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Original Article

The Dirty Dozen: Twelve Risk Factors for Sexual Violence on College Campuses (DD-12)

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Abstract

National conversations have focused recently on the need for colleges and universities to better address the dilemma of sexual assault and other forms of sexual violence on U.S. college campuses. Administrators, counselors, law enforcement, prevention advocates, and conduct officers struggle with efforts to prevent and intervene on these cases. A recent federal mandate requires campuses to actively implement comprehensive strategies and programs to address this epidemic of sexual violence. This includes targeted prevention programming to address sexual assault, dating violence, domestic violence, more commonly referred to as intimate partner violence, and stalking behavior. In the wake of this recent attention, university faculty and staff are faced with the dilemma of better understanding the motivations and risk factors associated with individuals and groups committing these types of attacks. Understanding these risk factors provides administrators, conduct officers, law enforcement, prevention advocates, and counselors with insight into preventative education and better informed policy and procedures to reduce sexual assault in the university setting.

Introduction

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH on sexual violence is a long one with involvement from the department of justice, federal bureau of investigation, and the center for disease control. In recent years, sexual violence on college campuses has been the focus of increased scrutiny and resulting prevention efforts. This positive attention on the prevention of sexual assault, domestic and dating violence, intimate partner violence (IPV), and stalking has helped practitioners and administrators direct training and outreach efforts to college students to work toward the goal of reducing the occurrence of sexual violence in these environments.

Primary prevention strategies include the need to consider root factors associated with sexual violence. While there have been numerous studies addressing sexual predation, addiction, pedophilia, and paraphilia, there is not a clear summary for practitioners of the risk factors for sexual violence perpetration on college campuses.

Commonly cited characteristics of sexual violence on campuses are as follows:

- Men make up the majority of perpetrators (Jewkes et al. 2002; Zapp 2014).
- At least 50% of sexual assaults are associated with alcohol use (Abbey et al. 2001; Krebs et al. 2007; American College Health Association 2008; Zapp 2014).
- Members of all-male organizations such as fraternities and athletes have less healthy attitudes and behaviors related to sexual assault (Jewkes et al. 2002; Bleeker and Murnen 2005; Forbes et al. 2006; Zapp 2014).

This article will expand on these more commonly cited characteristics and incorporate other high-risk attitudes, behaviors, and experiences into 12 risk factors for sexual violence on college campus (DD-12). The American College Health Association describes sexual violence as ''a continuum of behaviors instead of an isolated, deviant act'' (2008). By addressing behaviors that occur throughout this continuum of risk, it is more likely that sexual violence can be prevented. In addition, this article provides practitioners with descriptive examples of how the risk factors may be observed in both individual and group behaviors and attitudes. The following literature summary is essential to inform prevention programming so that it can address the underlying causes and interpersonal dynamic factors that contribute to sexual assault, dating and domestic violence, and stalking. By bringing together different motivations and contributing factors to

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sexual violence—including predation, addiction, paraphilias, social factors, and crimes of ease—we aim to construct a starting place for those engaging in prevention in order to help identify and/or create programming that will aid in reducing these 12 risk factors.

Let us be clear at the outset of this article. Gender-based and sexual violence on college campuses is not singularly the result of a few ''bad apples'' whose worldview and behaviors shape an otherwise healthy and enlightened population of young adults. Instead, we suggest that the problem lies in the subtle encroachment of negative and unhealthy ideas about sexuality (degrading and/or nonconsensual), objectification, obsessive and possessive desires, and depersonalization and dehumanizing thoughts and behaviors that have become pervasive in our culture.

The list of factors is not meant to indicate the ability to predict that a person or group will be sexually violent. It is provided to outline behaviors and attitudes that are related to sexual violence and can be observed in individuals and groups as behaviors of concern to be addressed. This article is a first step at cutting back some of these invading influences by first calling attention to the risk factors that contribute to an escalation in gender-based sexual violence.

Mandate from Violence Against Women Act

The Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 (34 CFR § 668.46 [VAWA]) outlines obligations for colleges and universities in regard to the prevention of sexual violence through modification of the requirements of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (HEA) and the Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (20 USC § 1092(f) [Clery Act]).

The major provisions of the new VAWA regulations include

- increased reporting requirements related to incidents of dating violence, domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking;
- procedural requirements for responding to incidents of sexual violence; and
- prevention programming for students and employees.

Specifically, VAWA requires the development of primary prevention and awareness programs for incoming students and new employees and ongoing prevention and awareness campaigns for all students and employees to stop domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. VAWA also outlines requirements for the programs to include definitions of ''consent'' in reference to sexual activity, descriptions of options for bystander intervention, information on risk reduction, and policies and procedures following an incident of sexual violence. Institutions must include program descriptions to meet this mandate in the Clery Annual Security Report beginning with the reports published October 1, 2014.

While VAWA provides some definition and discussion around the types of programs and initiatives for institutions to implement, it was noted during the final rule-making that research on effective prevention of sexual violence is limited. Schools are directed broadly that these efforts should be ''comprehensive, intentional, and integrated programming, initiatives, strategies, and campaigns intended to end dating violence, domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking that are culturally relevant, inclusive of diverse communities and identities, sustainable, responsive to community needs, and informed by research or assessed for value, effectiveness, or outcome'' (668.46(a)). VAWA specifically mentions an ecological model and prevention approach that considers environmental risk and protective factors for individuals, relationships, institutions, communities, and society, and identifies goals of decreasing perpetration and bystander inaction. The DD-12 provides a tool for institutions to outline strategies to meet VAWA mandates and, more importantly, to identify root causes of sexual violence and bystander attitudes in the college community.

As a tool for the primary prevention of sexual violence, the DD-12 specifically considers risk factors associated with perpetration and promotes the development of healthy attitudes and behaviors. DD-12 provides a framework for early alert and intervention with individual students who demonstrate high-risk behaviors, and for student organizations or other institutional groups who are sustaining environments that condone and encourage attitudes supportive of sexual violence. By designing programs and other initiatives that consider risk factors for perpetration and are specific to subpopulations of students or student groups, institutions can be more effective in the prevention of sexual violence and the development of a healthier campus community.

Rationale for DD-12 Risk Factors

There are some exceptional tests, assessments, and measures available to law enforcement, psychologists, and clinicians in the arena of sexual predation and addressing recidivism. These assessments and checklists are often normed on criminal or probationary populations and have not specifically addressed the needs of those charged with reducing sexual violence on college campuses. However, these assessments provide some helpful research and a useful starting point to understand some facets of sexual violence. Several of these measures are discussed here.

The Spousal Assault Risk Assessment (SARA) was created in 1994 by Kropp et al. (1994, 1995, 1998) to help criminal justice professionals predict the likelihood of domestic violence. It was normed on adult male offenders who had probationary or inmate status following their offense. The 20-item scale looks at past assaults, relationship or employment problems, victim or witness of family violence, substance abuse, suicidal or homicidal ideation/intent, mental health history, sexual assault history, jealousy, use of weapons in threats, escalation in frequency or severity of assault, attitudes that support or condone spousal assault, extreme minimization or denial of spousal assault history, and violations of no-contact orders.

The Static-99 score is used to predict risk of sexual reoffense, based on the offender's score category. It is designed to be used with adult male offenders and is one of the most common assessments used in the world. There are 10 items on the Static-99 that include age of release from a facility, history of living with an intimate partner, past nonsexual and sexual convictions, convictions from no-contact sex offenses, unrelated victims, stranger victims, or male victims (Harris et al. 2003; Helmus and Hanson 2007).

In 2003, Hare revised the Psychopathy Checklist (PCL-R) that he developed after years of research (Hare 1985, 1991, 2003). While not directly related to sexual violence,

the lack of empathy and connection to others is present in an individual with a significant PCL-R. This provides critical insight in understanding how objectification, lack of empathy, and aggression toward others can contribute to violence. The checklist includes questions related to glib and superficial charm, cunning and manipulation, lack of remorse or guilt, superficial emotional responsiveness, callousness and lack of empathy, sexual promiscuity, early problem behaviors, impulsivity, irresponsibility, and failure to accept responsibility for one's own actions.

There are additional stalking and IPV assessments and checklists that provide insight into understanding risk factors and motivations for the behavior (Kropp et al. 1998, 2002, 2008; Belfrage and Strand 2008). These include assessing escalation of physical or sexual violence threats, negative attitudes about women in relationships, stressors such as employment or financial problems, mental health or substance abuse problems, and shifts in power and control dynamics.

Identifying patterns or constellations of behaviors in a person's background is critical in order to understand his or her personality, and their tendency to act violently. The manifestation of a single behavior on one day is meaningless. However, patterns of behavior that involve inappropriate or out-of-control anger, repeated rule breaking, poor coping skills, equal opportunity hating, prior use of violence, and so forth, should be considered in any risk assessment for sexual violence. Prior patterns of aggressive and inappropriate behavior are more predictive of future behavior than a single behavior taken out of context (O'Toole and Bowman, 2011).

These measures provide useful tools for experts assessing sexual violence risk and a useful research-based framework to assist in the development of the DD-12. However, they leave a gap for those who are more interested in addressing the broader issue of sexual assault violence in a more preventative and less clinical or law enforcement capacity.

While the issue of sexual violence, particularly as it relates to recidivisms, is well explored in the criminal justice system, colleges and universities are more specifically interested in answering these questions related to sexual violence:

- What factors should be addressed on college campuses in terms of risk mitigation through our prevention education programs?
- How should audience characteristics inform or change our approach to prevention programming?
- What subpopulations should be targeted for prevention?
- After numerous cases of sexual violence involving fraternies and athletes, how should our college proceed with educational efforts to reduce this risk?
- When adjudicating conduct cases and Title IX investigations regarding sexual assault, are there additional risk factors that should be examined to improve the sanctioning process beyond a punitive suspension? What behaviors should we attempt to address to reduce future incidents?
- What factors would indicate potential campus-climate concerns or hostile environments within the institution?

DD-12 Risk Factors

Factor 1: objectification and depersonalization

This risk factor describes a group or individual with a tendency to turn away from specific, shared individual traits and characteristics and instead focuses on differences. There is a pervasive tendency to undervalue the unique aspects of human existence in others and a lack of willingness or ability to see one's thoughts, behaviors, or characteristics represented in others. When the individual or group makes an attempt to understand others, it is most often a superficial understanding based on their expectations of how the other person should see the world.

Examples include remarks or comments designed to undermine self-esteem or diminish or trivialize appearance, personality, or intelligence. Objectification brings the focus on the attributes of individuals at the expense of more full, informed understanding of their psychology, personality, and emotions. Another way to understand this is the distillation of a complex individual into the easiest or most convenient attributes.

The objectification and depersonalization of a potential target is well discussed in the threat assessment literature (Grossman 1996; O'Toole 2000; Turner and Gelles 2003; O'Toole and Bowman 2011; Van Brunt 2012, 2014). The attackers or perpetrators are initially loath to cause harm to someone similar to themselves and so they engage in a process of separating of the target as a necessary step prior to the perpetration of violence. Elliot Rodger provides an example in his social media postings. Rodger created a 141-page manifesto entitled ''My Twisted World'' and carefully crafted and disseminated his message prior to his murderous spree of knife attacks, vehicular manslaughter, and shooting (Speer 2014). The language of the manifesto demonstrates a pervasive disconnection from his targets, in this case the women of the sorority he saw as typical of those who rejected him. He writes,

> I cannot kill every single female on earth, but I can deliver a devastating blow that will shake all of them to the core of their wicked hearts. I will attack the very girls who represent everything I hate in the female gender: The hottest sorority of UCSB. After doing a lot of extensive research within the last year, I found out that the sorority with the most beautiful girls is Alpha Phi Sorority. I know exactly where their house is, and I've sat outside it in my car to stalk them many times. Alpha Phi sorority is full of hot, beautiful blonde girls; the kind of girls I've always desired but was never able to have because they all look down on me. They are all spoiled, heartless, wicked bitches. They think they are superior to me, and if I ever tried to ask one on a date, they would reject me cruelly. (p. 132)

Less extreme examples are rampant in popular media in productions such as *Girls Gone Wild* and pornography sites. Women here are seen as one-dimensional objects to be consumed rather than understood. Further examples of this objectification and depersonalization will be shared in Factor 2.

While an individual who objectifies and depersonalizes others raises a concern, this concern is drastically increased when it becomes institutionalized and traditionalized by a group. All-male groups such as teams and fraternities are most often cited as high-risk populations, but other single-sex organizations and coed clubs/organizations also have the potential to positively or negatively illustrate this risk factor (Berkowitz 1992; Boeringer 1999; Barnett and DiSabato 2000; Carr and VanDeusen 2004; Foubert and Perry, 2007; Foubert et al. 2007). While some groups can come together to

strengthen the tendency to empathize and see others more completely, others reinforce negative attitudes and serve to reduce understanding and further objectify individuals—creating an ideal environment for this problem to grow.

Objectification can occur in a variety of ways such as sitting outside facilities or residence halls to cat-call women walking back to their residences early in the morning, creating a ''walk of shame'' for presumed sexually active women (Boswell and Spade 1996). Or organizations may be encouraged by salacious party themes, t-shirts, and props that promote anonymous, depersonalized sexual encounters. Santich (2014, p. 1) quotes Niki Inclan from her anti-catcalling campaign, ''I think it's a general disrespect towards women,'' Inclan said. ''If she's just trying to cross the street, to get to the parking lot, at a minimum you're interrupting her inner thoughts and internal dialog. On top of that, it's objectifying her. And depending on what is said and done, street harassment can become an act of violence.''

Examples of this phenomena also include a group of men at a bar or party encouraging the targeting of women based on a certain characteristic as a part of a bet or as a form of entertainment for the group. Specifically, the process of ''hogging'' has been documented as occurring when ''men seek women who are overweight or unattractive to satisfy their competitive or sexual urges'' (Gailey and Prohaska 2006). The group depersonalizes the overweight woman as lazy, unattractive, or less socially acceptable in order to separate the individual from the potential target of sexual violence. Impersonal sex is documented further in high-risk fraternity members discussing sexual exploits following parties as ''faceless victims'' (Boswell and Spade 1996).

Another example of organizational behaviors involves the objectification of rape victims by nonperpetrator groups through the acceptance and promotion of rape myths. Sororities, for example, may deny the humanity of the victim and contribute to revictimization. The organization may further isolate the victim by holding her responsible for alcohol or drug-related behaviors connected to the incident, by removing her from membership because of the reputational concerns in the community. This modern form of the scarlet letter is an act of depersonalization that builds upon itself where even groups of women begin to ''reject their own gender group and see other women in negatively stereotyped ways,'' thus seeing themselves as exceptions to their gender and believing the woman's behavior provoked the attack (Cowan 2000).

Factor 2: obsessive or addictive pornography/sex focus

Factors 1 and 2 have some intentional overlap. An individual or group with a tendency toward objectification would likely have a motivation to consume depersonalizing and violent pornography. Inversely, obsessive use of pornography could establish and reinforce the tendency toward objectification. The circularity in this factor makes it difficult to pinpoint what is the initial cause and what is the resulting effect.

Research has established exposure to sexually explicit material is moderately correlated with a variety of negative outcomes, including increased sexual perpetration and endorsement of rape myths (Malamuth et al. 2000; Oddone-Paolucci et al. 2000; Jewkes et al. 2002; Carr and VanDeusen 2004). Exposure to pornography may also exacerbate sexually aggressive proclivities in those who are at high risk for such behavior (Kingston et al. 2009). While these studies are compelling, and the role of pornography on the health of a culture is a significant question, pornography consumption does not cause rape (Jensen 2004).

It is worth noting here that all pornography is not the same. Without expanding the premise of this article into an analysis of the harm/benefit of the more common forms of pornography readily available, there is an increase in concern for this risk factor when an individual or group is consuming violent pornography (Allen et al. 2006). While the actors and actresses may very well discuss consent, the fantasy of sexual encounters is focused on the dynamics of power and control. For example, rape fantasy or humiliation pornography would increase a level of concern around objectification and also overlap with additional risk factors such as misogynistic ideology (Factor 4), lack of empathy (Factor 9), or obsessive and/or addictive thoughts (Factor 11).

As pornography has become more acceptable, both legally and culturally, the level of brutality toward, and degradation of, women has intensified (Jensen 2004). The degree of habitualization, increased novelty, and sensation seeking becomes a larger concern in terms of increased violence in the medium's content. One pornography director was blunt in describing his task: ''One of the things about today's porn and the extreme market, the gonzo market, so many fans want to see so much more extreme stuff that I'm always trying to figure out ways to do something different. But it seems everybody wants to see a girl doing a d.p. [double penetration] now or a gangbang. For certain girls, that's great, and I like to see that for certain people, but a lot of fans are becoming a lot more demanding about wanting to see the more extreme stuff. It's definitely brought porn somewhere, but I don't know where it's headed from there'' (Adult Video News 2003, p. 46).

As with any of the factors discussed in this article, it is a challenge to wrestle with the spectrum of behaviors along the continuum of a tendency, common usage, and obsessive or addictive usage. While some may argue against the tendency for any type of pornography to cause concern, consumption of pornography with power and control themes that leads to increasing desensitization for the autonomy of the individual and respect for a partner or partners becomes an area of increased concern. It is worth considering that the consumption of this pornography becomes a method of fantasy rehearsal for future action.

Diana Russell has argued that pornography is a causal factor in the way that it can ''(1) predispose some males to desire rape or intensify this desire; (2) undermine some males' internal inhibitions against acting out rape desires; (3) undermine some males' social inhibitions against acting out rape desires; and (4) undermine some potential victims' abilities to avoid or resist rape'' (Russell 1998, p. 121). Seto et al. (2001, p. 1) highlight an additional concern around pornography: ''From the existing evidence, we argue that individuals who are already predisposed to sexually offend are the most likely to show an effect of pornography exposure and are the most likely to show the strongest effects.''

Conversely, infrequent consumption of pornography depicting a consenting relationship should be considered within the rich tapestry afforded to our individual freedoms for psychological healthy lives. While it may not be for

everyone, there should be a concern for this risk factor becoming a bludgeon against any form of pornographic images. That is not the premise of this risk factor. Addiction here can be defined from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual V* (American Psychiatric Association 2013) though pornography addiction is not an included medical condition. Notwithstanding, use of pornography that interferes with social activities, work attendance, class or study, financial hardships, hygiene, or an inability to cut back usage or take a break for a period of time should all be warning signs that pornography use may be approaching an addictive level.

Examples that would increase concern for this risk factor would include groups that utilize pornographic imagery or videos in a public setting or an activity that diminish the target's humanity, as well as staring at images that reduce women to body parts or objects to fulfill desire at the expense of their unique personhood. This could also occur with an individual who uses pornography in an addictive manner.

Group indicators might include an athletic team that regularly visits a strip club as part of team activities or a climate within the organization that encourages impersonal or coercive sex. This occurred in 2004 when the Associated Press reported strippers to be commonplace at football recruit parties at the University of Denver (Associated Press 2004). Steve Lower, president of Hardbodies Entertainment Inc. in Denver, said athletes at Colorado and universities around the country have been paying strippers to entertain recruits for years. ''It's a tradition, like throwing a bachelor party,'' he said. It may also include group interaction on social media accounts where posting and sharing of nude images or pictures is encouraged or required.

Factor 3: threats and ultimatums

Factor 3 highlights an individual or group who makes threats and demands to meet their needs. They set up ''if/then'' ultimatums that conclude with potential loss of face, financial hardship, status, or outing of sexual identity. Groups may exert this pressure through hazing activities or through other threats or ultimatums to comply. The escalation of threats and ultimatums is well discussed in the violence risk assessment literature (Fein and Vossekuil 1998; O'Toole 2000, 2011; Deisinger et al. 2008; Calhoun and Weston 2009; Van Brunt 2012, 2014; Warren et al. 2014).

Threats and the creation of ultimatums become common problem-solving approaches for the individual or the group. They acquire what they desire through coercive action.

IPV often involves the abuser or attacker setting ultimatums or threats to their victim through coercion or verbal aggression. This can be done to isolate the target from help or support or to create such a sense of fear and danger that compliance becomes a more likely outcome (Teranishi-Martinez 2014). Individual threats could involve sharing of personal information or a naked photo or video of sexual activities if the target does not comply with additional ultimatums. On a college campus, a threat might involve the use of a position of power to threaten a student that he or she would be discredited if they report sexual violence or harassment was reported.

Threats and ultimatums can also come in the form of intimidation and coercion from an organization. There are few associations that exert the amount of control that fraternities and sororities do on membership in the organization and community. The pressure for conformity to the group norms and behaviors is extensive (Godenzi et al. 2001). Even in situations where active members believe they are giving a new member the opportunity to choose participation in a certain activity or event, the coercive power and intimidation makes it unlikely that a student maintains any choice or control in the situation. When you transfer this context to issues of sexual violence, the desire to confirm to group norms in order to achieve membership creates a dangerous environment for the cultivation of unhealthy attitudes about gender, sex, and relationships. The implied threat of losing social status and membership in the group is very real for a student that is considering reporting an incident related to an organization or one of its members. A fraternity or sorority could threaten that if students make a report then they will no longer be invited to social events, creating a ''social suicide'' of sorts, and research has even documented pressure exerted by fraternity members on a fellow member to limit his commitment to a girlfriend (Boswell and Spade 1996).

Factor 4: misogynistic ideology

This factor embodies a pervasive belief that the female gender is less worthy or deserving of respect or consideration when compared to males. This may include strongly held beliefs that ''women are good for sex and not a lot more'' or a tendency to disregard their opinions or desires. This factor is reinforced through support of peers and primary family supports. This tendency is more likely a ''nurture versus nature'' worldview shaped by friends, parents, extended family, and religious or political ideologies. There are many societal factors that reinforce gender hierarchies such as media depictions, religious and social conventions, and historical experiences that contribute to the subjugation and marginalization of women.

For example, research has shown membership in religious groups as a high-risk population for less healthy attitudes around sex and relationships (Zapp 2014). Likewise, others argue that females have certain biological and genetic predispositions that should result in them holding more nurturing roles in the family system and avoid working outside of the home. While arguing points of religious doctrine or biological predispositions is beyond the scope of this article, these beliefs are not the central concern of this risk factor. More commonly, religious doctrine becomes warped and misappropriated by individuals or groups and used to restrict and denigrate women. An example of this misplaced religious inspiration comes from Henry Ford Community College student Anthony Powell, who shot and killed another student he had tried to date but who had rejected him (Runk 2009). Prior to the attack, Anthony posted numerous YouTube video clips about his frustrations with women, atheists, and others with whom he disagreed.

In a groundbreaking meta-analysis, Murnen et al. (2002) found that most measures of masculine ideology were significantly associated with sexual aggression. The strongest support emerged for hostile beliefs about women, the desire to be in control, and an acceptance of violence against women. In addition, the fear and shame of not living up to existing standards of the hegemonic masculine ideology can be connected to deeply personal secrets that even the one concerned hasn't discovered, but is felt in his life.

In some cases, these misogynistic ideologies may be unintentional and demonstrated through microaggressions. These blind spots are well explored by Sue's (2010, p. xvi) work in microaggressions, which are defined as ''brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership.'' Microaggressions are often unintended slights that have serious implications and impact those of a different country, ethnicity, culture, sexual identity, disability, or mental illness (Sue et al. 2007).

Group examples of this hateful, misogynistic messages frequently make front-page news in the higher education community. The University of Virginia Arlington had a fight song that contained the lyrics: ''All you girls … never let a Cavalier an inch above your knee / He'll take you to his fraternity house and fill you full of beer / And soon you'll be the mother of a bastard Cavalier!'' (Hainbach 2014). Phi Kappa Tau Fraternity at Georgia Tech suspended for a pattern of sexual violence that included a requirement for new members to sing a song titled ''The S&M Man'' with lyrics that included, ''Who can take a bicycle, tear off the seat, impale a virgin on it, and push her down a bumpy street'' and ''who can take two jumper cables, hook 'em to her tits, turn on the juice and electrocute the bitch'' (Somani 2014). Numerous fraternity parties have been shut down or brought through the campus conduct process for including messaging such as the one at Texas Tech University reading, ''no means yes, yes means anal,'' or the inclusion of a vaginal sprinkler that was supposed to simulate a female ejaculation (Kingkade 2014a).

Another aspect of this factor is the negative attitudes, threats, and assaults that occur toward men who are deemed to be effeminate in appearance or mannerisms. To the individual or group who engage in these beliefs and attacks, the core frustration seems to come back to the anger and irritation that comes from a male behaving in a ''female'' manner. This acting ''less than his maleness deserves'' drives feelings of anger and rage that while directed at a male are ultimately directed back to a stereotypical female mannerism daring to be appropriated by an effeminate man. Franklin (2000, p. 1) writes, ''during the course of my research I came to conceptualize the violence not in terms of individual hatred but as an extreme expression of American cultural stereotypes and expectations regarding male and female behavior.''

Factor 5: grooming behaviors

This factor includes numerous grooming and approach behaviors that occur to lessen a victims' abilities to advocate for their safety. The grooming behavior might be demonstrated by an individual attempting to disempower a partner or reestablish a relationship that was ended. They may also be utilized by individuals or groups to increase the vulnerability of an individual as a target of sexual violence. Examples of grooming behaviors are provided below:

- Stalking or tracking a person's movements or location (Meloy and Fisher 2005)
- Blocking an exit through physical presence or threat of violence (LaViolette and Barnett 2000; Armstrong et al. 2006)
- Isolation of individual or group away from friends or acquaintances (Humphrey and Kahn 2000; LaViolette and Barnett 2000; Armstrong et al. 2006)
- Embarrassing an individual (or group) or an attack on his/her self-esteem through disparaging remarks (Armstrong et al. 2006).
- Insulting or objectifying an individual or group (LaViolette and Barnett 2000; Armstrong et al. 2006)
- Emphasis of power and control themes, reduction of individual or group choices, and infantilizing behavior (LaViolette and Barnett 2000; Teranishi-Martinez 2014)

Grooming behaviors may also be seen in the social settings created by high-risk fraternities as documented in a study by Boswell and Spade (1996). Environments are created with an unequal mix of gender participating in the party, gender segregation throughout the event, and men treating women less respectfully with degrading jokes and conversations. The settings also included loud music limiting conversations and providing access to ''filthy bathroom'' options only. All are examples of creating a climate that lessens a person's access to support and safety.

There are several famous examples of organizations sharing educational information and advice to its members concerning the creation of environments and activities that have the potential to lure unsuspecting students into dangerous situations. A Georgia Tech fraternity (Phi Kappa Tau) sent an e-mail to members titled ''Luring your rape-bait.'' It included the following grooming advice for members: ''If they are hammered at any point before midnight, just skip the chit chat and go dance,… . Always start with the making out!!!! No raping.'' ''If anything ever fails, go get more alcohol'' (Willingham 2013).

Factor 6: using substances to obtain sex

Some individuals or groups make use of alcohol or other drugs in an attempt to lower the resistance and defenses of those they target for sexual behavior. It recalls the classic Christmas song ''Baby its cold outside,'' where alcohol is used to lower the defenses of the woman to give sexual consent. It would be reasonable to see this as connected to the previous Factor 5 given that the use of alcohol and other drugs could also serve as a grooming behavior. Given the frequency and devastation to which this particular grooming behavior is used on college campuses, the authors choose to create this as a separate factor. Factor 6 is well established in the literature on college sexual assault with indications that 50–75% of incidents are associated with alcohol or other drugs (Abbey et al. 2001; Krebs et al. 2007; American College Health Association 2008; Zapp 2014).

Alcohol use by college students is well documented, including high-risk alcohol use such as drinking games, pregaming, and taking shots as well as the negative consequences associated with alcohol such as taking advantage of someone sexually or being taken advantage of sexually. Alcohol and other substances are frequently ingested by college students to relax, reduce social anxiety, and increase their enjoyment. College parties have a long history of involving alcohol to reduce inhibitions and help those in attendance have a good time.

In addition to contributing to the majority of assaults reported on college campuses, substances are also associated with unhealthy attitudes and the vulnerability of environments. Students who report more negative consequences of alcohol use have less healthy attitudes and behaviors

related to sexual assault (Zapp 2014). Alcohol is also linked to reports of misperceptions of sexual interest between parties leading to ignoring cues of refusal and contributing to victim-blaming around regretted sex (American College Health Association 2008). In group settings, alcohol use increases conformity to group norms by reducing inhibitions and individual judgment, and increasing group bonding (Jewkes et al. 2002). In more extreme cases, an individual or group uses substances to facilitate sexual assault.

This could be a systemic issue for a group or a more focused tactic by an individual or smaller group within a larger social setting. More subtle methods of substance abuse include hosting social events that provide high volumes of free alcohol and serving alcohol to underage students more vulnerable during their transition to college. At group events and parties, communal alcohol sources such as ''trashcan punch'' or mixes could be made significantly stronger or adulterated with illegal or prescription drugs. In a story reminiscent of carnies marking rubes with chalk to be targeted for robbery later in the evening to be robbed, some organizations make use of X's and special marks on party goers to indicate that person has been drugged (Luthern and Herzog 2014).

Factor 7: hardened or inflexible point of view

Here, the individual or group has a steadfast and intractable point of view or belief system that is highly defended against change or further rational debate. These beliefs may include the misogynistic ideology mentioned in Factor 4. Any argument or attempt to dissuade the individual or the group from their beliefs results in a ''double-down'' of the belief and a perceived sense of attack.

Dr. Glasl, professor at Salzburg University in Austria, developed the ''Model of Conflict Escalation'' that offers nine stages of conflict escalation useful in understanding how an individual begins to escalate toward violent action (Glasl 1999). The first of these stages is defined as hardening. In a 2014 white paper, ''Threat Assessment in a Campus Setting'' (Sokolow et al. 2014a, p. 9), the concept is broadened and applied to targeted and predatory violence that occurs in a university setting. The authors write, ''The individual begins to selectively attend to his or her environment, filtering out material or information that doesn't line up with his or her beliefs. Stances begin to harden and crystalize. There is some oscillation between cooperative and competitive.''

The concept of hardening as it applies to threat assessment is supported by a wide number of research articles and published works (O'Toole 2000; Turner and Gelles 2003; Association of Threat Assessment Professionals 2006; Randazzo and Plummer 2009; Sokolow and Lewis 2009; ASIS International and the Society for Human Resource Management 2011; Meloy and O'Toole 2011; Van Brunt 2012; Sokolow et al. 2014b). This hardened viewpoint expands to sexual assault as male perpetrators engage in victim-blaming as a rationale for the assault (Krahe et al. 2007; Bieneck and Krahe 2011).

A particularly negative example of this factor follows the murder of Grace Rebecca Mann's at Mary Washington University in April of 2015. Mann was part of an organization called Feminists United that uncovered a chant by the school's rugby team that referenced necrophilia, rape, and violence against women. Following the suspension of the team, and prior to Mann's death, one supporter of the team warned ''feminists would burn'' if the team was suspended and that ''there will be no survivors'' (Jackson 2015, p. 1). In the light of this tragic loss, viewpoints remained hardened and fixed. Sympathy and compassion for Grace Mann lacked and cries of misandry against the rugby team persisted.

Another attribute to the hardened or inflexible point of view is the minimization and denial of the validity of other points of view. Not only must the individual's worldview be valid and accepted by others, but also this worldview is often offered as the *only* reasonable way view a perspective. Individuals often seek out others who share their perspective for reinforcement and further validation. This has the potential to create groups that become self-reinforcing and immune to alternative perspectives or viewpoints. This in turn creates opportunities for pressure to maintain conformity and groupthink.

IPV incidents may include these hardened points of view around themes of control and jealousy. This is the idea of the partner as the property of the perpetrator and the need to control the partner's behaviors, social environment, and access to information. Researchers have shared examples of statements demonstrating the entitlement of the perpetrators and the desire to link themselves permanently to their partner, ''I'll never let you go'' and ''If I can't have you, no one will'' (Teranishi-Martinez 2014).

Sometimes hardened and inflexible perspectives can be identified in the group setting. In the membership selection process, organizations filter out members with perspectives that are different from the predominant attitudes of the organization (Murnen and Kohlman 2007). The group may then have the tendency to create alternative narratives about the attitudes and behaviors of the group with disregard for the impact of their behaviors on others in the community.

Factor 8: pattern of escalating threat strategies

Factor 8 describes an individual or group that continues to escalate behavior toward a higher level of violence. There are examples of predatory thinking (Turner and Gelles 2003; Association of Threat Assessment Professionals 2006; Meloy and Mohandie 2014; Van Brunt 2012, 2014), grooming behaviors (as mentioned in Factor 5), and practice and testing behavior designed to ''test the waters'' prior to a move toward more dangerous behaviors.

Elliot Roger demonstrates this escalation prior to his murderous assault in California (Speer 2014). We learn that, prior to the attack, an attack primarily motivated by Roger's self-described frustration at his failures to obtain sexual relationships with his peers, he became enraged at other couples showing affection. As a result, he threw a soda on the couple and ran away. It would be reasonable to assume that this escalation from thought to throwing a soda helped desensitize Roger to prepare him for something more ominous in the weeks to follow.

In this risk factor, the concept of movement, intensification, and acceleration are key. There is an increase in the behavior of concern (misogynistic statements, stalking behavior, threats or ultimatums, using alcohol to lower a victim's defenses). This often occurs despite attempts by the institution to address the concerns through conduct action, education, or prevention efforts.

In the predatory violence literature, the individual can be described in the context of Meloy's (2011) approach behaviors. An individual or group becomes determined in their focus on a pathway to violence and, despite efforts to dissuade them from negative actions, they continue to move toward a negative outcome.

Stalking behaviors typically fall into an upward trajectory from initial, exploratory behaviors to more intensive and invasive techniques, including hyperintimacy, proximity/surveillance, invasion, proxy pursuit, intimidation and harassment, coercion, and constraint and aggression (Meloy and Fisher 2005). Following a target to her classes may initially be enough for the frustrated ex-boyfriend, but as his obsession deepens, he may purchase a magnetics GPS device to attach to her car in order to follow her more closely.

In sexual-addictive predatory or paraphilic behaviors, we may see a student who is initially comfortable flashing private parts anonymously in public places escalating to masturbation or masturbation with contact with un-consenting others.

These patterns of escalation can also originate from groups or organizations. While more subtle hints or vague intimidating threats may be the initial action, noncompliance from the target may result in an escalation in threats. An athletic team may attempt to intimidate a woman to keep her from reporting an assault by a team member. This intimidation may begin with notes and phone calls and could escalate to social media attacks (creation of a website attempting to discredit her reputation) to team members driving by her apartment and throwing a brick at her window.

The grooming behaviors mentioned in Factor 5 often create environments conducive to patterns of escalating threats and increase the likelihood students will allow the threatening behaviors to continue. Social organizations may follow a pattern of escalation in regard to their use of intimidation and coercion. Initial parties may start with more open and inviting environments for guests, progressing to more elite environments reinforcing the need to conform in order to be socially accepted.

It may be helpful to visualize this risk factor that requires a sense of movement forward and an intensification of behaviors. While the original thought or behavior could be centered on misogynistic thinking (Factor 4), using substances to obtain sex (Factor 6), or obsessive pornography usage (Factor 2), this factor is about an increase in the amount of the initial behaviors. For example, where the misogynistic thinking was once private jokes among group members, it becomes aired in a public blog or article in the school paper. Where the group offered free beer to underage students, they escalate and use a Rohypnol in a drink to incapacitate a partygoer. Where an individual may masturbate to pornography by himself for 1–2 hours on a normal night, he begins hosting ''jack off'' parties where groups are encouraged to watch pornography together for longer periods of time.

Factor 9: lack of empathy

Factor 9 describes an individual or group that fundamentality lacks empathy for others (Caputo et al. 1999). This overlaps with Factor 7 in that both describe a hardened and inflexible point of view. The needs of the individual or group are narcissistic in nature and lack awareness of the societal, community, or personal harm they may cause others. This may also play out when one has a patronizing or paternalistic regard for others in which they presume to ''know'' what the other one needs, and hence imposes actions on him or her. For example, ''this princess needs a prince … ,'' thus justifying his actions.

Whether through a pre-existing worldview or a reinforced perspective through their current group memberships, the individuals minimize the impact of how their behaviors affect those around them. They see the world in a way that makes it more difficult for them to see from another's perspective. This lack of empathy often results in feelings of frustration and surprise by the individual student being questioned about beliefs or behaviors. They struggle to see the relevance of viewpoints different from those informed by their personal experiences.

This factor also plays out on the larger stage with groups failing to appreciate how their behavior or attitudes are a problem for others around them. They may feel a sense of entitlement to have the freedom to think what they want to think and bristle at the idea of taking responsibility for seeing how their actions may impact others. If their belief system includes intolerance, sexism, and acceptance of oppression, this may contribute to rape attitudes (Bendixena et al. 2014).

Sexual assault perpetrators were identified as having higher levels of hostility toward women, lower levels of empathy, and more likely to hold traditional gender-role stereotypes (Seto and Barbaree 1997). Meloy and Fisher (2005, p. 7) note this pattern of behavior in stalking cases where ''pathological narcissism suggests a sense of grandiosity and entitlement that diminishes any empathy for the victim; and the stalker's focused attention.''

Addressing the risk factor whether the individual or the group is experiencing a lack of empathy for others is key to behavioral change. Change occurs when an individual or group sees the benefit for their own good. By assisting an individual or group in developing the ability to understand the perspectives of others, it helps them feel more in connection with those around them. When that connection occurs, the potential to take responsibility for poor behavior increases.

In group settings, this lack of empathy is often demonstrated by a lack of ability to understand the perspective of the victim. A sorority may struggle to see themselves in an assault of one of their members if they distance themselves from her with the rationale that she had a drinking problem, a lengthy sexual history, or promiscuous personality. Armstrong et al. (2006, p. 493) describe it this way: ''The most common way that students—both women and men—account for the harm that befalls women in the party scene is by blaming victims. By attributing bad experiences to women's 'mistakes,' students avoid criticizing the party scene or men's behavior within it.''

In addition, the process of justifying or denying sexual violence or denying personal vulnerability often involves limiting which behaviors are considered to be rape and blaming rape victims for their own victimization (Peterson and Muehlenharad 2004). Iconis (2006, p. 47) describes it this way: ''Men may use rape myths to justify or deny men's sexual violence and women may use them to deny personal vulnerability to rape. For example, a man may endorse the myth that if a woman does not have bruises, she cannot claim she was raped. He might, then, regard coercing a woman to have sex as acceptable as long as he does not leave bruises on her. If a woman endorses the myth that only

promiscuous women get raped, she might feel that she can avoid rape by not 'sleeping around.' ''

Groups may also underplay their involvement or the applicability of climate surveys to their particular group. With no specific complaint, the organization may downplay the concern and its impact. Some argue that fraternities are unfairly singled out as a source of the problem rather than a tool useful for reducing sexual assault (Shastry 2014; North 2015).

Factor 10: sensation-seeking behaviors

Here, the individual or group is focused on achieving pleasure and sensation as a central goal. Their outlook resists discussion and change, and their central desire is experiencing something pleasurable in the here and now. There is an addictive nature to this pursuit, often at the expense of social standing, finances, and moral code (Zuckermann 2007)—a hedonistic pursuit of pleasure that is never quite enough. Zuckermann (1994, p. 27) describes this trait this way: ''the seeking of varied, novel, complex, and intense sensations and experiences, and the willingness to take physical, social, legal, and financial risks for the sake of such experience.''

This behavior may also coincide with impulsivity and risk taking. Research suggests sexually aggressive behaviors are most common when the perpetrator is experiencing intense emotions and a corresponding lack of forethought and planning with their actions (Mouilso et al. 2013). There is little focus on the consequences of behavior beyond the immediacy of the act. It would be fair to surmise that this sensation-seeking behavior often coincides with Factor 9 and their inability to see their beliefs or behaviors from the perspectives of others. The concept of other's perceptive, to the extent that the others are not giving them pleasure or sensation, is not a consideration for the individual or group.

An example of this could be a male college student who is obsessively using pornography then begins to look for increased sensation-seeking behaviors in terms of sexual behaviors with others (Carr and VanDeusen 2004; Sinkovic et al. 2013). The idea that pornography becomes insufficient to satisfy the desires results in potentially more violent or depersonalized pornography consumption or an expansion to acting out at parties or on campus.

Another example of this behavior would be a group of men who see sexual activity as conquests. They may keep individual numbers and enter into competition with each other to see who can reach the highest score. Once again, this resonates with Factor 9 (lack of empathy) as well as Factor 1 (objectifying others).

The core concept of this factor is the habitualization of the behavior. What once used to be enough is no longer enough. More sexual conquests, pleasure, or experiences become a driving force. Another group example might be an athletic team that previously traveled to strip clubs together hiring an escort or prostitute to come to their party and have sex with multiple members of the team. This would also be an escalation of a behavior as discussed in Factor 8.

Factor 11: obsessive and/or addictive thoughts or behaviors

Addiction, and specifically sexual addiction, is increasing on college campuses (Seegers 2010). Factor 11 describes a tendency to focus fanatically on a particular goal at the cost of other reasonable alternative behaviors. This factor can overlap with Factor 10 in terms of the hedonistic, pleasure seeking as well as potentially with Factor 2 (obsessive pornography addiction). The inflexible thoughts also overlap with Factor 7 (hardening) in terms of their intensity and focus.

The uniqueness of this factor, however, lies in the driven or focused pursuit on thoughts related to sexually aggressive or violent behaviors. Sussman et al. (2011) describe process addiction as those that comprise a series of potentially pathological behaviors that expose individuals to ''mood-altering events'' by which they achieve pleasure and become dependent.

While this group of sexual ''process addicts'' is estimated to impact only 3–6% of the population, those experiencing addictive tendencies or pleasure seeking would be considerably higher. In either case, these individuals present a concern on campus. The thoughts they experience are repetitive in nature and the individual often ruminates on the topic with little success redirecting focus on other topics. There may also be an underlying insecurity and clinging to the desperate short-sighted ''need'' for something and great fear at the prospect of not getting it.

These sexual thoughts may have a mental health basis in addictive and repetitive thoughts as found in obsessive compulsive disorder (Gordon 2002; Grant et al. 2006; American Psychiatric Association 2013) or within the sexual paraphilia. There may be past thoughts or behaviors that manifested in previous relationships. There may be a history of early childhood or teenage sexually addictive or impulsive behaviors. These thoughts and behaviors are often perceived outside of the control of the person experiencing the impulses. There may be a history of hypersexuality or a series of impersonal sexual encounters that are more about fulfilling some sense of quota rather than fueling a healthy sense of satisfaction. In fact, the lack of satisfaction—the pursuit for some new habitual experience—is another way to consider this factor. While the newest DSM-IV did not include a proposed diagnosis by Kafka (2010) on hypersexuality disorder, more research is being conducted (Reid 2013).

Paraphilic behaviors must be considered when any risk assessment for sexual violence is made. ''Paraphilias are mental disorders that are defined as involving sexual urges, fantasies, and behaviors that fall into three categories: (1) nonhuman objects; (2) children or other nonconsenting persons; and (3) suffering and/or humiliation'' (O'Toole and Bowman 2011, p. 76). The range of paraphilic behaviors is broad, from voyeurism to exhibitionism to partialism to sexual sadism, an extremely aggressive paraphilic behavior. In her germinal work, *The Biology of Violence*, neuroscientist Dr. Debra Niehoff poses these questions: ''But what if sex and aggression can't be disentangled?'' and ''What if the deviant fantasies require suffering, or a dead body?'' Her answer: When a paraphilia takes a violent or homicidal turn, aggression engulfs sex, testosterone becomes irrelevant, and turning back is no longer possible'' (Niehoff 1999, p. 165). When assessing for risk factors of sexual violence, the presence of paraphilic behaviors must be determined. Depending on the specific paraphilic behavior, as well as the individual's sexual fantasies and urges, his risk for violence can increase exponentially.

An example would be a student who remains obsessive with someone he had dated in the past or recently met at a party despite clear messages from the woman that she does not want

the attention or pursuit. Meloy and Fisher (2005) write, ''An addiction model may also shed light on the neurobiology of stalking. This is hypothesized because normal men and women who are in love show all of the basic symptoms of addiction, including tolerance, dependency/craving, withdrawal and relapse … . The spurned or unrequited stalker simply goes too far greater lengths to procure his/her drug, the victim'' (p. 6).

For a group example, we may see a driven focus to continue a socially unacceptable behavior such as underage drinking, making pornography available publically, sending an e-mail to the group educating new members on how to have sex with women by getting them drunk, and so on.

Factor 12: past experience

''Sexual violence is a learned behavior'' (American College Health Association 2008). Past experiences have the potential to increase the risk of perpetration and future abuse. The grouping includes past behaviors and experiences that may contribute to a predisposition for sexual violence. These also include mitigating items that decrease inhibition, making the individual or group more likely to act out in the future.

These include

- Past physical abuse (O'Hearn and Margolin 2000; Reitzel-Jaffe and Wolfe 2001; Ehrensaft et al. 2003; White and Smith 2004)
- Past sexual abuse (Kanin 1985; Craissati et al. 2002; Jewkes et al. 2002; White and Smith 2004; Hines 2007)
- Past violation of ''no-contact'' (Kropp et al. 1994, 1995, 1998; Harris et al. 2003; Helmus and Hanson 2007)
- Victim or witness of violence or sexual assault (Jewkes et al. 2002; Morrison et al. 2004)
- Substance abuse (Koss and Gaines 1993; Larimer et al. 1999; Carr and VanDeusen 2004)
- Sexual addictive behaviors or impulses (Helmus and Hanson 2007; Harris et al. 2003)
- Family or societal support for rape or assault culture (Jewkes et al. 2002; Resnick et al. 2004; Loh et al. 2005)
- Negative masculine attitudes (Kilmartin 2000; Rozee and Koss 2001; Carr and VanDeusen 2004)
- Past relational experiences as predictor for IPV (Knight and Sims-Knight 2009; Teranishi-Martinez 2014)

Past behaviors as indicators of future behaviors have a long history in the literature about sexual violence. As with any of the risk factors, caution should be taken making blanket assumptions based on singular or small data sets. Factor 12, like the previous 11 factors, should be taken in the larger context of how concerning being heightened as multiple factors overlap with one another, rather than a singular attention on any given factor.

Summary Chart

The summary chart (Table 1) is provided to offer the readers a quick reference sheet in order to better familiarize themselves with the factors. Brief examples are included for each of the factors for individuals and groups.

Conclusions and Future Direction

With college staff and faculty more aware of these risk factors, there is the opportunity for early prevention education, more effective intervention, as well as more informed sanctioning and educational events for those groups or individuals involved in an assault.

Next steps would involve creating a prevention curriculum based on two separate, but important tasks. The first is increasing awareness and identification of these risk factors on campus. This would require the creation of an awareness education campaign to identify the risk factors in both individuals and groups. This approach would be most effective if it combined both an in-person training to student activity leaders, sports captains, fraternity and sorority governing councils, resident advisors, and orientation staff, as well as a passive advertising campaign through printed materials and social media.

The second is educational effort related to these risk factors targeted to the populations of at-risk groups such as fraternities and athletics teams and those who have been involved in Title IX–related incidents. In research-based evaluation of sexual violence prevention, findings indicate that, while universal interventions are helpful, targeted interventions for populations most at-risk are critical (Morrison et al. 2004).

Future research and literature review would break down the various risk factors by the type of sexual violence. It is likely that IPV and stalking risk factors will vary from those most associated with sexual assault. In addition, future efforts will consider cultural and racial differences among risk factors.

The authors have identified six starting places to help guide colleges and universities in tackling the identified DD-12 risk factors:

1. **Develop Bystander Intervention Efforts:** The 2013 Violence Against Women Act identifies bystander intervention as ''safe and positive options that may be carried out by an individual or individuals to prevent harm or intervene when there is a risk of dating violence, domestic violence, sexual assault, or stalking.'' Bystander intervention trainings must include efforts to help students identify problems that may exist, including risk factors like those outlined by the DD-12. In order to be effective bystanders, training programs must help students to establish healthy expectations and social norms related to their own and others' behaviors (Banyard 2008). By recognizing factors in the DD-12 as red flag indicators for sexual violence and understanding the influence of groups on conforming to false norms, bystanders are more likely to recognize problems and utilize the skills developed to intervene and prevent sexual violence.

   Burn (2009, p. 799) writes, ''Because bystanders are often present during the pre-assault phase where markers of sexual assault risk are present, sexual assault prevention programming focusing on bystander intervention may be useful'' (Katz 1995; Foubert 2000; O'Brien 2001; Schewe 2002; Banyard et al. 2004; Berkowitz 2004). Bystander programs have been shown to effectively shift attitudes related to males and masculinities when incorporating these types of techniques (Katz 1995).

   Educate faculty, staff, and students about the risk factors for sexual violence. By having forthcoming conversations around behaviors and attitudes across the

Table 1. Summary Chart

	Risk factor	*Description*	*Individual example*	*Group example*
1	Objectification and depersonalization	Focus on self and seeing others as objects for pleasure without their own sense of agency	Abusive boyfriend calls girlfriend a bitch and makes fun of her clothes calling her a whore and slut.	Fraternity requires new members to play sex bingo during the semester where they have to have sex with Asian, black, flat-chested, and heavy women.
2	Obsessive and/or addictive pornography/sex focus	Frequent viewing of pornography to a point where it impacts ability to attend class, maintain social connections, or maintain relationships. Consumption of rape pornography.	Student locks self in room most nights for hours to masturbate. Misses social events and behind in class.	Athletic team requires new members to watch violent pornography as a group.
3	Threats and ultimatums	An individual or group who makes threats and demands to meet their needs. They set up "if/then" ultimatums and demand compliance. This is a common way they address conflict.	An individual who attempts to blackmail someone who sent them a naked picture into having sex or else he/she will share the picture with others.	A club or organization threatens a member who reports an assault with being banned from future social events.
4	Misogynistic ideology	A pervasive belief that the female gender is less worthy or deserving of respect or consideration when compared to males.	A male student believes his girlfriend should drop out of school and take care of him before she completes her degree because he is the "bread winner"	A fraternity hangs up a sign at a party that reads "Put out or Get out"
5	Grooming behaviors	These behaviors are varied and are focused on lessening a victim's ability to advocate for his/her safety.	A boyfriend frequently blocks the exist to the room when arguing to prevent his partner from leaving.	A sorority tries to keep a member from reporting a sexual assault by telling her it is her fault for the way she dressed or that having sex with a certain fraternity is expected.
6	Using substances to obtain sex	Making use of alcohol or other drugs to lower resistance and defenses of those targeted and to lower his or her resistance to give consent to sexual behavior.	A male student continues to give shots to a girl he wants to sleep with in order to lower her defenses.	A group hosts a party and creates a "trashcan punch" that is close to 80 proof and offers it to underage students.
7	Hardened or inflexible point of view	There is a steadfast and intractable point of view or belief systems that is highly defended against change or further rational debate.	A male student believes that once he starts having sex he physically can't stop, no matter what the person he is with says.	Despite multiple arrests and violations, a fraternity refuses to change how it hosts their parties.
8	Pattern of escalating threat strategies	There is a series of increasingly dangerous practice and testing behavior designed to prior to a move toward a higher level of violence.	An obsessed boyfriend may stalk an ex's Facebook page and follow her around campus. Then escalates to putting a GPS on her car.	An athletic team may intimidate a woman with phone calls and social media posts to keep her from reporting an assault by a team member. Next, team members drive by her apartment and throw a brick at her window.
9	Lack of empathy	The needs of the individual or group are narcissistic in nature and lack awareness of the societal, community, or personal harm they may cause to others.	An male student demeans female students around him and feels that their opinions are not as important and meaningful as his.	A sorority may struggle to see themselves in an assault of one of their members if they distance themselves from her with the rationale that she had a drinking problem, a lengthy sexual history, or promiscuous personality.
10	Sensation-seeking behaviors	The individual or group is focused on achieving pleasure and sensation as a central goal. Their outlook resists discussion and change, and their central desire is experiencing something pleasurable in the here and now.	A male student becomes thrilled with the idea of anonymous sex and after having it once at a party begins to have it multiple times a week despite the health risk.	An athletic team previously traveled to strip clubs together then hires a prostitute to come to their party and have sex with team members.
11	Obsessive and/or addictive thoughts or behaviors	A tendency to focus fanatically on a particular goal at the cost of other reasonable alternative behaviors.	A male student who remains obsessive with someone he had dated in the past or recently met at a party despite clear messages from the woman that she does not want the attention or pursuit.	A fraternity sends an e-mail to the group educating new members on how to have sex with women by getting them drunk.
12	Past experience	The grouping includes past behaviors and experiences that may contribute to a predisposition for sexual assault. These also include mitigating items that decrease inhibition, making the individual or group more likely to act out in the future.	A male student has been raised in a family system that teaches women as second to men and that their opinions aren't worth hearing.	A group of students are part of a group and they all share past negative sexual addictive behaviors in their history. This shared experience drives negative behavior at parties.

spectrum of sexual violence and addressing the hesitancy that is often present when reporting, people are empowered to respond and report incidents. Many people's concept of violence, including sexual violence, is often that a person just snapped and acted out of character. However, violence is evolutionary, and there are indicators along the way that someone is becoming sexually aggressive.

2. **Teach Otherness and Empathy:** Efforts that focus on the healthy development of empathy in college students have the potential to influence various aspects of the campus community to reduce sexual assault (Hamilton and Yee 1990; Schewe and O'Donohue 1993). Foubert and Perry (2007, p. 2) write, ''Low rape proclivity and high empathy toward rape survivors are strongly linked (Osland et al. 1996), which suggests that finding ways to increase men's empathy toward survivors may lower their likelihood of raping.'' Students with more sophisticated development of empathy skills are more likely to respond positively to peer disclosures of victimization and to respond negatively to attitudes supportive of rape myths. The use of positive mentors for high-risk populations may be an effective way to role model behaviors associated with sexual assault, stalking, and IPV prevention.

   Foubert and Perry (2007, p. 13) share a particularly interesting aspect of their study describing participants reaction to a male-to-male rape scenario and its impact on participants. They write, ''The most overwhelming result of the present study is the consistent, passionate, and detailed comments participants made regarding the changes in their attitudes and behavior that they attribute directly to seeing a videotape describing a male-on-male rape situation. Participants said this video helped them believe they could better understand what rape feels like, were able to apply this newfound understanding to what female survivors might feel, and reported connecting this newfound understanding to helping survivors and confronting rape jokes.''

3. **Address Microaggressions:** The central challenge in addressing microaggression is found in the understanding that these slights are often unintentional. This may involve a student who sees his stalking behavior as positive attention he is offering an object of his affection or sexist catcalling as a way to give positive compliments to a woman who is well dressed. This creates the dual problems of a blind spot for the person unaware that the comment or action is offensive to the person receiving it as well as the common reaction of defensiveness when confronted about the behavior (''Well, that certainly wasn't what I meant. Why do they have to be so sensitive?'').

   Sue (2010) used the images of thumbtacks and raindrops on his books to illustrate the power of these small, unintentional, everyday microaggressions and to help the reader connect to the larger concept of how the volume and continual nature of these experiences are cumulative for the individual experiencing them. In other words, what matters is not just what an individual just experienced from you but rather what the individual had already experienced on the same day or within a short period. The cumulative effect of microaggressions is considerable over time.

   Educational programs should discuss the unintentional impact of rape jokes, objectification of individuals, and slurs against someone's race, gender, and sexual orientation. A key facet to this training should be centered on the impact of such statements separate from the intent. It is not enough that those making the jokes did not mean to cause harm with their comments. Few men see themselves as potential rapists or perpetrators (Scheel et al. 2001), and so the challenge of this programming is to increase empathy and understanding that even unintended jokes or comments can lead to harm.

4. **Train Conduct Staff and Hearing Boards:** Training those involved in Title IX investigations and coordination of university compliance is essential. The Association of Title IX Coordinators and Administrators (ATIXA) is one place where training can be provided for colleges and universities. Sokolow (2001, p. 18), the CEO of the NCHERM Group, shares his thoughts about training hearing boards: ''NCHERM has established a minimum competence for our clients of 2 days for training judicial decision-makers each semester. It is rare to see a board operate truly competently without at least 2 days of training. The hearing board must be familiar with basic rules of evidence regarding relevance, credibility and rape shield rules. It must be thoroughly versed in an analytical approach to determining if a policy was violated. It must be instructed on questioning and deliberation techniques. It should understand Rape Trauma Syndrome and common rape myths. Furthermore, hearing board members need to be sensitized to what the alleged victim is experiencing. He or she may be traumatized by recounting the events of the incident.''

   Conduct administrators and boards trained in the continuum of sexual violence and related factors are better able to evaluate student and organization behaviors of concern. By understanding the root factors of sexual violence such as misogynistic attitudes, staff can recognize concerns early and design educational sanctions to alter attitudes and behaviors in a positive way. Some conduct board trainings have been criticized for being tilted toward either a victim or respondent perspective. The risk factors identified here provide objective behaviors and attitudes that can be described and observed in reports of sexual violence incidents. It provides boards and administrators with a common language to discuss incidents of sexual violence.

5. **Monitor Campus Climates:** The concept of campus climate surveys to gauge the nature and the scope of sexual assault, harassment, stalking, and IPV is not a new concept but has recently garnered increased media attention in the wake of The Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 and the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault (Kingkade 2014b; National Center for Campus Public Safety 2014; Toiv 2015). Before a campus can engage its community in any education or intervention programming, it must first have an accurate understanding of the issues related to sexual assault, stalking, and IPV as they occur contextually within its campus community.

   An understanding of the existing climate helps a college or university stay out ahead of the ''streetlight effect'' (Freedman 2010). The streetlight effect is an

observational bias where people only look for what they are searching for where it is easiest. Freedman (2010, p. 1) tells it this way: ''The fundamental error here is summed up in an old joke scientists love to tell. Late at night, a police officer finds a drunk man crawling around on his hands and knees under a streetlight. The drunk man tells the officer he's looking for his wallet. When the officer asks if he's sure this is where he dropped the wallet, the man replies that he thinks he more likely dropped it across the street. 'Then why are you looking over here?' the befuddled officer asks. 'Because the light's better here, explains the drunk man.' ''

The risk here is college and universities program and educate around the issues that make up the low-hanging fruit to be picked first. The problems here are the deeper issues contributing to violence against women on campus and they often have complicated and difficult-to-understand motivations. By developing a better understanding of these issues on campus, a college has the opportunity to get out in front of the problem and offer solutions and interventions that are tied more directly to the specific, contextual factors on their campus.

6. **Teach Affirmative Consent and Relationship Health:** While the main focus of this article is on identifying the risk factors useful to mitigate sexual and gender-based violence on college campuses, we would be remiss if we left the conversation to end here. Simply identifying the bad and developing at ''Just Say No''-type program to reduce at-risk and concerning behaviors is not sufficient to stem the tide of sexual violence on our campuses. We also must teach sexual consent and relationship health in an ongoing, affirmative, and, quite frankly, engaging and entertaining format. Students need to understand the satisfaction and pleasure that comes from having consensual, willing sex. This ideally occurs with a partner(s) where communication is open, empathetic, and based on mutual trust. We cannot hope to reduce sexual violence on campus by simply telling students what not to do; rather, we must stress aspects of healthy sexuality, in all of its diverse forms, in sex-positive conversations.

We encourage those interested in prevention to look more closely at the literature in the field and adopt an inclusive philosophy when developing year-long education and prevention curriculum on college campuses. The issue is too important to be relegated to conversations about ''what not to do'' or single-orientation programs on consent and healthy relationships. What we need here is a continuous dialog that weaves its way into our everyday conversations and the academic mission of our colleges and universities.

While the sheer volume of research citations necessary to establish the risk factors that contribute to sexual violence in the higher education arena is daunting, it is essential to undergird the front-line public health model of teaching awareness, prevention, and intervention on campus. Without a solid research base, our education and intervention efforts fall short in reaching their goals. The DD-12 provides the reader with an initial investigation into how the research from criminology, forensic psychology, community mental health, domestic and dating violence, and stalking blend to create a useful foundation to better target these risk factors for reduction and mitigation.

The road ahead has surely been a Sisyphean task for those pushing to reduce sexual violence up the rather steep, inclined, and complicated slope: campus climate surveys, political debates, third-party vendors rushing to the market to provide solutions in line with VAWA requirements. It is the authors' hope that a better understanding of the contributing risk factors will provide a framework to more effectively reduce sexual violence on college campuses.

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