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General Strain Theory for LGBQ and SSB Youth: The Importance of Intersectionality in the Future of Feminist Criminology

Deeanna M. Button[1] and Meredith G. F. Worthen[2]

Abstract

This study applies an intersectional general strain theory (GST) framework to understand the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning (LGBQ) youth, and youth involved in same-sex sexual behavior (SSB). Using a statewide probability sample of LGBQ and SSB youth (N = 539) in grades 9 to 12, results show that understanding LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences with victimization (feeling unsafe, threatened/injured, property stolen) and negative outcomes (poor academic performance, substance use, suicidality) must be underscored with the significance of and intersections between gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior. Implications for the importance of intersectionality in GST and the future of feminist criminology are offered.

Keywords

general strain theory, gender, intersectionality, LGBQ youth, lesbian, gay

Introduction

In 1992, Agnew's reconceptualization of strain theory as general strain theory (GST) resulted in an upsurge of empirical investigations. One area that received special attention was the application of GST to the relationships between gender and criminality.

[1]The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, Galloway, USA
[2]University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA

Corresponding Author:
Deeanna M. Button, School for Social and Behavioral Sciences, Criminal Justice Program, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, 101 Vera King Farris Drive, Galloway, NJ 08205, USA.
Email: deeanna.button@stockton.edu

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In particular, Broidy and Agnew's (1997) theoretical examination of GST sparked a critical dialogue about "gendered" GST, which has been advanced by many scholars (e.g., Broidy, 2001; Cernkovich, Lanctôt, & Giordano, 2008; Hoffman & Su, 1997; Jang, 2007; Mazerolle, 1998; Piquero & Sealock, 2004; Robbers, 2004; Sharp, Brewster, & Love, 2005; Sharp, Terling-Watt, Atkins, & Gilliam, 2001). This important work frames the study of GST within the realm of feminist criminology, as it highlights the significance of the experiences of women and girls as different from men's and boys' experiences. While such work is highly influential to the discipline of feminist criminology, a conceptualization of GST as it applies to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and questioning (henceforth "LGBQ") youth as well as youth involved in same-sex sexual behavior (henceforth "SSB youth") is needed. Research consistently documents an increased risk of victimization and negative outcomes among LGBQ and SSB youth (e.g., Cniro et al., 2005; Freedner, Freed, Yang, & Austin, 2002; Garofalo, Wolf, Kessel, Palfrey, & DuRant, 1998); yet, little else is known about the ways that gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior affect LGBQ and SSB youth's experiences. Thus, we propose using an intersectional approach with GST to allow for the exploration of how gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior shape the relationship between victimization (feeling unsafe, threatened/injured, property stolen) and negative outcomes (poor academic performance, substance use, suicidality) among LGBQ and SSB youth.

We see this intersectional approach as a critical advancement to the future of feminist criminology, fitting well within the current and recent dialogue of feminist criminologists. In 2006, Amanda Burgess-Proctor's article appeared in the inaugural edition of *Feminist Criminology*. In this highly influential[1] manuscript titled "Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology," Burgess-Proctor (2006) states that the best practices for the future of feminist criminology should "embrace a theoretical framework that recognizes multiple, intersecting inequalities" (p. 28). To illustrate this argument, Burgess-Proctor frames her discussion in light of the 20th anniversary of the Division of Women in Crime (DWC) in 2004 and the creation of the journal *Feminist Criminology* in 2006.[2] In 2014, the DWC celebrates its 30th anniversary and the importance of intersectionality remains firm.

In the current study, we utilize data from a statewide probability sample of Delaware LGBQ and SSB youth ($N = 539$) in grades 9 to 12, collected in 2003, 2005, and 2007 to highlight the importance of an intersectional GST framework to help understand the gendered relationships between victimization and negative outcomes among LGBQ and SSB youth. We use the intersectionality paradigm to conduct a partial test of GST. Specifically, we examine the influence of gender, sexual orientation, and sexual behavior on the relationship between victimization and multiple negative outcomes. We see an intersectional GST approach as a testimony to best practices for feminist criminology outlined in previous work (e.g., Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Collins, 2000) and as a framework to continue to push the future of feminist criminological theory toward an inclusive and complete understanding of how multiple dimensions of identity and inequality shape crime.

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Review of the Literature

Victimization Experiences Among LGBQ Youth

Research consistently shows that LGBQ youth are more likely to experience victimization compared with their heterosexual counterparts (Cniro et al., 2005; D'Augelli, Grossman, & Starks, 2006; Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Freedner et al., 2002; Hammelman, 1993; Hunter, 1990; Martin & Hetrick, 1988; McFarland & Dupuis, 2001; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010) and that the victimization that many LGBQ youth experience is directly related to their non-normative sexual identities (Herek, 2009; Hunter, 1990; Martin & Hetrick, 1988; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 2006). Reports suggest that between 57% and 92% of LGBQ youth have been verbally, physically, and/or sexually victimized (Birkett, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009; Cowan, Heiple, Marquez, Khatchadourian, & McNevin, 2005; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010; Wisconsin Youth Risk Behavior Survey [YRBS], 2007).

Research suggests that certain types of victimization may vary by LGBQ identity. However, few studies examine variation in victimization by LGBQ identity, and research that does exist is absent of clear and consistent patterns. For example, in a study on teen dating violence, young bisexual men and women (compared with young gay men and lesbian women) had significantly greater odds of experiencing psychological aggression by having a partner threaten to "out" them (Freedner et al., 2002). Findings from a study with 425 homeless heterosexual and LGBQ youth suggest that homeless bisexual youth are more likely to report experiencing physical abuse by parents compared with gay or lesbian homeless youth, but gay and lesbian youth are more likely to report sexual abuse by parents compared with bisexual youth (Rew, Whittaker, Taylor-Seehafer, & Smith, 2005). Data from a county-wide survey of 9th to 12th graders show that when it comes to peer harassment and victimization, youth who are uncertain of their sexual identity may be most vulnerable when compared with their lesbian, gay, and bisexual counterparts (Espelage, Aragon, Birkett, & Koenig, 2008). Thus, while some studies show that specific types of victimization vary by LGBQ identity, no firm conclusions are evident from past research.

Some additional evidence suggests that victimization among LGBQ youth may also vary by gender (Bontempo & D'Augelli, 2002; D'Augelli et al., 2006; Garofalo, Wolf, Wissow, Woods, & Goodman, 1999; Rothman, Exner, & Baughman, 2011). Findings show that gay and bisexual men may be more likely to experience victimization compared with lesbian and bisexual women (Bontempo & D'Augelli, 2002; D'Augelli et al., 2006). The increased risk of victimization for gay and bisexual male youth may be related to presentation of gender (Herek, 2002; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Schope & Eliason, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). LGBQ youth who display gender atypical behavior are more likely to experience victimization compared with LGBQ youth who display gender typical behavior (Connell, 1992; D'Augelli et al., 2006). Indeed, effeminate gay males and masculine lesbians elicit more negative attitudes than gay males and lesbians who enact gender in more normative ways (Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006; Lock, 2002; Taywaditep, 2001).

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Gender and sexuality theorists contend that those who deviate most from normative definitions of gender and sexuality have a greater risk for harassment and victimization (Kimmel, 1994; Lock, 2002). Normative and hegemonic definitions of gender are often situated as binary and dualistic where "man equals masculine" and "woman equals feminine" (Anderson, 2002, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Men who display normative performances of masculinity are especially rewarded because men who most closely embody hegemonic masculinity are perceived as being on top of the power hierarchy of sexuality and gender in comparison with women and non-heterosexual men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kimmel, 1994). The experiences of those who do not fit within this rigid system may be entirely misunderstood and stigmatized (Kimmel, 1994; Pascoe, 2007). Heterosexual men that enact hegemonic masculinity gain protection while "gay males are stigmatized for their sexual behavior and gender norm violation" (Willis, 2004, p. 125). Gay and bisexual men, in comparison with lesbian and bisexual women, may be especially vulnerable to victimization (Herek, 2002; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Schope & Eliason, 2004) because, as men, they "should" embody and support the normative ideal. Their non-normative sexual identity and atypical gender presentation directly challenges the social hierarchy of gender and sexuality (Connell, 1995; Willis, 2004). Thus, gay and bisexual male youth may be held accountable for their atypical gender presentation through victimization (see West & Zimmerman, 1987, for a discussion of accountability). In particular, these young men might experience "gender policing" whereby normative gender and sexuality expressions are monitored and reinforced through devaluing or denigrating gendered behavior that is atypical and non-normative (Pascoe, 2007).

However, it should be noted that although gay and bisexual men may be especially vulnerable to victimization because they are a direct challenge to the normative hierarchy of gender and sexuality, lesbian and bisexual women challenge the normative system too, and thus may also be vulnerable to victimization. Indeed at least some evidence exists that "masculine lesbians" are especially disliked and this may also be related to negative judgments toward perceived gender role violations (Laner & Laner, 1980; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Skidmore, Linsenmeier, & Bailey, 2006). For example, Skidmore et al. (2006) found a pattern whereby "masculine lesbians" consistently elicited more negative reactions than "feminine lesbians" and this pattern remained consistent even when the respondents were lesbian or gay. Lehavot and Lambert (2007) found similar results; however, unlike previous research, their study showed that when compared with reactions to "feminine lesbians" *and* "feminine" or "masculine" gay men, it was "masculine lesbians" who elicited particularly strong negative reactions. Thus, previous studies provide evidence that men and women who display atypical performances of masculinity/femininity *and* sexuality may be especially devalued.

Negative Outcomes Among LGBQ Youth

In addition to being at a higher risk for victimization, compared with heterosexual youth, many LGBQ youth are at greater risk for experiencing a myriad of negative

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outcomes, including poor academic performance, substance use, and suicidality (e.g., D'Augelli et al., 2006). LGBQ youth are more likely to report lower grade point averages than heterosexual youth (Rostosky, Owens, Zimmerman, & Riggle, 2003), and this may be due to the higher rates of victimization that they experience. Indeed, Warwick, Appleton, and Douglas (2001) use interview data from teachers to report that LGBQ students who experience anti-gay harassment are more likely to suffer academically, withdraw from class participation, and lose motivation toward completing school assignments. Compared with heterosexual youth, LGBQ youth are more likely to report that victimization interferes with their ability to perform academically (Wisconsin YRBS, 2007).

LGBQ youth also report higher levels of substance use compared with heterosexual youth (D'Augelli et al., 2006; Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; see also Rostosky et al., 2003). Like poor academic performance, LGBQ substance use may be the result of victimization experiences. Espelage et al. (2008) contend that LGBQ adolescents in grades 9 through 12 are more likely to use alcohol and/or marijuana than heterosexual youth because of anti-gay harassment, and the relationship between homophobic teasing and substance use has a greater effect for LGBQ youth than heterosexual youth.

Other studies consistently show higher levels of suicidality among LGBQ youth when compared with heterosexual youth (Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Garofalo, Wolf, Kessel, Palfrey, & DuRant, 1998; Garofalo, Wolf, Wissow, Woods, & Goodman,1999; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010). Nearly one in three LGBQ students, compared with less than 1 in 10 heterosexual students, considered attempting suicide in the past year (Almeida et al., 2009; see also Birkett et al., 2009). Research shows that as many as 3 out of 4 LGBQ youth attempt suicide because of experiences related to their sexual orientation (Hammelman, 1993; see also Hunter, 1990).

Furthermore, theoretical inquiry suggests that there may be differences among the negative outcomes that gay, lesbian, bisexual, and questioning youth experience. Some empirical evidence suggests that the stigmas and stereotypes related to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and questioning identities may differ in important ways (Cohen, 1997; Worthen, 2013). Those youth who report that they are "questioning" or "unsure" about their sexual orientation (compared with those who self-identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual) may be especially likely to experience negative outcomes (Espelage et al., 2008) because as Garofalo et al. (1999) report, "internal psychological conflict associated with questioning one's sexual identity may contribute to predisposing one to attempt suicide" (p. 488). However, other studies show that bisexuals are highly stigmatized and misunderstood by both gay/lesbian and heterosexual populations, and thus they may be more likely to be stigmatized and victimized (Brewster & Moradi, 2010; Herek, 2002; Mohr & Rochlen, 1999; Weiss, 2004; Welzer-Lang, 2008). Yet, additional research shows that youth who report sexual behavior with both male and female sexual partners have been found to be at a much higher risk of injury, disease, and death by experiencing serious harassment and engaging in violence, suicidal behavior, alcohol, and other drug use when compared with youth that report exclusively opposite same-sex behavior or exclusively SSB (Robin et al., 2002; Udry &

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Chantala, 2002). Thus, rather than clustering LGBQ experiences as monolithic, it may be informative to understand how LGBQ identities affect experiences with victimization, poor academic performance, substance use, and suicidality.

Victimization and Negative Outcomes Among SSB Youth

It is also important to consider the experiences of youth reporting SSB; although compared with the wealth of studies of LGBQ youth, much less research has examined SSB youth. The research that does exist shows that when compared with youth who report only opposite-sex sexual experiences, SSB youth (who may or may not identify as LGBQ) are more likely to report negative outcomes including substance abuse, violence, and suicidality (Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Garofalo et al., 1999). Such negative experiences among SSB youth may be related to rigid expectations of sexuality whereby heterosexuality is presumed (and often socially rewarded). Thus, any persons who engage in same-sex sexual activity, even if they do not identify as LGBQ, are perceived negatively.

This may be especially true for young men because, as DuRant, Krowchuk, and Sinal (1998) report, victimization and negative outcomes for SSB young men are substantial. Indeed, the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity simultaneously represents the embodiment of a *heterosexual* masculinity (Anderson, 2002; Haltom & Worthen, in press; Messner, 1992). To adopt and maintain idealized heterosexual masculinity, men must manage their sexual and gender identities at the same time (Anderson, 2005). This means that men who engage in SSB may be at a particular risk for victimization and negative outcomes because they are engaging in sexual behavior that threatens idealized heterosexual masculinity. In contrast, young women may have more flexibility in their sexualities (Diamond, 2009). In fact, some evidence exists that young women may be socially rewarded for engaging in same-sex behavior (e.g., Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Thus, it is important to consider how both gender and SSB may affect victimization and negative outcomes.

GST, Intersectionality, and the Experiences of LGBQ and SSB Youth

GST (Agnew, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2006a, 2006b; Agnew & White, 1992) suggests that strenuous experiences are a central cause of negative, delinquent, or criminal behavior. Strenuous experiences may include a failure to achieve goals, a disjuncture between expectations and achievements, an absence of positive stimuli, and/or the presence of negative stimuli. Under these circumstances, an individual may experience negative emotions. As a reaction to these negative emotions, individuals may react or cope with maladaptive, deviant, or criminal behaviors. Deviant or maladaptive coping to strain may take many forms (Belvins, Listwan, Cullen, & Jonson, 2010), including poor academic performance, substance use, and/or suicidality. GST theorists maintain that when strain is high in magnitude, seen as unjust, associated with low social control, and/or coupled with incentive or pressure to deviate, it is most likely to

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result in criminogenic or negative behavior because strain, under these conditions, is more likely to create negative emotions (Agnew, 1992, 2001).

However, not all who experience strain engage in negative or criminogenic coping. Those who have access to social support (Goodkind, Ruffolo, Bybee, & Sarri, 2005) and/or cognitive, behavioral, and/or emotional coping strategies (Broidy, 2001) are less likely to engage in maladaptive, deviant, or criminal behaviors. This, theorists posit, is because these resources allow individuals to deal with negative emotions in more adaptive and effective ways (Agnew, 1992).

GST has become especially informative to feminist criminology as many previous researchers have emphasized gender in their investigations of Agnew's GST (1992). Broidy and Agnew's (1997) work suggests men and women experience different types of strains, differ in their emotional responses to strain, and cope with strain differently. Others have proposed additional investigations of GST that examine specific gender differences in stress (Hoffman & Su, 1997), interpersonal strain (Agnew & Brezina, 1997), violent crime (Mazerolle, 1998), and anger (Piquero & Sealock, 2004; Sharp et al., 2001). This work suggests that taking into account men's and women's experiences is an important part of the investigation of gendered approaches to GST and can certainly inform our understandings of the relationships between negative experiences and negative outcomes. What is missing, however, is an investigation of how these gendered GST arguments may apply to LGBQ and SSB youth.

To account for the gendered experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth, an intersectional approach to GST is necessary. The intersectionality paradigm posits that sexuality, like race, class, and gender, is an axis of social power and oppression (Collins, 2000). Minimizing or failing to address any one form of oppression results in the continued subordination of individuals who have multiple marginalized identities (Collins, 2000). By looking at how gender and sexuality converge, we are better able to understand how victimization affects LGBQ and SSB youth. Put another way, one's social location, as it relates to race, class, gender, and sexuality, leads to a myriad of different experiences (Burgess-Proctor, 2006), and thus we should explore how gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior affect LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences with victimization and negative outcomes. Subsequently, this study uses an intersectional GST framework to better understand the interrelationships between LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences with victimization, poor academic performance, substance use, and suicidality.

Intersectional GST for LGBQ and SSB Youth

Victimization experiences can be conceptualized as a form of strain, and the subsequent negative outcomes can be viewed as maladaptive or deviant coping within the framework of GST (Agnew, 2002). As the above review demonstrates, gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior of LGBQ and SSB youth are important to consider when examining victimization experiences and negative outcomes. Thus, an intersectional GST approach may be well suited for understanding the experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth for three reasons. First, GST itself offers a framework for investigating

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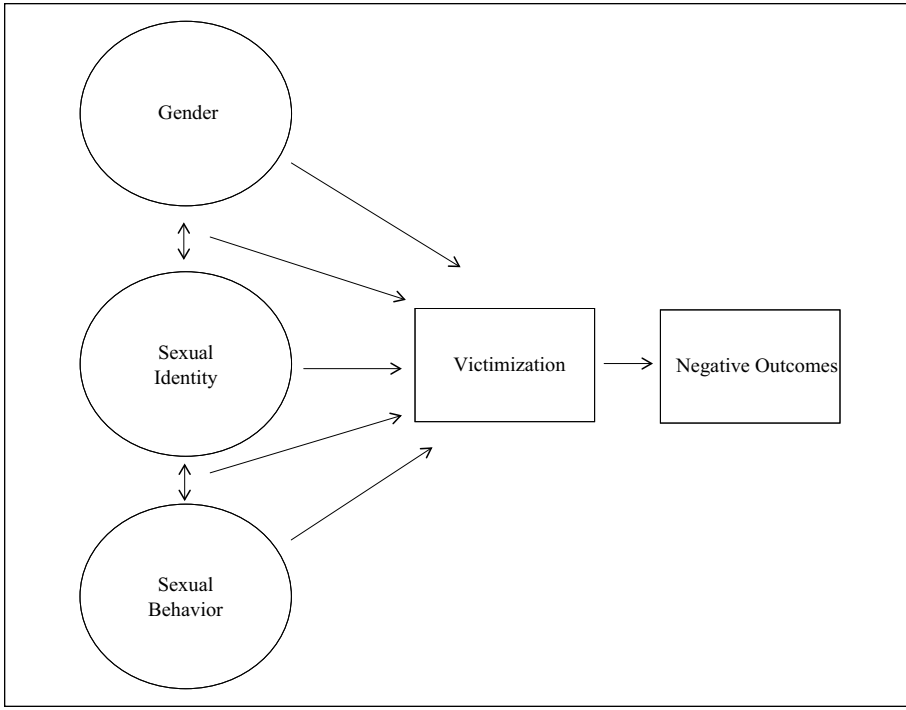


Figure 1. Theoretical diagram of intersectional GST.
Note. GST = general strain theory.

ways that previous experiences (i.e., negative life events) may be related to criminal and/or delinquent behaviors. Because studies show that higher rates of victimization, suicidality, and substance abuse are common for LGBQ and SSB youth (D'Augelli et al., 2006; DuRant et al., 1998; Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Garofalo et al., 1999), GST offers a framework to understand the complexities between LGBQ and SSB experiences and these negative outcomes. Second, gendered GST approaches account for different ways that strenuous experiences may (or may not) lead to negative outcomes, specifically as they vary by gender. Because researchers have found gender differences in experiences with violence, suicidality, and substance abuse among LGBQ and SSB samples (e.g., Garofalo et al., 1999), it is especially important to utilize a gendered GST framework to understand these relationships. Finally, an intersectional GST approach, utilized in this study, more fully accounts for the gendered experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth because it examines gender, sexual orientation, and sexual behaviors as they relate to one another and how they multiplicatively affect victimization experiences and negative outcomes among LGBQ and SSB youth. We see our conceptualization of GST as an intersectional approach designed to emphasize gender, sexual orientation, and sexual behaviors and the interactions among these factors (see Figure 1).

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The Current Study

The purpose of this study is to use an intersectional GST approach to investigate the relationships between victimization and negative outcomes as they vary by gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior using a sample of LGBQ and SSB youth. Using data from statewide probability sample of Delaware LGBQ and SSB youth ($N = 539$) in grades 9 to 12, we utilize the intersectionality paradigm to conduct a partial test of GST by specifically examining the relationship between strain and negative outcomes. Although this is only a partial test of GST, the current study contributes to the future of feminist criminology by being among the first to apply a mainstream criminological theory to the marginalized experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth. Indeed, the key to the feminist approach of intersectionality is centering the experiences of historically marginalized groups (Devault, 1996). By using an intersectional GST approach that centers LGBQ and SSB youth and their unique lived experiences, we recognize a framework that examines how LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences are shaped not only by gender but also simultaneously by sexuality, sexual behavior, and other structural forms of oppression (Andersen & Collins, 2009; Collins, 2000; Harding, 1987). In addition, we provide a springboard for future research that is inclusive of the complexities involved in understanding different sexual identities and sexual behaviors.

Method

Data

The data used in this study come from the High School Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS-HS). The YRBS-HS uses a statewide probability sampling method and is distributed to all public high schools in the state of Delaware on a biannual basis. The YRBS-HS includes questions developed by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention and the Center for Drug and Alcohol Studies at the University of Delaware. Topics on the survey include personal safety, violence-related behaviors, dating relationships, mental health, alcohol, drug, and substance use, access to social support, and sexual health behaviors. A random sample of Delaware 9th-, 10th-, 11th-, and 12th-grade classrooms was selected for survey administration between January and May of 2003, 2005, and 2007. The data for this project utilize combined data from the 3 years of data collection. On average, less than 2% of students present on the day of survey administration declined to participate or had parents who refused student participation via passive consent.

Sample

The original sample included 8,430 participants. The current study uses only data from students who identify as LGBQ youth and straight-identified students who report SSB youth ($N = 539$). The number of cases from each year did not significantly vary ($\chi^2 = .894$, $p > .05$). Each survey year had similar gender ($\chi^2 = .161$, $p > .05$), race ($\chi^2 = 4.60$, $p > .05$),

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Table 1. Sample Characteristics with Chi-Square Analyses to Examine Gender Differences.

	Total, $N = 539$		Females, $n = 362$		Males, $n = 152$		
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	χ^2
LGBQ and SSB identity*							36.00
Lesbian/gay	98	18.2	52	14.4	44	28.9	
Bisexual	283	52.5	216	59.7	53	34.9	
Questioning	103	19.1	52	14.4	42	27.6	
Straight identified SSB	55	10.2	42	11.6	13	8.6	
Race							3.58
Black	112	20.8	82	22.7	28	18.4	
White	282	52.3	191	52.8	82	53.9	
Hispanic	61	11.3	44	12.2	15	9.9	
Other	84	15.6	45	12.4	27	17.8	
Age, *M* (*SD*)	15.97 (1.374)		15.96 (1.38)		16.04 (1.39)		3.85

Note. LGBQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
*$p < .05$.

and sexual orientation/behavior ($\chi^2 = 9.78$, $p > .05$) frequency distributions. There were also no significant differences between survey years for age ($F = .321$, $p > .05$).

More than half of the LGBQ adolescents in this sample identify as bisexual (52.5%), with fewer adolescents identifying as lesbian/gay (18.2%) and questioning (19.1%). About 1 in 10 do not identify as LGBQ, but engage in same-sex sexual contact (10.2%). Respondents' ages range from 12 to 18 years (*M* age = 15.97). More respondents identify as female (70.4%) than male (29.6%). Although more than half of respondents self-identify as White (52.3%), there is some racial diversity within the sample. One in 5 respondents identify as Black or African American (20.8%) and slightly more than 1 in 10 identify as Hispanic (11.3%). An additional 1 in 6 identify as another racial category (15.6%). See Table 1 for more details.

Dependent Variables

To measure *Poor Academic Performance*, participants were asked to describe their grades during the past 12 months, using the following categories: (a) mostly As, (b) mostly Bs, (c) mostly Cs, (d) mostly Ds, and (f) mostly Fs. Values ranged from 1 to 5 with higher numbers indicating poorer school performance (1 = mostly As to 5 = mostly Fs; $M = 2.49$, standard deviation [*SD*] = 1.10). *Poor Academic Performance* is defined as having below-average grades, including mostly Ds or mostly Fs. More than one in six respondents report poor academic performance (15.1%). Poor academic performance did not significantly vary by survey year ($F = 1.98$, $p > .05$).

Substance use is measured with three items. Respondents were asked to indicate the frequency in which they had at least one drink of alcohol (0 = 0 days to 6 = all 30 days;

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$M = 2.51$, $SD = 1.748$), engaged in binge drinking by having five or more drinks at one time (0 = 0 days to 6 = 20 or more days; $M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.800$), and/or used marijuana (0 = 0 times to 5 = 40 or more times; $M = 2.31$, $SD = 1.799$) during the past 30 days. These three items were added together to create the *Substance Use Scale* ($\alpha = .868$; range = 0-17 with higher numbers indicating more frequent substance use; $M = 4.03$, $SD = 4.748$). The majority of respondents report engaging in substance use (65.5%). Substance use did not significantly vary by survey year ($F = 2.87$, $p > .05$).

Suicidality was conceptualized as the degree to which individuals have thought about and/or acted on thoughts of suicide. Respondents were asked if, during the past year, they had (a) ever considered (0 = no, 1 = yes; mode = 0), (b) planned suicide (0 = no, 1 = yes; mode = 0), and (c) the number of attempts made ranging from 0 = 0 times to 5 = six or more times ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 1.803$). These three items were added together to create the *Suicidality Scale* ($\alpha = .653$; range = 0-6 with higher numbers indicating a greater degree of suicidality; $M = 1.43$, $SD = 1.803$). While less than half report actually considering suicide, and less than half report planning suicide, about half report experiences of at least one of the following: considering, planning, or attempting suicide during the past year (51.9%). Suicidality did not significantly vary by survey year ($F = 1.69$, $p > .05$).

Independent Variables

Victimization is measured with a five-item scale. Respondents were asked to indicate the number of days that they had ever missed school during the past month because they felt unsafe (0 = 0 days to 5 = 6 or more days; $M = 1.35$, $SD = 1.854$). Respondents were also asked the frequency during the past year that they had property stolen or damaged at school (0 = 0 times to 7 = 12 or more times; $M = 1.96$, $SD = 1.815$), been threatened or injured with a weapon at school (0 = 0 times to 7 = 12 or more times; $M = 1.71$, $SD = 1.854$), been in a physical fight at school (0 = 0 times to 7 = 12 or more times; $M = 1.71$, $SD = 1.702$), and been injured in a physical fight that had to be treated by a nurse or doctor (0 = 0 days to 5 = 6 or more days; $M = 1.32$, $SD = 0.947$). These five items were added together to create the *Victimization Scale* ($\alpha = .891$; range = 0-29 with higher numbers indicating a greater frequency of victimization; $M = 2.98$, $SD = 6.240$). About half of respondents report experiencing victimization (51.9%). Victimization did not significantly vary by survey year ($F = .853$, $p > .05$).

LGBQ identity was measured by asking respondents to indicate the sexual identity that best described them, using the following categories: (a) heterosexual (straight), (b) homosexual (gay or lesbian), (c) bisexual, or (d) not sure. We coded those responding with "not sure" as "questioning" for the purposes of this study.

SSB was measured by asking respondents to indicate who they had sexual intercourse with during their lifetime with the following categories: (a) I have never had sexual intercourse, (b) females, (c) males, or (d) males and females. A respondent was coded as "SSB" if he or she identified as heterosexual and indicated sexual behavior with those of the same sex or both sexes (i.e., "males and females"). Youth who identified as heterosexual and reported only opposite-sex sexual behavior were excluded from this study.

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Table 2. *t* Tests for Differences by Gender.

	Total sample, $N = 539$	Females, $n = 362$	Males, $n = 152$	
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*t*
Victimization scale ($\alpha = .891$)*	2.98 (6.24)	2.39 (5.46)	4.46 (7.68)	−2.98
Negative outcomes				.220
Poor academic performance	2.49 (1.10)	2.51 (1.07)	2.48 (1.16)	
Substance use scale ($\alpha = .868$)	4.03 (4.75)	3.86 (4.49)	4.47 (5.37)	−1.20
Suicidality Scale ($\alpha = .653$)	1.43 (1.80)	1.46 (1.75)	1.39 (1.95)	.409

*$p < .05$.

Race was measured by asking respondents to indicate their racial identity with the following categories: (a) American Indian, (b) Asian, (c) Black or African American, (d) White. Respondents were also asked if they identified as Hispanic or Latino. Respondents were coded as "Hispanic" if they identified as Hispanic, regardless of their racial identity. If respondents identified as non-Hispanic, they were categorized by their race. The final race/ethnicity variables included the following categories: (a) Black or African American, non-Hispanic, (b) White, non-Hispanic, (c) Other race, non-Hispanic, and (d) Hispanic, of any race. Age was measured by asking the respondent to indicate how old they were with the following categories: (a) 12 years old or younger, (b) 13 years old, (c) 14 years old, (d) 15 years old, (e) 16 years old, (f) 17 years old, or (g) 18 years old or older.

Method of Analysis

To examine gender differences among LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences with victimization and negative outcomes, three methods were used. First, we examine sample characteristics with chi-square analyses (Table 1). Second, in Table 2, we use *t* tests to determine whether significant differences between male and female LGBQ youth exist in rates of victimization and negative outcomes. Third, in Tables 3 and 4, we determine whether significant differences exist between LGBQ and SSB youth in rates of victimization and negative outcomes using ANOVA. Fourth, we examine the effects of victimization and gender on negative outcomes for LGBQ and SSB youth using ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions. In Table 5, Model 1 includes the *Victimization Scale* and controls. Model 2 includes the addition of the interaction effect of the *Victimization Scale* and male, along with controls. Finally, Table 6 explores the effects of gender, sexual identity, and sexual behavior on the relationship between victimization and negative outcomes. In Table 6, Model 1 includes the *Victimization Scale*, sexual identity (bisexuals are the reference category), sexual behavior, and controls. Model 2 includes the addition of the interaction effects of the *Victimization Scale* and sexual identity and behavior, along with controls.

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Table 3. ANOVA Results for Differences by LGBQ and SSB Identity (N = 539).

	Lesbian/gay, n = 96	Bisexual, n = 269	Questioning, n = 94	SSB, n = 55
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Victimization scale[a] (α = .891)	4.70 (8.53)	2.27 (4.98)	3.85 (7.18)	1.88 (4.20)
Lesbian/gay	—	—	—	—
Bisexual	*	—	—	—
Questioning			—	—
SSB				—
Negative outcomes				
Poor academic performance[b]	2.59 (1.09)	2.60 (1.10)	2.23 (1.07)	2.25 (1.10)
Lesbian/gay	—	—	—	—
Bisexual		—	—	—
Questioning			—	—
SSB				—
Substance use scale[c] (α = .868)	4.18 (5.45)	4.17 (4.44)	3.24 (4.96)	4.55 (4.58)
Suicidality scale[d] (α = .653)	1.49 (2.07)	1.49 (1.73)	1.47 (1.85)	0.98 (1.53)

Note. LGBQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
[a]F = 4.96, df = (3, 526), p < .05.
[b]F = 3.49, df = (3, 472), p < .05.
[c]F = 1.26, df = (3, 517), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
[d]F = 1.18, df = (3, 507), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
*Scheffe post hoc test, p < .05.

Results

In Table 1, results from chi-square analyses show that males are significantly more likely to identify as homosexual or questioning whereas females are more likely to identify as bisexual or report SSB. In Table 2, t tests show that victimization is greater among males (M = 4.46), compared with females (M = 2.39), but no other gender differences exist when examining negative outcomes. That is, although males experience more victimization (t = −2.98, p < .05), males and females are equally likely to report poor academic performance (t = 2.20, p > .05), substance use (t = −1.20, p > .05), and suicidality (t = .409, p > .05).

When examining the experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth by LGBQ and SSB identity, few differences emerge in the ANOVAs. The data in Table 3 show that lesbian and gay youth (M = 4.70) are more vulnerable to victimization compared with bisexual youth (M = 2.27, F = 4.96, p < .05). However, when more closely examining the data by gender, findings suggest that differences exist primarily among female youth. Indeed, Table 4 shows that lesbians (M = 5.40) are significantly more likely to experience victimization compared with bisexual (M = 1.86), questioning (M = 2.44), or SSB (M = 1.23) females (F = 6.87, p < .05). When examining victimization experiences for gay, bisexual, questioning (GBQ) and SSB males, no differences emerge (F = .278,

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Table 4. Female Only ANOVA Results for Differences by LBQ and SSB Identity (n = 362).

	Lesbian, n = 52	Bisexual, n = 216	Questioning, n = 52	SSB, n = 42
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Victimization scale[a] (α = .891)	5.40 (9.60)	1.86 (4.21)	2.44 (5.26)	1.23 (2.11)
Lesbian	—	—	—	—
Bisexual	*	—	—	—
Questioning	*		—	—
SSB	*			—
Negative outcomes				
Poor academic performance[b]	2.64 (1.03)	2.60 (1.06)	2.32 (1.11)	2.05 (1.00)
Lesbian	—	—	—	—
Bisexual		—	—	—
Questioning			—	—
SSB		*		—
Substance use scale[c] (α = .868)	4.76 (5.68)	3.95 (4.20)	2.22 (4.17)	4.30 (4.27)
Lesbian	—	—	—	—
Bisexual		—	—	—
Questioning	*		—	—
SSB				—
Suicidality scale[d] (α = .653)	1.56 (2.20)	1.48 (1.69)	1.59 (1.75)	1.05 (1.49)

Note. LBQ = lesbian, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
[a]F = 6.87, df = (3, 355), p < .05.
[b]F = 3.55, df = (3, 324), p < .05.
[c]F = 3.19, df = (3, 350), p < .05.
[d]F = 0.810, df = (3, 342), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
*Scheffe post hoc test, p < .05.

Table 5. Male Only ANOVA Results for Differences by LBQ and SSB Identity (n = 152).

	Gay, n = 43	Bisexual, n = 51	Questioning, n = 42	SSB, n = 11
	M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)
Victimization scale[a] (α = .891)	4.07 (7.24)	4.14 (7.49)	5.38 (8.54)	4.00 (7.64)
Negative outcomes				
Poor academic performance[b]	2.55 (1.18)	2.56 (1.20)	2.17 (1.04)	2.83 (1.19)
Substance use scale[c] (α = .868)	3.62 (5.20)	5.12 (5.16)	4.22 (5.73)	5.45 (5.72)
Suicidality scale[d] (α = .653)	1.45 (1.95)	1.63 (2.01)	1.21 (1.95)	0.77 (1.69)

Note. LBQ = lesbian, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
[a]F = 2.78, df = (3, 144), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
[b]F = 1.34, df = (3, 131), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
[c]F = 0.725, df = (3, 138), p > .05; the model is non-significant.
[d]F = 0.821, df = (3, 342), p > .05; the model is non-significant.

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Table 6. Regression Models Estimating the Effects of Victimization on Poor Academic Performance, Substance Use, and Suicidality Among LGBQ and SSB Youth (N = 539).[a]

	Poor academic performance		Substance use		Suicidality	
	Model 1[b]	Model 2[c]	Model 1[d]	Model 2[e]	Model 1[f]	Model 2[g]
	β	β	β	β	β	β
Victimization scale	.116*	.281*	.575*	.585*	.612*	.639*
Victimization scale × Male		−.244*		−.015		.041
Background controls						
Male	−.041	.034	−.035	−.030	−.105*	−.091*
Age	−.076	−.061	−.020	−.019	−.053	−.050
Black	.061	.045	−.139*	−.140*	−.128*	−.130*
Hispanic	.104*	.089	−.001	−.002	−.019	−.021
Other Race	.073	.054	−.021	−.022	−.080*	−.084*
R^2	.039	.062	.360	.360	.395	.395

Note. LGBQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
[a]Standardized betas are presented.
[b]$F = 3.04$, $df = 459$, $p < .05$.
[c]$F = 4.25$, $df = 459$, $p < .05$.
[d]$F = 45.26$, $df = 489$, $p < .05$.
[e]$F = 38.73$, $df = 489$, $p < .05$.
[f]$F = 52.02$, $df = 485$, $p < .05$.
[g]$F = 44.63$, $df = 485$, $p < .05$.
*$p < .05$.

$p > .05$). Whether male youth identify as gay ($M = 4.07$), bisexual ($M = 4.14$), questioning ($M = 5.38$), or SSB ($M = 4.0$), they are equally likely to experience victimization.

Although there is a variation in victimization experiences among LGBQ and SSB females, few differences in negative outcomes exist among LGBQ and SSB youth. When examining both males and females, the data suggest that all LGBQ and SSB youth, regardless of identity, are equally likely to report poor academic performance ($F = 3.49$, $p < .05$), substance use ($F = 1.26$, $p > .05$), and/or suicidality ($F = 1.18$, $p > .05$). However, when examining males and females separately, the data in Table 4 show that bisexual females ($M = 2.60$) are more likely to report poor academic performance compared with SSB females ($M = 2.05$, $F = 3.55$, $p < .05$) and lesbians ($M = 4.76$) are more likely to report substance use compared with females who are uncertain of their sexual identity ($M = 2.22$, $F = 3.19$, $p < .05$). No differences exist in suicidality for lesbian ($M = 1.56$), bisexual ($M = 1.48$), questioning ($M = 1.59$), and SSB females ($M = 1.05$, $F = .810$, $p > .05$), and no differences exist in any of the negative outcomes among GBQ and SSB males (see Table 5).

Table 6 presents the interactive effects of victimization and gender on negative outcomes for LGBQ and SSB youth. The data shown here suggest that the main effect

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of victimization significantly increases the risk of poor academic performance, substance use, and suicidality. Regarding the interaction term created with victimization and male, the data show inconsistent patterns. Although the effect of victimization on poor academic performance is greater for lesbian, bisexual, questioning (LBQ) and SSB females than it is for GBQ and SSB males, the impact of victimization on substance use and suicidality does not vary by gender, although females are more likely to report suicidality compared with males, as represented in the controls. LGBQ and SSB youth who are victimized, whether they are male or female, are similarly affected by victimization when it comes to substance use and suicidality, as represented in the interaction term. Among the controls, age is not significant in any model while racial/ethnic identity shows some significant findings. Hispanic youth are more likely to report poor academic performance compared with White youth. Black youth and youth who identify as another race are less likely to report suicidality compared with White youth.

Table 7 presents the interactive effects of victimization and LGBQ identity and SSB on negative outcomes. The data suggest that the main effect of victimization consistently predicts an increase in negative outcomes for LGBQ and SSB youth. That is, those who experience victimization are more likely to experience poor academic outcomes, use substances, and consider, plan, and/or attempt suicide. However, the interactive effects of victimization and sexual identity and sexual behavior are inconsistent. Questioning youth are less likely to experience poor academic performance compared with bisexual youth, but no other differences exist for poor academic performance, substance use, or suicidality. These results are consistent across male- and female-only models. In male- and female-only models, the main effect of victimization is significant, but no interaction terms have a significant effect on any of the outcome measures (data not shown). Among the controls, females are more likely to report suicidality, younger youth are significantly less likely to report substance use, and Black youth are significantly less likely to report substance use and suicidality, while youth who identify as another race are significantly more likely to report poor academic performance.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the continued development of feminist criminology through using an intersectional GST approach to more fully understand LGBQ and SSB youths' experiences. We examined how sexual identity, sexual behavior, and gender intersect by exploring victimization experiences and negative outcomes among LGBQ and SSB youth. The results of this study suggest that GBQ and SSB males are more likely to experience victimization compared with LBQ and SSB females. This is consistent with previous research (Herek, 2002; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Schope & Eliason, 2004) and lends support to theoretical scholarship (Kimmel, 1994; Lock, 2002; Pascoe, 2007; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

There may also be qualitatively different ways in which LGBQ and SSB young men and women experience victimization. For example, post hoc analyses from the

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Table 7. Regression Models Estimating the Effects of Victimization on Poor Academic Performance, Substance Use, and Suicidality Among LGBQ and SSB Youth (N = 539).[a]

	Poor academic performance		Substance use		Suicidality	
	Model 1[b]	Model 2[c]	Model 1[d]	Model 2[e]	Model 1[f]	Model 2[g]
	β	β	β	β	β	β
Victimization scale	.071	.341*	.535*	.568*	.644*	.697*
LGBQ[h] and SSB identity						
Lesbian/gay	−.003	.003	−.056	−.056	−.064	−.075
Questioning	−.098	−.037	−.038	−.059	−.046	−.003
SSB	−.136*	−.139*	−.001	.006	−.065	−.058
Interaction effects						
Victimization × Male		−.268*		−.070		−.029
Victimization × Lesbian/gay		−.060		−.007		.005
Victimization × Questioning		−.157*		.038		−.087
Victimization × SSB		.027		−.016		−.014
Background controls						
Male	−.022	.056	−.008	.019	−.103*	−.091
Age	−.067	−.063	−.089*	−.085	−.068	−.066
Black	.049	.026	−.157*	−.163*	−.094*	−.094*
Hispanic	.097	.074	−.026	−.030	.004	.002
Other Race	.120*	.094	.026	−.030	−.036	−.044
R^2	.057	.097	.347	.349	.439	.445

Note. LGBQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, questioning; SSB = same-sex sexual behavior.
[a]Standardized betas are presented.
[b]F = 2.29, df = 353, p < .05.
[c]F = 2.81, df = 353, p < .05.
[d]F = 21.11, df = 367, p < .05.
[e]F = 14.62, df = 367, p < .05.
[f]F = 31.10, df = 366, p < .05.
[g]F = 21.74, df = 366, p < .05.
[h]Bisexuals are the reference category.
*p < .05.

current study suggest that while males and females are equally as likely to experience property damage, need treatment after fights, and get into fights, males are significantly more likely to skip school because they feel afraid, and they are also significantly more likely to be threatened or injured with a weapon (results not shown). This suggests that GBQ and SSB young men may be experiencing significantly higher levels of what we refer to as "threatening" victimization. "Threatening" victimization may consist of intimidation tactics that include threats of continued, increased, or more severe harassment and violence. We suspect that GBQ and SSB male youth are most likely experiencing this type of victimization from other young men who are

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acting as "gender" police by devaluing or denigrating gendered behavior that they see as atypical and/or non-normative (Pascoe, 2007). Because GBQ and SSB young men may directly (or indirectly) challenge hegemonic masculinity, this may make them especially vulnerable to "threatening" victimization by other young men who wish to assert hegemonic masculinity by denigrating performances of masculinity deemed inadequate (Anderson, 2005; Connell, 1995; Pascoe, 2007; Willis, 2004). To cope with this, GBQ and SSB young men may choose to skip school rather than show fear in front of their peers. In this way, these young men may value "saving face" and may see skipping school as a viable option for dealing with the "threatening" victimization they are experiencing. In contrast, LBQ and SSB young women may face less "threatening" victimization because they may be more likely to be victimized by other girls who may be less inclined to threaten weapon violence and more inclined to engage in social alienation behaviors such as spreading rumors (Artz, 1998; Underwood, 2003).

It should be noted, though, that the difference in victimization, although significant, between male and female LGBQ and SSB youth is relatively small. This suggests that just as GBQ and SSB males who challenge gender and sexuality norms are held accountable for their deviation, so too are LBQ and SSB females (e.g., Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Skidmore et al., 2006). In essence, both young men and women "are stigmatized for their sexual behavior and gender norm violation" and both young men and women are held accountable, although perhaps not equally so (Willis, 2004, p. 125).

Another interesting finding related to differences among LGBQ identities is also important to discuss. Lesbian youth in this study were more likely to experience victimization compared with bisexual, questioning, or SSB females (see Table 3) and there may be systematic reasons why lesbians may be more vulnerable to victimization when compared with other female sexual minorities. Messerschmidt's (1993) work with structured agency shows that agentic choices, such as identifying as homosexual or bisexual, are constrained by multiple sources of structural oppression. Indeed, young women may be socially rewarded for identifying as bisexual while young men are devalued if they embody anything other than heteromasculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kimmel, 1994; Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Females who identify as bisexual may be seen as "sexually available" to men, and thus may not challenge the normative definitions of femininity as much as females who identify solely as homosexual (Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Identifying as bisexual, rather than as lesbian, may offer LGBQ females social protection.

In contrast, the males in this study, whether they identify as gay, bisexual, questioning, or SSB, are equally likely to experience victimization. For males, there is little social benefit to identifying as bisexual, questioning, or as SSB. Males who are romantically interested in same-sex sexual partners, whether they are sexually active, challenge hegemonic masculinity, and thus are vulnerable regardless if they identify as gay, bisexual, or questioning (Haltom & Worthen, in press). Thus, caution is needed when interpreting any results that examine LGBQ identities because the decision to identify as LGBQ is a part of a set of larger social experiences that may also shape (and be shaped by) victimization.

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The larger patterns in the data suggest that male and female LGBQ and SSB youth are similarly affected by victimization. Although the effect of victimization on poor academic performance is greater for LBQ and SSB females than it is for GBQ and SSB males, the impact of victimization on substance use and suicidality does not vary by gender, as illustrated by the interaction effects. Thus, the current study offers a particularly important finding: *Victimization experiences are significantly related to negative outcomes for LGBQ and SSB youth.* Although we only offer a partial test of GST, such results provide empirical support for the use of an intersectional GST for understanding LGBQ and SSB youth's experiences and offer a framework to continue to push the future of feminist criminological theory toward intersectionality.

In addition, the current findings support past research (Agnew, 2002) by suggesting that victimization experiences (rather than gender) are strongly related to negative outcomes, like substance use (Espelage et al., 2008) and suicidality (Hammelman, 1993; Hunter, 1990). Regardless of one's gender, if an individual is victimized, there is a greater risk of experiencing negative outcomes and this may be especially true for LGBQ and SSB youth. We do not suggest, however, that gender is not important; rather, we suggest that victimization experiences may be especially significant as they relate to negative outcomes. As noted in the literature review above, both male and female LGBQ and SSB youth report higher rates of victimization compared with their heterosexual counterparts (Cniro et al., 2005; D'Augelli et al., 2006; Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Freedner et al., 2002; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010). Although the current study shows that male GBQ and SSB youth may experience significantly higher levels of victimization than female LBQ and SSB youth, both genders likely experience high rates of victimization because of their non-normative gender and sexual identities (Connell, 1992; D'Augelli et al., 2006).

Turning to differences between LGBQ and SSB youth, the analyses on differences in negative outcomes between LGBQ and SSB youth are similar to the analyses on differences in negative outcomes by gender. The data suggest that the effects of victimization on negative outcomes are similar for LGBQ and SSB youth. Such findings continue to indicate that outcomes of strain have less to do with specific identities and more to do with victimization experiences. Thus, we find that all groups of LGBQ and SSB youth are vulnerable to victimization and this may be because of their non-normative sexual identity or behaviors. As such, in line with GST, all are similarly likely to experience victimization and consequently all experience the subsequent negative outcomes at similar rates.

Even though our results suggest a somewhat "universal" pattern of negative outcomes as related to victimization experiences among all LGBQ and SSB youth, there may be important nuances to uncover. For example, the current study's framework suggests that victimization and negative outcome *frequency differences* exist by gender and identity/behavior. While we find only modest support for this idea, there may be important gender and identity/behavior differences in the ways that LGBQ and SSB *experience* victimization and negative outcomes. Put another way, it is not the *frequency* that differs, but rather it is likely that *qualitative differences* in the experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth exist by gender and identity/behavior. Such differences may

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be more in line with the theoretical diagram we offer in Figure 1. Research on the qualitative differences between male and female LGBQ and SSB youth may be especially important for both future studies of LGBQ and SSB experiences, as well as programming implications for those who work to improve the lives of LGBQ and SSB youth.

Overall, the current study offers two important contributions to the literature. First, results show that all LGBQ and SSB youth, regardless of gender, sexual identity, and/or sexual behavior, are at risk of victimization and negative outcomes. Such findings lend support to the growing body of literature on GST that connects victimization to criminal, deviant, or negative outcomes (Agnew, 2002; Robbers, 2004). Thus, both criminological theorists and service providers should take into account the unique needs of LGBQ and SSB youth to best understand their experiences. As a result, an intersectional approach may be especially pertinent to such investigations. Second (and related), the current study's findings provide strong support for the inclusion of SSB youth in studies that examine experiences with victimization and negative outcomes. This is particularly significant because as noted in the literature review, few studies specifically examine SSB youth. Without the inclusion of SSB youth in such work, their experiences may be entirely misunderstood. Thus, the current study expands upon prior research by examining measures of both identity and behavior to investigate the experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth rather than relying solely on identity labels (Savin-Williams, 2001).

Limitations and Future Research

While the findings from the current study are informative, a few limitations are worth noting. First, the current study is limited by the sample, which was derived from a statewide (Delaware) probability sample of public high school students. Thus, results might not be generalizable to youth who are not enrolled in high school. Given that LGBQ youth more frequently miss school due to feeling unsafe (Faulkner & Cranston, 1998; Wisconsin YRBS, 2007), it is possible that many were absent during survey administration. Future research might use sampling of LGBQ youth who attend alternative schools, who have been pushed out of school, or homeless youth samples to better investigate these relationships.

Second, the measurement of LGBQ identity may be limited. Students were offered only four response options for sexual identity—heterosexual (straight), homosexual (gay or lesbian), bisexual, or not sure. As Savin-Williams (2001) notes, many youth do not feel that these descriptions resonate with their experiences or their identities. Thus, these four response options may be inadequate measures of youth's sexual identities and we have no measures of gender identities (i.e., masculine, femininity, etc.). Thus, future work might incorporate more response options for sexual identities or offer fill-in response options to better capture youth's sexual identities.

Third, there may also be limitations with the measurement we used related to SSB. This measure, by definition, parcels out a sexually active subsample. This means that the SSB and LGBQ subsamples in the current study are qualitatively different from

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each other because SSB youth are, by definition, sexually active while not all LGBQ youth in our sample are sexually active (24% of the youth who identify as LGBQ are not sexually active). As many studies indicate, youth involvement in sexual activity may be related to negative outcomes (Gillmore, Butler, Lohr, & Gilchrist, 1992; Luster & Small, 1994). Even so, we suggest that youth involved in SSB may have unique experiences that deserve investigation. Future studies might investigate the multiple intersections between sexual identities (straight and LGBQ) and sexual behaviors (same sex, opposite sex, or both sexes) to best capture these experiences as they may (or may not) relate to victimization and negative outcomes. Furthermore, additional measures that capture gender identities (i.e., masculine, feminine, etc.) would be especially informative given that previous research that has found that effeminate gay males and masculine lesbians may be especially likely to experience negativity (Geiger et al., 2006; Lock, 2002; Taywaditep, 2001).

Fourth, although the current study included age as a control variable, there might be important ways in which adolescent development varies over the stages of adolescence. In addition, the current study's findings demonstrated some significant findings related to racial/ethnic identity. Considering the importance of age and racial/ethnic identities in past intersectional frameworks (e.g., Collins, 2000), future studies might incorporate a more nuanced exploration of psychosocial development and maturity across stages of adolescence (Greenberger, 1984) as well as investigations of racial/ethnic differences.

Fifth, there may also be limitations with the measures of victimization, poor academic performance, substance use, and suicidality used in the current study. In particular, the quantitative operationalization of these variables may be limited and may not adequately capture the complexities of youth experiences with victimization and negative outcomes.

Finally, although the current study put forth an intersectional approach to GST, it is important to note that this study only offers a partial test of GST. Thus, further investigations that capture additional elements of GST would be informative. The role of social support, for example, has been suggested as a moderating factor in GST (Bao, Haas, & Pi, 2004; Haden & Scarpa, 2008; Kort-Butler, 2010; Robbers, 2004; Scarpa & Haden, 2006) and has been documented to influence the relationship between victimization and negative outcomes among LGBQ youth (Espelage et al., 2008; Holt & Espelage, 2007; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2005; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010). GST researchers also suggest the importance of understanding the roles of anger (e.g., Sharp et al., 2001) and depression (Hoffman & Su, 1997). Given that affective states are gendered (Broidy & Agnew, 1997; Mirowsky & Ross, 1995), it would be interesting to explore patterns of negative affect in groups who may present gender atypicality to determine whether the influence of affect on negative outcomes holds for LGBQ and SSB youth (Aseltine, Gore, & Gordon, 2000; Brezina, 2010; Broidy, 2001; Ganem, 2010; Mazerolle, Burton, Cullen, Evans, & Payne, 2000). Furthermore, given that so many LGBQ and SSB youth report general negative emotional states (Almeida et al., 2009; Teasdale & Bradley-Engen, 2010;, exploring this aspect of GST would certainly be useful in shedding additional light on the experiences of LGBQ and SSB

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youth. In all, future studies might further use the intersectional GST approach and incorporate measures of social support, depression, and anger to better account for variation in victimization and negative outcomes among LGBQ and SSB youth.

Overall, the current study's findings suggest a very real need for qualitative research to uncover how LGBQ and SSB youth experiences may differ and why such differences (or similarities) may exist. A qualitative approach may be able to better highlight youths' authority over their own sexual identities and may offer conceptualizations of how sexuality can be fluid (Diamond, 2009). Such studies may allow for deeper and more nuanced understandings that can complement the current study's findings. With both quantitative and qualitative studies that highlight the unique experiences of LGBQ and SSB youth, both criminological theorists and service providers can provide support to improve the lives of LGBQ and SSB youth.

Concluding Remarks: Intersectionality and the Future of Feminist Criminology

In 2014, the American Society of Criminology's Division of Women and Crime celebrates its 30th anniversary, and similar to the arguments put forth in the 2006 inaugural edition of *Feminist Criminology*, the importance of intersectionality remains firm. The current study's intersectional approach to GST utilizing a sample of LGBQ and SSB youth speaks to the current and recent dialogue of feminist criminologists while also providing a critical advancement to the future of feminist criminology. Furthermore, through our discussion of LGBQ and SSB youth, this study also calls for "queering criminology" (Groombridge, 1999, p. 532). A queer criminology problematizes "the very straight, White, criminology . . . and acknowledge[s] issues of sexuality" (Groombridge, 1999, p. 533). In this way, an intersectional and queer approach to criminology can both contextualize and deconstruct the experiences of straight, LGBQ, and SSB youth while also highlighting the complexities inherent in intersectional identities. The future of feminist criminology is dependent on a critical approach to both intersectional and queer dialogues.

Authors' Note

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Notes

1. According to the automated Google Scholar Citations count at the time of writing the current study (March 2014), this manuscript has been cited 109 times: http://scholar.google.com/citations?user=9hR91HsAAAAJ&hl=en&oi=sra
2. The Division of Women and Crime is the unit of the American Society of Criminology whose members are dedicated to feminist criminology and to the study of issues related to women, gender, and crime. The journal, *Feminist Criminology*, is the official publication of the Division of Women and Crime.

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Author Biographies

Deeanna M. Button received her PhD in criminology at the University of Delaware in 2012. She is an assistant professor at The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey. Her research

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focuses on how experiences of violence and victimization are shaped by systems of inequality. Her primary area of interest focuses on victimization experienced by LGBTQ youth and how these youth navigate their experiences.

Meredith G. F. Worthen received her PhD in sociology from the University of Texas at Austin and is an associate professor of sociology and elected faculty member of the Women's and Gender Studies Program at the University of Oklahoma. She is interested in the sociological constructions of deviance and stigma, adolescent sexuality, LGBTQ identities, feminist criminology, and gender differences in adolescent delinquency. Her recent publications have appeared in the *Journal of LGBT Youth, Deviant Behavior*, and *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*.

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