?"[86] The consumption of such material has real effects, ultimately eroticizing violence and participating in a discourse that normalizes male sexual aggression. Pornography does not turn nonviolent men into rapists, and the influence of pornography is not a direct line into enacting what has been viewed. However, one study found that for men who exhibit some sexual aggression, repeated exposure to pornography may result in minimizing the responsibility of men who are sexually aggressive and "may generally reinforce the acceptance of dominating, controlling and perhaps

[80] Sarah R. Edwards, Kathryn A. Bradshaw, and Verlin B. Hinsz, "Denying Rape but Endorsing Forceful Intercourse: Exploring Differences Among Responders," *Violence and Gender* 1, no. 4 (2014): 189.
[81] For more on the moral significance of pornography, see McCabe, "Create in Me A Just Heart: Treating Pornography as a Structure of Sin," *America Magazine*, January 28, 2016, www.americamagazine.org/issue/create-me-just-heart.
[82] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 9.
[83] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 185.
[84] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 174.
[85] Gail Dines, *Pornland: How Porn Has Hijacked Our Sexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), xxii.
[86] Kimmel, *Guyland*, 186.

even violent acts of aggression against women."[87] The influence of violent pornography is especially dangerous when it depicts victimized women who derive sexual pleasure from the assault. Men who enjoy this material are more likely to demonstrate aggression toward women.[88] And it blurs the line between criminal violence and acceptable sexual behavior. Such material suggests that sexualized abuse and eroticized violence are "normal" expressions of hetero-sexuality which, in turn, normalizes male sexual aggression.

Not all men are sexually aggressive, and not all women understand themselves in terms of their ability to be desired. But these gender roles and meanings of masculinity, femininity, and the norms of sexuality within campus hookup and party culture represent the context and dominant forms of social life in which students relate to one another. Women who are not available to be pursued by men are not considered "real women," and men who are not aggressive are not considered "real men." These norms limit the full human range of expression and ways of relating, and students who step outside of their prescribed roles may find themselves socially stigmatized or mocked. Students who resist or do not conform to these social norms governing hetero-sexuality may face homophobic slurs. These norms also pose a risk because they have the potential to allow serial rapists to go unnoticed and tell otherwise nonviolent men on campus that sexual aggression that harms their peers is acceptable.

Collectively, these three cultural features that give rise to the foundations of campus rape culture must be addressed if efforts toward prevention of sexual violence on campus within the hookup and party culture are going to be meaningful: students' lack of a sense of their own inherent dignity and value, the role of alcohol, and the socially defined meaning of gender and sexuality. In all three, students undermine or simply ignore the humanity of their peers, treating them instead as a means to help in the pursuit of their own interests or desires. Some students who pursue social success within the hookup and party culture treat their peers and potential sexual or romantic partners as status markers. Even those students who are simply looking to enjoy the excitement and fun of party life and hooking up are still pursuing their fun and pleasure through the treatment of others as a mere tool. Beste's surveyed students identified hookups as unjust for this reason: "The very point of a hookup is to prioritize and elevate one's own agenda. The other person therefore undeniably becomes a means

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[87] Neil M Malamuth, Gert Martin Hald, and Mary Koss, "Pornography, Individual Differences in Risk and Men's Acceptance of Violence Against Women in a Representative Sample," *Sex Roles* 66 (2012): 437.

[88] Neil M. Malamuth and John Briere, "Sexual Violence in the Media: Indirect Effects on Aggression Against Women," *Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 3 (1986): 75–92.

(whether for sexual satisfaction, a boost in self-esteem or ego, or increased social status), never only an end. Hookups are clearly not about affirming the other person or about being affirmed for who you are."[89] When present in consensual encounters, these behaviors ought not be conflated with the harms and trauma of sexual violence. But this cultural norm both undermines the value of respecting the inherent dignity of all persons and allows for the perceived acceptance of the tactics employed by potential rapists. When students feel bound to this social context and grow used to treating one another as means, the uses of alcohol and norms of gender and sexuality that reinforce a power differential and eroticize violence come together to create a rape-prone environment. This rape-prone environment allows for serial predators to continue to assault, often unnoticed, and encourages predatory and violent behavior among potential situational rapists. Working to prevent, not merely discipline, sexual violence on campus, thus requires undoing the cultural foundations of the hookup and party culture.

University Responses to Campus Rape Culture

Catholic colleges and universities typically frame themselves as distinctive, marked by a mission that sets them apart from other institutions of higher education. Such universities are dedicated not only to academic excellence but also to promoting human dignity and working toward the fulfillment of the common good. The University of Notre Dame dedicates itself "to cultivate in its students not only an appreciation for the great achievements of human beings, but also a disciplined sensibility to the poverty, injustice, and oppression that burden the lives of so many. The aim is to create a sense of human solidarity and concern for the common good that will bear fruit as learning becomes service to justice."[90] According to the Gonzaga University mission statement, it "is an exemplary learning community that educates students for lives of leadership and service for the common good.…The Gonzaga experience fosters a mature commitment to dignity of the human person, social justice, diversity, intercultural competence, global engagement, solidarity with the poor and vulnerable, and care for the planet."[91] And St. John's University in Queens, NY states, "We embrace the Judeo-Christian ideals of respect for the rights and dignity of every person and each individual's responsibility for the world in which we live."[92] Such statements are not merely claims

[89] Beste, *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics*, 227.
[90] University of Notre Dame, "Mission," www.nd.edu/about/mission/.
[91] Gonzaga University, "Mission Statement," www.gonzaga.edu/about/our-mission-jesuit-values/mission-statement.
[92] St. John's University, "St. John's Mission and Values," online.stjohns.edu/about-us/mission.

of the identities of these universities but also a means of claiming that their identities are bound up with and formed by what they *do*.

These mission statements reflect the call to social engagement in both John Paul II's *Ex Corde Ecclesiae,* the Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Universities, and the Land O'Lakes Statement, written in July 1967 following two meetings of leaders from several major Catholic universities in the U.S.[93] In both texts, the Catholic university draws on its academic nature, including both education and research, to serve both church and society. The academic life of the university promotes "a study of *serious contemporary problems"* (*Ex Corde Ecclesiae,* no. 32), social justice (no. 34), and "problems of greater human urgency or of greater Christian concern" (*Land O'Lakes Statement*, no. 7).

Through this work, a Catholic university, "as an extension of its service of the Church" (*Ex Corde Ecclesiae,* no. 32), seeks to participate in the church's mission as articulated in *Gaudium et Spes*, the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitutional on the Church in the Modern World, which the authors of the Land O'Lakes Statement intentionally built upon.[94] *Gaudium et Spes*, drawing on insights embedded deep in the Catholic tradition, teaches that the church is called to respond to the social systems that threaten human dignity, with particular attention to various forms of discrimination, including discrimination rooted in sexism, and working to foster the new systems and contexts that promote the dignity and flourishing of all persons (no. 29). Thus, the church seeks the good of all in "the sum of those conditions of social life which allow social groups and their individual members relatively thorough and ready access to their own fulfillment," ensuring also that each person's needs and rights are respected and met (no. 26). By forming students for responsibility to engage the world in promotion of the common good, Catholic universities often understand themselves as of mission to the world, through both direct service and academic pursuit. But too often, this mission is oriented almost exclusively outward and not applied to the inner workings and cultural context of the university.

The call of their mission ought to challenge Catholic universities to respond to campus rape culture not only through the federally required policies but also by working toward cultural transformation. Indeed, as stipulated in the Land O'Lakes Statement, "University decisions and administrative actions should be appropriately guided by Christian ideas and ideals and should eminently display the respect and concern for persons" (no. 10). While the authors of the statement

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[93] John Jenkins, CSC, "The Document That Changed Catholic Education Forever," *America Magazine*, July 11, 2017, www.americamagazine.org/faith/2017/07/11/document-changed-catholic-education-forever.

[94] Jenkins, "The Document That Changed Catholic Education Forever."

could not have imagined current university structures of student affairs and Title IX offices, Catholic universities ought to embody more than the minimum legal requirements in favor of the promotion of human dignity. To be clear, Catholic thinking on sexual violence is woefully inadequate, evidenced in both the virtual silence on sexual violence experienced by women[95] and the realities of the clergy sexual abuse crisis. And Catholic universities have, like all universities, been known to fail in the handling of sexual assault cases on campus. But given Catholic universities' commitment to working toward the common good of all and the flourishing of each individual this challenge is especially acute.

Catholic universities have not only a legal obligation but also a moral responsibility to develop and enforce the best policies to hold perpetrators accountable and to support survivors on campus. Survivors are often faced with the choice of remaining on campus, in class, in a shared residence hall, or in co-curricular activities with the perpetrator of their assault or dropping out of school. The best practices ought to prioritize the well-being of survivors with policies developed to ensure that they are able to succeed and flourish. For example, the advocacy group Know Your IX suggests that if a survivor is disciplined or faces penalties for missing class, these penalties ought to be revised if the student was missing class to avoid being in the same space as the perpetrator.[96] Policies ought to be developed in light of the best research about sexual violence and harassment on campus and in consultation with experts and survivor advocates. While the rights of the accused must be appropriately respected, the preferential option requires a distinctive care for those who are most vulnerable, in this case, survivors. Those who are tasked to develop and enforce these policies must be educated in and formed to be able to assess not only appropriate policy, but also to understand the cultural foundations of a rape-prone culture. Such an understanding is necessary for those who investigate campus assaults, discipline perpetrators, and support survivors. Without a deep assessment of the features of campus rape culture, staff and administrators may not be able to recognize the realities of violence with which they are confronted. This is especially true if those in these roles are not attentive to the weaponizing and exploitative uses of alcohol and the socially constructed gender roles of sexually aggressive masculinity and sexually available femininity.

Catholic universities have a further moral responsibility to foster campus environments that are not rape-prone. This work must include not only steps to respond to sexual violence that has already happened but also steps that seek to prevent it in the future. Such prevention may

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[95] McCabe, "A Feminist Catholic Response To the Social Sin of Rape Culture," 636.
[96] "Resources and Accommodations," Know Your IX, www.knowyourix.org/state-policy-playbook/resources-and-accomodations/.

entail adopting the best Title IX-related programs and policies. Many are embracing the need for bystander intervention, which is, Wade affirms, effective at stopping potential assaults. The problem, however, is, as she argues, "many students don't recognize harassment or assault when they see it or are reluctant to get involved." [97] In fact, not only do students in such circumstances often not intervene, but they may even film assault on their cell phones when it happens in public spaces as a form of entertainment. Wade notes, "This material is often doubly disturbing because, in addition to seeing a person victimized on tape, we listen to the observers cheer on the rapist, eagerly suggest further depravities, and insult and humiliate the often unconscious victim."[98] Thus, although students articulate knowing the formal definitions of consent and the wrongness of sexual violence in theory, in practice they demonstrate the cultural approval of campus rape culture.

The required cultural transformation, then, demands undoing the theoretical foundation of rape culture. Such work builds upon the calls of the Land O'Lakes Statement and *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* to serve the pressing questions of society, human dignity, and justice. The first step is to interrogate, reject, and offer alternatives to the dominant forms of masculinity that normalize male sexual aggression and the forms of femininity that require female sexual availability. It will take creative thinking to begin to imagine what such steps might look like but conversations about "healthy relationships" are not enough. The academic expertise of faculty or the curriculum could be leveraged to critically investigate the social meanings of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality. Courses in the core curriculum might also challenge understandings of gender and sexuality that presume male aggressiveness and female availability. There could also be exhibits or installations that foster conversation on campus, the efforts of student organizers could be supported, and other programming within student affairs to foster conversation and reflection should also take place.

Second, universities must put real efforts into understanding the role of alcohol and binge drinking within campus life and work meaningfully to reduce it. Here too, those with relevant academic expertise could be consulted. But universities across the United States should collaborate to find meaningful solutions. This work does not mean simply further prohibition of alcohol among undergraduates or programming about the dangers of alcohol. Rather it entails approaches that might actually reduce consumption and the prevalence of risky environments, such as off-campus parties with the flow of alcohol and space controlled by men who may perpetrate sexual violence or look the other way when their friends do. One potential model for this kind

[97] Wade, *American Hookup*, 215.
[98] Wade, *American Hookup*, 215.

of work is the Amethyst Initiative, which is made up of chancellors and presidents of universities who advocate for debate about the legal drinking age given their concerns over the culture of binge drinking that has developed.[99] Similarly, efforts should be made to address the causes of undergraduate binge-drinking. And given the gendered-control of social spaces and hosting parties, universities should revisit policies, and encourage Greek life organizations to do the same, in order to reduce the power and control of men over the flow of alcohol. No student who is victimized is responsible for the assault they face, and efforts to pay attention to the role of alcohol in rape-prone campus environments must not perpetuate victim-blaming discourses. However, universities have a responsibility to foster safe environments, and students who are bystanders in this campus culture have a responsibility to stop normalizing behaviors around alcohol that put their peers at risk and allow serial and situational rapists to go unnoticed.

Students are driven to party and hookup culture in order to measure their social success and escape the demands for their future professional success. This drive and pressure do not directly cause sexual violence, but they do foster student participation in the social culture that is a camouflage and a catalyst of sexual assault. Consequently, Catholic universities should prioritize promoting robust conceptions of human dignity and inherent human value that stand in contrast to cultural conceptions of human value as contingent on professional and academic success and social status. Such efforts would not merely entail leaving the burden of the work on offices such as Student Affairs and Mission & Ministry, though conversations fostered in those environments are certainly an important component. Rather, an understanding of inherent human dignity rooted in *imago Dei* needs to permeate the entire university. This would include the subtle messaging communicated through the promotion of areas of study, the offerings of offices like Career Services, student advising, the selection of alumni who are chosen to be on boards and councils (e.g., choosing not only alumni who are successful business executives but also alumni who advance the common good by directly serving marginalized communities and/or working toward social transformation), and all communication about the role and value of education and professional life. While concerns for future employment and job security should be taken seriously, care must be taken to avoid participating in understandings of human dignity that lead to the commodification of the human person. This effort is not directly related to cases of sexual violence on campus. It ought not be taken to mean that to avoid victimization, students should have greater self-esteem or avoid campus parties. Instead, this final effort ought to be understood as an attempt to chip away at the foundations of a campus social culture that does

[99] Wikipedia, "The Amethyst Initiative," en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amethyst_Initiative.

harm. This effort works to take seriously the concerns raised by Beste about why students participate in campus hookup and party culture. It asks why students are willing to participate in social culture that is a rape culture and to accept it as normal, fun, and the "college experience." The effects of this element of transformation would by no means be seen immediately, but it has the potential to start to pull away the influence of a sexually violent culture that dominates college campuses.

CONCLUSION

In the last decade, many universities, including Catholic universities, have demonstrated a willingness to comply with the requirements of Title IX. But few universities have taken steps to affect a cultural transformation that might not only respond to instances of sexual assault but also actively prevent them and foster safer campus environments. So long as Catholic universities fail to address the cultural factors that lead to and fuel a rape prone culture on college campus, their claims to be distinctive universities that serve the common good will remain tenuous.

Instead, the cultural foundations must be addressed and transformed. Both the use of alcohol and the gendered and sexual norms that normalize male aggression constitute the hookup and party culture that is the rape culture identified by Wade that allows serial predators to be camouflaged and situational rapists to believe that their sexual aggression is normal or acceptable. Participation in this culture is then fueled by students' sense that their identities and self-worth are contingent on their professional and academic success as well as their social standing, which does not directly foster sexual violence, but does promote student acceptance of the rape-prone culture. To meaningfully transform the rape culture requires undoing both the standards that allow for sexual violence within hookup and party culture as well as the cultural foundations that foster this social environment.

Megan K. McCabe is an Assistant Professor in Gonzaga University's Department of Religious Studies. Her work engages Catholic moral theology and feminist theory and theologies to engage questions of suffering and duties to work for social transformation, particularly in light of gendered and sexual injustice and sexual violence.