

# The Efficacy of Peer-led Sexual Assault Preventative Education at Washington and Lee University: Variation in Explicit and Implicit Attitudes

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Sexual assault has become ubiquitous with college life for many women and men in the United States. As a student at Washington and Lee University, I am faced each year with more than a half-dozen awareness campaigns that highlight the high rates of sexual assault and rape on this campus.

I also have a more personal interest in sexual assault, specifically as it relates to peer education – I am the Vice President of SPEAK, a women’s group that seeks to

educate women about the realities of sexual assault on our campus and to serve as an empowering resource for survivors. SPEAK is responsible for educating first-year women about sexual assault prevention and response as well as other educational and promotional programs that occur throughout the year. While taking part in these programs as an educator, as well as having attended them as a first year, I found myself wondering if these programs actually succeed in changing attitudes about the realities of sexual assault and rape. For this reason, I find myself searching for an answer in this thesis, wondering if the effort put in by myself and other students on campus is worth our time, or if students on campus would be better served by another approach.

### **Objective**

This research examines the relative efficacy of peer-led sexual assault awareness training. Efficacy in this case is established by the measurement of a change in attitudes among the first-year students who attended the programming (i.e. efficacy is not determined by the achievement of a threshold of desirable attitudes, but rather the ability to affect student perceptions). The attitudes measured relate to rape-supportive beliefs, comprised of gender stereotypes and rape “myths”.<sup>1</sup> In addition, efficacy is also established through an increase in student understanding of the definition of consent and coercion.

As part of their orientation to Washington and Lee, first-year students are required to attend a number of educational programs throughout the first term.

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<sup>1</sup> Rape “myths” as a concept are defined in subsequent chapters; loosely they may be understood as beliefs about rape that are contrary to empirical evidence or to legally sanctioned definitions.

These programs address common personal issues that students may face as they adjust to college; in 2011, extended orientation included programs and lectures on sexual assault, mental health and depression, and alcohol use. This research focuses exclusively on the mandated sexual assault programming.

First-year men and women attend different programs (each with unique content), run by separate student groups. This extended-orientation program is thus understood as peer-education, though mandated by the administration. The purpose of this thesis is to measure the short and long-term attitudinal changes potentially produced by these education programs. Students were asked to participate in three surveys: one conducted the week before educational programming, another approximately one to two weeks after programming, and a third at the beginning of the next semester (approximately three months after programming).

In conjunction with the empirical efforts of this project, it is also critical to examine social constructionist theory and the development of perceived objective reality. Acceptance, or internalization, of rape-supportive attitudes is part of the socialization to a constructed reality; thus it is important to understand the formation of intersubjectivity, whereby individuals who share perspectives thoroughly experience these perceptions as objective truths that have meanings independent of their the individual's own knowing. This deconstruction of intersubjectivity is critical so that it becomes possible to see the cultural underpinnings of beliefs relating to sexual assault and rape. As part of this analysis,

it is also be critical to address past and current research in sexual assault education and prevention efforts.

Through an analysis of both empirical and theoretical works, a comprehensive definition and determination of efficacy can be made. While the empirical work is specific to Washington and Lee's community, it is nevertheless valuable both for this campus and for the examination of sexual assault education as a whole. A change in macro-level attitudes suggests that students will be more empathetic toward victims and less tolerant of perpetrators, thus creating a community in which reporting of incidents and judicial action increases. Ultimately, an increase in judicial action is the best way to effectively protect women from continued victimization.

### **An Introduction to Washington and Lee and Sexual Assault**

This study takes place in a small liberal arts college in southwestern Virginia, Washington and Lee University. The student body is largely homogenous; most students are white (84.4%, Washington and Lee University 2011: 12), from an upper-middle and upper-class background, and Christian. There is at least one student from most states (Washington and Lee University: 13), and a notable number of international students (6.8% in 2010, Washington and Lee University:12). However, the majority of students are from the mid-Atlantic and Southern regions of the United States (25% and 41% of the student population, respectively, Washington and Lee University: 13), resulting in a rather geographically unified population.

Each class of students is approximately 462 (based on the average class size enrolled over five years, Washington and Lee University: 5); the first year class of 2011 (graduating class 2015) is the largest ever at 496. In addition to approximately 1800 undergraduate students, the associated school of law has approximately 400 students.

The social scene on campus is dominated by Greek life – there are fourteen active fraternities in 2011 and six active sororities. The student body is approximately 80% Greek-affiliated, though it has been more so in the past. Fraternities are a significant part of Lexington’s history – three fraternities were founded in the small town (two of which, Kappa Alpha Order and Sigma Nu, have active chapters on campus). Unlike many schools, freshmen do not join Greek organizations until the second semester. Washington and Lee is a Division III school, though athletes do retain some social prestige.

Washington and Lee University is a self-proclaimed community of trust. The university has a student-run government that enforces a time-honored tradition: the honor system. Loosely phrased, students will not lie, cheat, or steal and are required to pledge every piece of graded work with “On my honor, I have neither given nor received any unacknowledged aid on this exam.” On the whole, this system works well in the academic realm – students respect the honor system and trust in the Executive Committee to arbitrate alleged abuses. However, this community of trust also has a notable problem with sexual assault on its campus.

In a community with about 1800 undergraduate students, there are no fewer than three student groups dedicated exclusively to one aspect or another of sexual

assault awareness, education, prevention, and advocacy. Several other groups have incorporated sexual assault into their programming through the hiring of speakers, etc. Unfortunately, the formation of these groups is not an exaggerated response to a relatively minor issue. Washington and Lee's rates of sexual assault and rape have at one time or another been twice the national average, according to National College Health Assessment data (NCHA – for the most current statistics, see below).

This striking elevated risk sparked student and institutional interest, resulting in the first student organization targeting sexual assault education and prevention the following academic year (which began in fall 2005). In addition, based on the data, it is clear that these assaults (defined in the instrument as rape and attempted rape) are happening to students while at Washington and Lee, and often on campus, either in residence halls or Greek housing; 86% of women who reported these experiences in 2007 and 99% in 2009 indicated that they took place either on campus or at an off campus residence. This is a problem particular to our community, not confounded by incidents that are happening at other locations.

There have been slight decreases in the proportion of students that have reported experiencing sexual assault and attempted rape each year since the NCHA Survey in 2004. However, more students are reporting experiencing sexual penetration against their will, particularly as reported on the Core Survey (conducted by the University on off years of the NCHA survey).

The most recent data come from the 2010 NCHA survey. For contextual purposes, the national level data are presented as a range of percentages determined by the 2004, 2006, and 2008 NCHA surveys. National average data are

not yet available for the 2010 results. However, given the relatively narrow ranges and stable values of the national data, the reported values should provide valuable reference points.

	Men - at W&L	Men - National Range 2004-2008	Women - at W&L	Women - National Range 2004- 2008	Total - at W&L	Total - National Range 2004-2008
<b>Sexual Battery</b>	5.2%	3.8 - 4.7%	19.3%	10.2- 11.9%	15.3%	8.0-9.2%
<b>Attempted Rape</b>	0.0%	0.9 - 1.1%	7.6%	3.7- 4.1%	5.5%	2.7-3.0%
<b>Rape</b>	0.0%	0.7-0.8%	4.2%	1.9- 2.0%	3.2%	1.5-1.6%

Clearly, Washington and Lee’s women are experiencing these situations at a rate notably higher than the average college woman in the United States. For this reason, peer-education programs are especially critical for creating a supportive environment for survivors. Through education, education programs not only aim to make students more aware of the threats they face (and through consciousness-raising, decrease the likelihood that threats will become true experiences), but also to make them more aware of the experiences of their peers, and thus more understanding and empathetic.

### **First-Year Extended Orientation**

As mentioned above, part of mandatory orientation programs at Washington and Lee extend beyond students’ first week on campus. Persistent challenges, such as alcohol use, mental health, and sexual assault, are presented at later points in the term.



Sexual assault awareness programming, the focus of this study, is conducted in multiple sessions throughout a five-day period. Men and women attend different programs facilitated by members of their same sex. First-years attend these programs with the other members of their residence halls, however some students may have time commitment conflicts (such as an athletic practice or required lecture for class) and are permitted to attend another program that suits their schedule.

Due to the multiple sessions, there is certainly some variation in the programming as presented by facilitators. Certain facilitators may work better with one group of students than another. In addition, women's facilitators have a less rigid script than is required by the men's program and thus can tailor their presentation in such a way as to encourage discussion. This creates an immeasurable but important variance in the experience of first-years that may alter their retention of material and longevity of attitudinal changes.

One in Four and SPEAK are student-run groups that are responsible for the execution and content of the extended orientation programming studied in this endeavor. The development of these groups, their inception at Washington and Lee, and the details of the sexual assault programs they conduct are discussed in detail below.

### ***SPEAK and Women's Program Content***

SPEAK was developed in 2006 under the guidance of Dr. Jennifer Sayre, who was a practicing clinician at Washington and Lee University; the group was a response to the introduction of One in Four the prior academic year. Sayre felt that

women on this campus needed to be educated about sexual assault issues as well as men, given that women comprise the majority of sexual assault survivors. She wanted women to speak to women about the realities of a “hook up” culture, ways in which they could protect themselves, and risk-reduction techniques. When developing the extended-orientation program, she also included information about the emotional consequences of sexual assault; the purpose of this was to encourage women to be supportive of survivors, rather than engaging in revictimization behaviors. The goal was thus to create a women’s organization that sought to unify and rally the female student body and serve as both an empowering and supportive force for survivors. SPEAK is involved in a wide variety of programming and awareness campaigns that occur throughout the year.

SPEAK’s program has been revised once since its inception (during the 2007-2008 academic year), resulting in the creation of the resource awareness video currently in use; currently, leadership is also working on updating the program for the next school year. The program, as presented during the week of October 3-7, 2011, contained both a standardized component and an extemporaneous discussion element. The order of the program was such that students received an introduction to their facilitators and SPEAK and then watched a video about resources and risk-reduction, lasting about 30 minutes. The video includes many Washington and Lee officials, as well as student leaders at the time of filming; speakers address the ambiguity of what it means to hook up, informal and formal reporting options, the prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses, and campus resources for survivors. The video mixes these informational segments with photographs and

video clips from Take Back the Night, a program at which survivors share their stories.

During the next portion of the program, first-year students were presented with a variety of short examples of ambiguous sexual situations and asked to discuss what label, if any, they would apply to the situation (sexual assault, sexual harassment, or rape), as well as their reasoning. Situations ranged from, “In a tennis PE class, a male student tries repeatedly to slap a girl’s butt with his racket” to “After a party, a guy and a girl go home and make out. He asks her if she wants to have sex and she says “no.” He asks again a few minutes later”, to the most ambiguous, “A guy and a girl get drunk at a party. They go home together and hook up.” Following this section, SPEAK members presented first-years with statements pertaining to rape and asked them to respond as a group with “true” or “false”. From there, presenters addressed the statistics behind the rape myths and provided the correct answer. It is important to know that for this section of the program, SPEAK members received talking points, but the order and direction of the discussion was largely up to presenters. In addition, presenters may not have addressed all of the situations or rape myths in each session. As a result, there is some variation between program sessions. Facilitators were encouraged to respond to the audience and use an extemporaneous approach to engage first year students more effectively. The full document of situations, rape myths, and talking points, is included in the appendix.

The final portion of the program consisted of a YouTube video created by a New Zealand organization, entitled “Who Are You?” The clip is intended to highlight

the influential role of bystanders in preventing sexual assault. The eight-minute video introduces the characters, then plays out an evening, at the culmination of which is a sexual assault. The video then rewinds and highlights the points at which bystanders could intervene, and the positive results of those interventions. After the video, facilitators asked program attendees to respond, focusing on whom they identified with in the video, and encouraging students to be active bystanders.

### ***One in Four and Men's Program Content***

One in Four is a national all-male organization, named in reference to the oft-quoted statistic that one out of four college-age women has survived rape or attempted rape since her fourteenth birthday. One in Four originally began as a group of men speaking to other men, though it has now expanded programming to include both a men's and women's educational program. The extended orientation only includes the men's program however, as SPEAK has developed programming specific to Washington and Lee for speaking to first-year women. One in Four has chapters on many college campuses and arrived at Washington and Lee in 2005.

The national organization lists the goal of the men's program to be as follows: "[to] help men understand how to help women recover from rape[, to] increase the likelihood of bystander intervention in potentially high risk situations[, and to] challenge men to change their own behaviors and influence the behaviors of others" (One in Four). The first goal is supported by social science research: women are more likely to reveal that they have been raped to a man than to a woman, and men should be prepared to handle that situation. The second goal is not explicitly addressed in the program content, though bystander intervention is a growing trend

in sexual assault awareness and prevention programs, such as the national growth of Green Dot. However, the third goal of changing men's behavior is unsubstantiated. There is no evidence to suggest that any educational programming impacts behavior, even if it does show a change in attitudes.

The program, as described on the website, is comprised of a brief introduction about the technical definitions of rape and sexual assault followed by three components. The first is a highly emotionally charged video, in which a police officer describes a scenario in which he was raped, from the perspective of a man. The goal of this video is to allow men to understand the emotional consequences of rape in a context more relatable to their own lives; in doing so, men will ultimately be able to empathize with the women that come forward to them. This video tends to make the men viewing the program very uncomfortable, and many men suggest that the video did not achieve the goal of enabling them to empathize with women. For this reason, Washington and Lee's chapter of One in Four is considering an alternative program video for extended orientation and offering the traditional programming on other occasions.

Following the video, presenters educate men on ways in which they can respond when a woman comes to them after a rape or attempted rape in such a way that it is beneficial to her. Presenters also address ways in which men can alter their own behavior, such as engaging in explicit communication during their own sexual encounters, seeking verbal consent, reading a partner's body language for signs of feeling coerced ("freezing"), as well as being active questioners of gender norms and speaking out against harmful sexist and rape-based jokes.

As with the women's presentations, the One in Four manual reminds presenters to respond to their audiences -

While it is encouraged that peer educators stick to the script as much as possible, it is also encouraged that they adapt the language to fit their own personal style. Presenters should focus on making each point rather than on getting every word exactly as written. In addition, peer educators are particularly encouraged to weave their own personal experiences into their presentations. (The Men's Program, One in Four, 7)

It is important to remember that because of this, no program is exactly the same as another. Words may be omitted, the tonality of voice may change. However, the larger messages of the programs are still intact, and this larger message can be presumed to have a greater impact than any individual word or phrase.

In the final section of the program, presenters act out scenarios in which they highlight effective bystander intervention techniques and the appropriate situations in which to utilize them. Presenters engage the audience using guided imagery and ask them to relate the techniques they have learned to their own social lives.

In addition to the nationally mandated program, One in Four also showed the "Who Are You?" video, discussed above in the SPEAK programming.

### **The Efficacy of Peer-led Sexual Assault Awareness Programs**

This thesis utilizes existing research and also examines empirical findings specific to Washington and Lee's community. In Chapter 2, I will examine social constructionist theory, as it pertains to the construction of an "objective" reality. Later in the same chapter, I will expand the social constructionist approach and apply this theory specifically to the construction of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault and rape. In Chapter 3, I will briefly discuss supplemental theories useful in a study of sexual

assault attitudes, specifically that of boundary maintenance and the just world theory. In Chapter 4, the theoretical discussion will grow to include peer-education specific research, some of which examine the One in Four Men's Program. In Chapter 5, I will introduce my attitudinal measures instrument, discussing its development and theoretical operationalization. Chapters 6 through 8 will address the results of the surveys including relationships between the three administrations. Policy implications of these results and a summation of findings will be contained in Chapter 9.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Introduction**

Every day we encounter an innumerable number of objects and individuals. We detect visual, auditory, and other sensory stimuli, register them, relate them to our existing knowledge, and respond to the stimuli. In no small way, we interact with our environment, both the natural and the social worlds. And while it may be tempting to view both as unchangeable, the social world in particular is in fact created by people, then legitimated and passed on from one to another. Our world is in fact socially constructed; thus, the idea of an independent objective reality is fundamentally problematic.

If reality is socially constructed, so then must be our definitions of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault. Herein lies the challenge put to peer-education programs: they provide statistical data and empirical findings that are often contrary to these supposed objective constructions of sexual assault (in the form of gender stereotypes, rape myths and scripts); the "objective" reality known to

students is thus confronted, posing a problem. This conflict can be resolved either by dismissing the data presented by facilitators as false or by accepting them and incorporating them as another component of the perceived objective reality. Attitudinal changes would signal this shift in the perception of reality, a change in what is incorporated and accepted as meaningful fact. Thus, a critical treatment of theory perfectly contextualizes the survey methodology discussed in Chapter Five.

And yet a caveat must be issued: while sexual assault education programming challenges the supposed “objective” nature of student’s comprehension of sexual assault, it does not attempt to dismantle the guise of objectivity. Rather, education programming as it is currently presented at Washington and Lee seeks merely to replace the presupposed objective reality of students prior to education with a new, empirically grounded understand of “rape realities” based on distinct, but still socially constructed, definitions of sexual assault. The full implication of this idea of “real” rape promoted by programs will be discussed later in this chapter.

### **The Creation of an Intersubjective Reality**

From birth, we are forced into social interactions. From this moment, our subjective experiences become contextualized within a social matrix and gradually become experienced as objective. As such, there is no point at which our reality is entirely subjective. At the very least, our reality is intersubjective, shared with others. Because of the infantile state, children become dependent upon their parents and other caregivers. In turn, from this dependence stems an absolute trust and belief. Thus existing institutions and beliefs are transmitted to the child as



legitimate and fixed. The child cannot question his elders and has no choice but to accept their teachings. Because of this, beliefs taught in early childhood are perceived as the most real and thus, the most difficult to change. The child's acceptance of these institutions and beliefs has no doubt structured his entire understanding of the world, and a challenge to those fundamental beliefs is a challenge to his entire perception of reality. Knowledge that stems from relationships formed later in life is more easily challenged. The bond of dependence is lesser, and thus it is easier to question the validity of the teachings (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

Every object and individual that we come in contact with becomes part of our reality. Once in our perception or interacted with, objects are "real" to us (James in Holzner 1968: 6). Put another way, even in the lowest level of cognition, by the mere realization of the existence of some object or person, it becomes real to us. That is not to say that when a person or item is outside our visual range that it ceases to be real to us, but rather, an object is real in so far as we perceive it, as we have awareness of it. Thus, an object once perceived but no longer within our immediate perception is still part of our reality so long as we still have some concept of the object in our mind. Also, an object that we have never personally sensed can be real to us; through the use of language, we can become aware of things, and in this way, they become part of our perception of reality (Holzner 1968).

Reality first appears to the individual as ordered. In the simplest sense, reality is ordered temporally. In being ordered temporally, time is both continuous and finite; that is, our finite period of existence is structured within the larger time

realm of the world, which exists both before and after us (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 26). This greatly contributes to the perception of the experience of an objective reality. If something exists before, during and after our lives, with or without us, then there is some greater object that is perceived as separate from us. Consider the Roman Catholic “Glory Be” (a prayer said as part of the rosary):

Glory Be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.

As it was then, is now, and ever shall be, world without end,

Amen.

The world has existed before, exists now, and will continue to exist indefinitely. Each individual is thus made to perceive himself as inconsequential to the existence of the world. And if all individuals are inconsequential to the order of the world, then there must exist some objective, fixed, order.

We are also aware that we share the world with others, that the world as we know it is “intersubjective”. In this sense, while we understand that others do not share our *exact* perceptions (i.e., that others do not experience thoughts, dreams, and the like in the same way) we are also aware that we, as individuals, occupy the same physical world, interacting with the same ordered objects. Thus we perceive larger portions of our realities to overlap; in truth, there is significant overlap in so far as we share the same sense of objective order. Our own sense of reality is affected by this perception of the other – we are aware not only of their existence, but of their variance. In being aware that others perceive the objective reality differently than ourselves, we enhance our own understanding of reality (Berger and Luckman 1966).

Thus our reality is formed on the most basic level from interactions with others, beginning with our childhood caregivers. Their own childhood caregivers first informed their perceptions of reality, and as they aged and came into contact with more people, their perception of reality grew to encompass knowledge gained from those interactions. Thus our objective reality is in fact the intersection of all human interaction experienced by those we encounter. Human knowledge then emerges as interwoven, each instance contextualized within infinite tangential relationships to others. Most importantly, if our reality is the product of all past interaction, the future objective reality is equally as dependent upon present social interaction as on what has already happened. In this way, our own interaction is critical in the construction of an “objective” reality, though we are unaware of it. And in observing reality and social order as fixed, we then perpetuate the status quo of reality, when in fact potentially we have great power to affect it.

### **Institutionalization and Legitimation**

“Social order exists *only* as a product of human activity” (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 49). But how does it come to be that order experienced as reality is more than just the summation, but rather a complex interaction that forms something entirely new? Social order must be translated from the creation of one individual to something that is shared by at least one other – the social order must be legitimized.

Shared reality and the process of legitimation begin first with the existence of a pattern; any behavior can become patterned, done in a routinized way or repeated over some length of time. As actions become normalized and habitual, they become

part of the individual's perception of existence, part of one's meaningful reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 50). The emphasis here should be on "meaningful"; this habitualization is not done for the sake of efficiency, but rather under the assumption that this particular pattern of behavior accomplishes or signifies something important to the individual. From this habitualization, a preconceived definition is developed, providing a level of monotony that frees the individual to think of other things – it is this allowance that prompts Berger and Luckmann to claim that "the background of habitualized activity opens up a foreground for deliberation and innovation" (1966: 51).

When this typification is shared by multiple persons, such that they not only partake in the habitualized behavior but also accept the monotonized pattern as a given, this then creates an institution. Institutionalization is the first element to constructing a social reality. Institutions serve two purposes: they provide history (an important part of legitimation) and establish social control (critical for the maintenance of social order, or society) (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 52). Considering the former: institutionalization implies a history. Typified behaviors must have existed for some length of time before becoming institutions, as they are shared and repeated patterns. In highlighting the history, institutions then suggest that these patterns of behavior are outside of any of the actors (perhaps excluding those who created them). Berger and Luckmann relate this to the children of two individuals who are creators of an institution, learning of this reciprocal typified behavior: "the institutions are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact" (1966: 55).

Now consider the latter purpose of institutions – social control. The establishment of a pattern of behavior that is typified and shared to the point of institutionalization, supported by an objective sense of history, leads to the presumption of reason. Why would a practice be continued were it not a logical, rational response? If the practice were ineffective, surely it would have been discontinued. And while typification facilitates innovation, I would argue that it facilitates innovation in separate arenas, outside the area of typification. Typification inherently requires a mindlessness that prohibits the actor from truly comprehending the purpose and components of each step. Without grasping these intricacies, it becomes immensely difficult to innovate in the arena of institutionalized action. However, this is only true for the secondary actors – individuals responsible for the inception of the typified behavior recall previous ways and still hold creative control (Berger and Luckmann 1966:55).

As this pertains to social control, the typified behavior is thus removed from consideration for innovation. Thus, in conjunction with the implied history, the institutionalized behavior becomes idealized, and thus all other patterns of behavior are undesirable, at the very least from the perspective of efficiency or efficacy. Deviations from the idealized pattern are thus stigmatized, and this provides the framework for social control (this concept of deviation and institutions will be discussed further in Chapter 3, using Kai Erikson’s theory of boundary maintenance).

However, institutions of their own establishment are insufficient for maintaining a coherent objective social reality. Institutions on their own are only so

effective in that individuals see reason in their actions and in the outcomes thereof. The true power of institutions lies in their appearance as objective reality, removed from subjective construction. In order for institutions to maintain relevancy to newly incorporated actors, to translate the history and elements of social control, it is necessary that institutions be legitimized. "Legitimation as a process is best described as a "second-order" objectivation of meaning" (Berger and Luckmann 1966:85).

There are four levels of legitimation, as described by Berger and Luckmann. The first, or simplest, is the use of institution-specific language. The creation and use of a lexicon validates the institution, as language has the advantage of appearing to be an objective form of knowledge (1966:87). Consider the institution of marriage; the first level of legitimation would occur in using words like "spouse", "husband", "wife", "wed", etc.

However, the presence and use of a lexicon does not necessarily make an institution a meaningful part of objective reality. Indeed, the use of these words does not instruct the actor, but rather only informs him of the existence of the institution. To inform action, there exists the second level of legitimation: that of "theoretical propositions in rudimentary form" (Berger and Luckmann 1966:87).

This is, in effect, the collection of maxims that makes use of the lexicon and implies a general sense of order. It is from this level of legitimation that one most clearly sees the institution's role in social control. These maxims are in fact a series of prescriptions and proscriptions, anecdotes and fables, designed to inform the actor as to his expected behavior. In setting forth these expectations, the institution is

legitimated as having standardized rules and a specified role for the actor. In the case of sexuality and in light of the current focus on sexual assault, an important maxim to note here is “No means yes.” In this commonly accepted phrase, force becomes nullified, and the woman has no option for nonconsent. Both her no and her yes mean yes, and thus the woman is cornered into “consent”.

The next level of legitimation involves a body of actors, separate but within the institution, designated to create, maintain, and educate members as to the aforementioned prescriptions and proscriptions (Berger and Luckman 1966: 88). In this way, the specific determination to incorporate individuals into the institution and the resulting necessity to educate them as to the institution’s expectations results in further legitimizing the institution, regardless to the actual incorporation of any new participating actors. Consider the student organizations One in Four and SPEAK. Both are responsible for educating students about the “reality” of sexual assault on campus, in addition to laying out definitions of acceptable behaviors.

The final level of legitimation is that of induction into symbolic universes. “The symbolic universe is conceived of as the matrix of *all* objectivated and subjectively real meanings; the entire historic society and the entire biography of the individual are seen as events taking place within this universe” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:89). That is to say, the institution is placed in a web of symbolic meaning and is given relationships to other meaningful institutions and experiences. The actor relates the institution to other known objects and considers the institution to be an objectively real object. The actor no longer perceives the institution as the collective action of individuals, or as changeable, but simply as a

fact of his existence. In the case of gender, what it is to be feminine or masculine is not only important in certain areas of everyday life, but in every circumstance. Gender becomes a part of one's identity, carried (and performed) throughout all social behavior.

### **Symbolic Systems and the Sociology of Knowledge**

Even though many people may be aware of the same thing, and thus it is real to all of them, not all objects are uniformly real to all individuals. In fact, I would go so far as to say that *no object* is real in the same way to two individuals. Because each individual perceives the object with different expectations and a different symbolic system, the object, perceived as objective, is ultimately subjective. "My knowledge of everyday life is structured in terms of relevances" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 42). Each object is placed into some category and provided a relationship to all other objects in the individual's symbolic universe, compared to other things that are meaningful to me. However, the needs and beliefs of an individual will drastically affect the way in which he or she incorporates that object into the symbolic universe. But even this subjective definition of relationship is considered to be shared, recalling the concept of intersubjectivity. The actor can assume that individuals relate to this new object in essentially the same way he incorporates the object into his own symbolic universe. Thus, even in the placement of an object into a symbolic universe, the individual perceives this placement as an objective assessment, mimicked by others, rather than self-assigned.

Thus, challenges to reality become difficult. Assuming that others assign meaningful interaction to new objects in the same way, becoming aware of new



information not only challenges our own understanding of reality, but also our understanding of our relationships with others.

### **Challenges to Reality**

Perhaps more important than order and intersubjectivity, reality appears to be self-evident. This prohibits reality from being questioned; if reality is objectively ordered and self-evident, there is no alternative. However, each introduction to an unknown object, person, or concept, poses a potential threat to our reality.

When we encounter something of which we have previously been unaware, we are forced to reconcile that new object with our perception of reality; thus even new objects that may be completely counter to our perception of reality are adjusted to fit within our schema of understanding (Berger and Luckmann 1966). In some cases this may be relatively easy. For example, the development of Christianity from Judaism was not a profound stretch. Christianity encompasses a great deal of the Jewish faith; thus Jewish followers of Christ were able to reconcile their potentially heretic behavior with their faith. Christ became a part of their schema of understanding, rather than compromising it. This may also be seen in the more contemporary example of a student faced with new knowledge of the physiological behavior of neurons. Because the modern student already believes that empirical science is factual and the human body works in modes understandable as chemical and biological interactions, the ascertainment of knowledge surrounding the firing of an action potential is easily encompassed into his reality.

However, in some cases, the introduction of new information poses a direct threat to reality. For example, consider the introduction of heredity as explained by

Charles Darwin in the Origin of Species in a religious society, a theory seemingly contrary to the creation myth of JudeoChristianity. Even today, a religious individual faced with Darwin's explanation of heredity and evolution may choose to consider evolution within a religious context: perhaps God did create basic forms in the Garden, and from these forms created by God evolved others through heredity. The individual thus seeks to reconcile the apparent problem. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann note this pattern of behavior; things contrary to self-evident reality are problems, and thus treated as things to be reconciled, rather than examined for merit. In the evolution example, the individual has failed to grasp the theory fully; not only did particular finches evolve from others through natural selection, but finches evolved from other birds who were in turn evolved from reptiles, who were in turn evolved from amphibians, and so on. God did not in fact create birds in their fully formed state. The individual thus partially limits the extent of their reality for the sake of preservation of the observed self-evidence of objective reality. Alternatively, consider the individual faced with the knowledge that one in four women will experience a sexual assault or an attempted sexual assault in their lifetime. However, in conjunction with a myriad of gender stereotype roles and beliefs about victims and perpetrators, the individual may conclude that one in four women did something to deserve that sexual assault experience.

Even simple disruptions of routine behavior constitute threats to reality. Holzner refers to these disruptions as "reality shocks". In our experience of an objective reality, the meaning-structures that we ascribe to are limited; we simply cannot respond preemptively to exogenous objects because they are not real until

we are aware of them. In that moment when our perception of an objective reality meets something which contradicts our subjective understanding, anxiety develops. Education is thus challenging on two fronts. Not only does it seek to redress long-held beliefs used to structure reality (conceptions of gender) but in doing so, it also creates conflict, compounding the confrontation.

### **Constructing Gender and Sexuality**

Because sex, gender, and sexuality are at the very core of individual identity in modern Western culture, it is difficult to dislodge our ideas, and more so, our feelings, about them.” (Nagel 2000:1) “

From this broad understanding of the construction of reality, it becomes possible (and indeed critical for this research) to consider the construction of an “objective” (that is, intersubjective) definition of gender and sexuality. Considering the premise of social constructionism, it is clear that the definitions of gender have in fact been constructed, rather than being intrinsically true and based on some objective measure. For the purpose of this work, I will discuss the construction of gender, as distinguished from sex (which refers to anatomical and biological features). However, in Western society sex and gender are conflated, such that being a biological man makes one masculine, and being biologically woman necessitates that one is feminine; there is a binary construction that does not allow for alternatives (Nagel 2000:87). Thus in context one can read “sex” as “gender”, however not to be confused with a given “sex act”.

Gender and sex have coalesced in vernacular usage; they are virtually indistinguishable in meaning. Gender has been so confounded with sex that until very recently, it was required that if an individual belonged to a biological category,

they must in turn abide by the gendered expectations associated with that sex. If one is male, one must be masculine, and vice versa. In turn, it is common to use external visible features to determine simultaneously both gender and sex; For example, we may assume that an individual wearing high heels is both female and feminine; there, a clothing choice is utilized to determine sex and gender. However, these assumptions may be wrong – men may wear high heels and a woman in high heels may not meet any of the characteristics of being feminine. This is Sandra Bem’s biological essentialism lens (1993: 6-38). Gendered behaviors are simply reduced to being the result of unequivocal biological differences. It is easy to see how this supports the construction of an objective definition of sexuality: if differences are the result of biology, they are irreversible and unquestionable. These differences are a part of our existence.<sup>2</sup>

We have been taught to define being male as the summation of aggression, intelligence, ingenuity, sexuality, strength, and the like; by contrast to be female is to be weak, submissive and compliant, beautiful, unintelligent, naïve, and prone to wickedness while simultaneously maintaining purity<sup>3</sup>. We have been *taught* that

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<sup>2</sup> Here it is worth noting that Bem speaks to the tendency to equate biological sex with gender. Yet this is *not* to say that biology has no role in sexuality. Biological processes are certainly involved in sexual attraction and sexual action. The distinction lies in the assertion that sexual desire is in part biological but how, when, and by whom that desire is performed and manifested is the result of socially constructed gender definitions. This biological component should not be understood to harm victims’ positions, but may instead be seen as an advantage. If the physiological body acts outside conscious thought, if to some extent physical desire is understood as separate from mental desire, then victims cannot be blamed for the physical signs of desire they may exhibit prior to or during an assault.

<sup>3</sup> Consider here the paraphrased version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem 1981) as appeared in Caranza and Prentice (2002): “Feminine characteristics are: affectionate, cheerful, childlike, compassionate, does not use harsh language, eager

one gender is emotional and the other rational. However, these vast generalizations must be considered as they are: constructed definitions. That is not to say that some women are not all of those things. However, this *is* to say that behaviors and characteristics attributed to a single gender are in fact misrepresentations; a man or woman might encompass both feminine and masculine characteristics simultaneously. In addition, a woman may be compliant, naïve, and beautiful, while remaining intelligent and strong, or a male may be aggressive and sexual but physically weak and prone to emotional responses.

In addition to being constructed, the “objective” definition of what it is to be feminine or masculine is evolving; this is indicative of the fabricated nature of these concepts. Consider the concept of gender variation, used in Serena Nanda’s book *Gender Diversity* – using ethnographic methods, she explores a wide array of gender constructions, including cultures that accept more than binary masculine/feminine forms (2000). Were these definitions static, or immutable, they would not, or could not, exist in different forms or change (as Western constructions have, chronicled in *A Woman Scorned*, by Sanday). Constructionism thus explains how the definition of femininity could evolve from asexual to having sexual passion greater than man’s, which must be restrained. What are the current operating constructions of gender? And how have they come into existence?

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to soothe hurt feelings, feminine, flatterable, gentle, gullible, loves children, loyal, sensitive to the needs of others, shy, soft-spoken, sympathetic, tender, warm and yielding. Masculine characteristics are: acts as a leader, aggressive, ambitious, analytical, assertive, athletic, competitive, defends own beliefs, dominant, forceful, leadership abilities, independent, individualistic, makes decisions easily, masculine, self-reliant, self-sufficient, strong personality, willing to take a stand and willing to take risks” (269-270).

Many constructions of gender, across societies, can be traced to creation myths. In the case of the United States, the vast majority of individuals subscribe to the Judeo-Christian creation myth: God created man, and from man, woman. Even here, the female is secondary to the male, and in her creation from dust and man, lesser and weaker. The female then is the result of man's downfall, as Eve tempts Adam into biting from the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. The development of this creation myth is the first construction of gender. Man is made in God's image, women a derivative of a image that later disgraces him. At the core, gender is constructed such that to be male is good and to be female is bad.

However, this is too simplistic a characterization. It is not simply that the female form is intrinsically bad, and the male intrinsically virtuous. In fact, it is not even sufficient to claim that the male and the female are purely inverses. Rather, in many cases, while something may be desired in one gender, the converse is not necessarily desired in the opposite gender (Prentice and Caranza 2002:272-3). Consider that a woman is expected to like children (Prentice and Caranza), but a man is not expected to dislike children; rather, he is not necessarily expected to have any particular opinion on the subject. Thus though we have a binary construction of gender, it is not necessarily the case that masculine and feminine are purely opposites. In some cases, this is true; for example, men are expected to be sexually aggressive and women are expected to be sexually passive (at least initially). However, it bears repeated that this rule of opposites is not always true, as noted above in the children example.

Gender is constructed in ways that not only express what one should do, but also what one should not do; even further, gender is constructed in varying levels of prescriptions and proscriptions (the difference being in that a prescription refers to some desirable feature manifested in a gender and a proscription being an undesirable feature manifested in a particular gender). Both the prescription and the proscription can be further specified in their intensity. Intensified prescriptions are those for which the desirable quality is more so desired in a particular gender; relaxed prescriptions are those for which the desirable quality is 'tolerated' in one gender but typically associated with the other gender. In the case of proscriptions, those that are intensified magnify the undesirability in the target gender, and those that are relaxed make an undesirable quality less offensive in the target gender and more positively associated with the other gender (Prentice and Caranza 2002: 271). Thus intensified proscriptions and prescriptions magnify the general quality of a trait in one gender, while relaxed prescriptions reduce the significance of a trait's potentially negative value when manifested in a particular gender. Consider the following traits: assertiveness, promiscuity, cooperativeness, and emotionality. Assertiveness and cooperativeness are generally seen as desirable for a person in American society. However, for men, assertiveness is considered more desirable among men in American society than for the generic person. This distinction highlights it as an intensified prescription; while desirable in general, it is even *more* desirable for men. In the case of cooperativeness, it is not as desirable for men in American society to have this trait than for a person in general. Cooperativeness then is a relaxed prescription; while desirable for any person, it is less expected

from men. Promiscuity and emotionality are considered undesirable in American society. Yet for men, it is slightly more acceptable to be promiscuous. Promiscuity, then, is a relaxed proscription; while undesirable in general, it not as undesirable among men. And finally, while emotionality is undesirable for individuals in American society in general, it is even less desirable among men; this is an intensified proscription (Prentice and Caranza 2002: 274).

It is in the case of intensified prescriptions and proscriptions that deviation is most likely to result in punishment; in the gender-relaxed categories, adherence is less likely to result in significant detriment (Prentice and Caranza 2002: 279). This will become more relevant in constructing sexual assault (below).

As Joane Nagel notes, our constructions of gender are intrinsically tied to our constructions of sexuality. As gender is tied to biological sex, gender is also tied to the *sex act*, and thus, sexuality. In many respects, sexuality has been streamlined so it is defined by the sex act. You are what you do (or don't do, for that matter) (2003: 50). Thus, it is necessary, when considering the evolution of the social construction of gender, to examine the evolution of sexuality simultaneously.

Consider the origin of sexuality, that is, the evolution of sex. Since our species' inception, sex has been the means for procreation. For a notable length of time, it remained simply that. Physical enjoyment of the act was a matter of enticement to induce procreation, rather than a goal in and of itself. In fact, having sex for pleasure was considered immoral in some religions. Lust, that is, the desire for the sex act itself rather than as a means to an end, is thus sometimes constructed as sinful. In conjunction with the value of assured paternity in only procreating



within marriage, it becomes forbidden to engage in sex acts with someone other than a spouse. Were sex valued solely for its physical pleasure, it would not necessarily matter that one engaged in sexual acts with an individual outside of marriage, or even having multiple partners.

However, recall that our construction of sexuality is not an objective valuation. Consider Japanese culture in the seventeenth century – it was expected that men would engage in sex acts with women other than their wives in order to achieve sexual release (see Smith in Smith 1980: 101 *ff*). Sex was valued for its physical pleasure, rather than purely as a procreative measure. Thus sexuality is not the manifestation of some divine or objective order – were that the case, all cultures would abide by the same rules. It seems implausible that entire countries could remain so oblivious to an objective rule, yet that would be necessary if sexuality was truly objective and separate from our construction. In Nagel's words: "The crosscultural perspective raises our consciousness about the *cultural construction* of sex, gender, and sexualities and their relationship to each other in all cultures" (2000:9)

Returning to our discussion of the construction of sexuality, now we turn to the manifestation of sexuality in the two genders. During the era of true womanhood, women, as frail, and pure, were not to seek lustful (and thus inappropriate pleasure). Her only joy in sex was to stem from conception rather than from physical enjoyment or orgasm. Thus women were not sexual, and were incapable of ever being so. This construction has been challenged at multiple points in time. Consider Freud's conceptualization – the woman is inherently (that is,

biologically) as sexual, if not more so, than the man (Sanday 1996: 123). However, her sexuality, combined with female irrationality, creates a sort of roulette wheel, impossible to predict. Thus, women's sexuality should be restrained. Therein, the good woman is one who abides by this social convention. While capable of being sexual, it is much better that this is controlled, only permitted to be sexual in a finite number of circumstances. Namely, women are only permitted to be sexual in the context of a strong man who awakens this in them. Woman's sexual passion is thus contingent upon the actions of the other gender.

True maleness is a complex cocktail of dominance, intelligence, strength, and sex. The true male not only wants sex, but needs it and succeeds in securing it, much like hunting prey (Sanday 1996: 125). It is appropriate to refer to "securing it", in that the sex act is an end of itself, an object to be attained for the sake of pleasure.<sup>4</sup> Sex in that case is separated from the two individuals taking part in the act. The true man has no difficulty in the attainment of this, given the other qualities that he possesses. His strength, a symbol of virility, makes him the perfect potential sire, and thus, desired by women. Engaging in sex is an intrinsic part of being male. In considering sex as an object distinct from the two people engaging in the act

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<sup>4</sup> Assumption of this behavior by females, such as by "cougars" (older women who have sex with younger men) or by Washington and Lee women who seek out men solely for the purpose of sex, may be considered an act of deviance. This is in simplest form the feminine attempting to be masculine, a violation of gender norms. If a woman known to behave in a masculine way by seeking out sexual partners were to claim that she was sexually assaulted, her complaint may be nullified because of the inappropriate assumption of another gender. This will be discussed further in Constructing Sexual Assault and Rape and in a later chapter considering just world theory. However, here the important consideration is that there are two logical counterexamples where females behave in masculine ways, suggesting that this is not an objective definition of gender.

(Sanday 1996: 153), a man who wants sex should be able to attain it, given that he is the only active party by that logic.

In addition to strength and dominance, the sex act is tied up in the aggression of maleness. Since men are expected to be aggressive in all aspects of their lives, they must also be aggressive in sexual encounters (Sanday 1996: 151). The true man must be forceful, and dominant, overcoming any obstacles. Sex, then, holds the potential for violence. However, given the submission required in being female, the potential for violence is much reduced. Of course, that is when everyone is playing assigned, constructed, social roles. When these roles are not met, or when one party questions the constructed script, then of course it is the deviant's fault for failing to conform to his or her predetermined roles. Thus the construction of sexual assault is inextricably intertwined with the constructed definitions of gender and sexuality.

### **Constructing Sexual Assault and Rape**

Our constructions of gender clearly impact our definitions of sexual assault; they too are constructed and contingent upon gender norms. Sexual assault, after all, is at its core an example of deviant sexual behavior (specifically on the part of the perpetrator – mutually shared deviance such as sexual fetishes is another matter entirely), and given the aforementioned conflation of gender and sexuality, it follows that sexual assault is also inextricably tied to these definitions. For example, in societies where women are property and sex is an obligation of the woman to a man, a man forcing a woman to have sex with him may not be considered sexual assault as he is merely forcing her to assume her natural and culturally prescribed gender role – there is no deviance involved. However, were a woman to force a man to have

sex with her in the same society, that may be labeled sexual assault as the obligation for sex is not reciprocated, and thus the woman is behaving in a deviant manner.

Legally, most states would categorize an incident as sexual assault if it involved sexual behavior (e.g. penetration, kissing, touching, fondling, etc.), and one party could not or did not provide consent. However, what is recognized as sexual assault in the common experiences of men and women, outside the legal environment, is of much more interest for this endeavor. It is these attitudes that survivors encounter and are affected by; it is these attitudes that permit and even support the actions of perpetrators. Thus, for the purposes of this discussion, the construction of sexual assault may be understood to mean its broader social construction, rather than the more narrow legal construction (which, although socially constructed, is removed in significant ways from individual agency).

However, while this discussion may involve more socially practiced definitions than legal ones, a cursory examination of the construction of legal definitions is warranted. This is of foremost importance given that peer-education programming seeks to realign socially practiced definitions with legal ones under the guise of defining what constitutes “real” rape or sexual assault. Yet given the social constructionist paradigm, how can these legal definitions be seen as real? Of course, these definitions are no more objective than those that are commonly held or practiced in less formal social contexts. What has become understood as rape in the legal connotation of the word is constructed less from gender (as socially practiced) and more so from conceptions of human dignity, autonomy, and mutual

respect for personhood. These ideas are framed within the American concept of equality, framed and redefined at various points in the course of the nation's history.

The social construction of sexuality begins with the legal definition, and from there, consists of several imposed limitations or restrictions. If sexual assault is deviant behavior on the part of perpetrator, then it must differ in some notable way from normal (i.e., legally permissible) sexual experiences. This poses a problem, however, in that the constructions of gender and sexuality often support an aggressive, even one-sided, sexual encounter, as discussed above. This is further shown in the casual responses elicited from discussions of gang rapes with participants: this behavior is considered normal, and unworthy of note (Sanday 1996: 195). In effect, these behaviors have been institutionalized among a certain portion of the population, such that aggression and violence are part of their conceptions of sexual interactions. This is even more clearly seen in the attitudes of men who admit to engaging in aggressive sexual behavior: these men are much more likely to believe that women want men to force them, and violence is presumed to be a desirable part of sexual encounters for women (Sanday 1996: 196).

So when does sex become sexual assault? If sexual assault is the one-sided deviation from the normal sexual script, consider cases where women are raped by men who are known to them, often termed "acquaintance rape" (the most prevalent form of rape). While the perpetrator may or may not be labeled as a deviant for their act, it is the female's behavior that is often viewed as deviating from the script; she does not acquiesce to the male's aggression (which may or may not take the form of

physical or vocal resistance). This may result in the transference of the deviant label to the female victim; it is she, after all, who deviates from her sexual role as submissive. In addition, she also violates her gendered obligation to be pure – claiming sexual assault, she admits to the loss of her virginity (whether or not of her own volition). Thus, the victim is labeled as deviant as the perpetrator, if not more so. Deviance is much more difficult to ascribe to the male perpetrator because his gender is defined by aggression, violence, and sexual conquest. “Boys will be boys,” so to speak.

However, this is not to say that no cases matching the legal definition of sexual assault are ever socially perceived as sexual assault. Certainly, there are some cases where it is never questioned that what occurred is sexual assault. However, in most cases, these tend to be disproportionately cases of stranger rape, despite the fact that most sexual assaults occur between individuals who know each other (Sanday 1996: 192). Some perpetrators can be, and are, labeled deviants for their actions. Considering that this is most likely to occur in cases of stranger rape, wherein lies the difference? Presumably the difference lies in the knowledge between the perpetrator and victim. This may be explained by the Freudian expectation that the female’s sexuality is awakened by the male’s aggressiveness (see above); if the actors are unknown to each other prior to the sexual encounter, there is no chance of this awakening. The male then has deviated from his masculine role, and indeed, his socially prescribed duty.

Now acquaintance rape perpetrators may also be considered to deviate from this expectation – if the woman is claiming assault, clearly her sexual passion was

not awakened. However, if the victim knows her assailant, rather than just being pounced upon in an alley, it is presumed that their acquaintance has allowed some kindling of her sexual passion; through the acquaintance, the male has fulfilled his role, and it is her fault for failing to respond appropriately. Thus, blame often falls on the female for failing to be awakened. Femininity also prohibits promiscuity, and thus the female has an interest in claiming her sexual passion was *not* awakened. She is then expected to *prove* that her intentions do not lie in self-preservation through the minimization of her promiscuity, that she has no ulterior motives beneath her accusation of rape. Thus the victim is put on the defensive, and must prove that this is not the case. While legally, rape shield laws protect victims from investigations into their sexual history, this is not enforceable outside the courtroom. Thus victims are frequently forced to defend themselves and their actions to every individual that they encounter. A more in depth examination of rape nullification through victim transgression may be seen in the vignette analysis in Meredith Welch's thesis (2000).

Recall that gender prescriptions and proscriptions can be intensified (such that the objective value of a trait for any person is magnified) or relaxed (such that the objective value of the trait is minimized) for a particular gender. It is in the case of intensified prescriptions and proscriptions that deviation is most likely to result in punishment (Prentice and Caranza 2002: 279). Considering femininity (as the vast majority of sexual assault victims are female), if overt sexuality is an undesirable characteristic for a person and even less desired in a woman (that is, it is an intensified proscription), a female that displays overt sexuality (thus often

labeled as promiscuous) is subject to social censorship. This explains the censorship often experienced by women who come forward about assaults– they are publicly admitting sexual activity, the issue of their consent set aside. The intensified prescription of being cooperative may also explain this; in vocalizing an assault, a woman is deviating from the intensified gender obligation to cooperate, facilitating the desires of others, specifically men. In speaking out, she is also rebellious, another intensified proscription. Thus, a woman is at least thrice subjected to punishment for her deviance from possible culturally scripted norms.

### **Conclusions**

It is clear that our understanding of sexual assault is deeply rooted in cultural constructions of gender and sexuality. While we experience these definitions of masculine and feminine as objective, they too are part of our constructed reality. Sexual assault is a complex interaction of deviations from sex scripts, both on the part of the perpetrator and the victim. However, the labeling of deviance must be one-sided on the part of the perpetrator for the incident to be socially considered as sexual assault. In many cases, a previous relationship between the two actors can obscure the man's failure to "win over" the woman (thus precluding any deviant behavior on his part), leaving the woman entirely to blame for what would legally be considered sexual assault. This is particularly problematic for peer educators, as acquaintance rape, or sexual assault between acquaintances is likely to be the most common form of sexual assault on a small campus such as Washington and Lee's.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Introduction**

Understanding that individuals experience reality as objective, when in fact it is constructed over time and becomes real through the processes of legitimation and objectivation, is critical to approaching any study of sexual assault. However, social constructionism only addresses part of the whole. To understand better how individuals relate to the constructed definitions of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault, it is prudent to consider at minimum two additional theoretical perspectives: just world theory and boundary maintenance theory. Therein lies the purpose of this chapter.

In conjunction with social constructionism, these two additions provide a more comprehensive perspective on social interaction between victims, perpetrators, and society. Together, just world and boundary maintenance theories shift the theoretical dynamic from abstract definitions to specific applications and encounters with sexual assault. These supplemental theories address the individual's interaction with specific instances and the ways in which constructed definitions and scripts both affect and are affected by these instances.

### **The Just World Fallacy**

The just world archetype rests on the simple axiom "you get what you deserve." Extrapolating, individuals become responsible for the events that happen to them, regardless of their actual ability to affect the events. In the case of sexual assault, the just world model suggests that only "bad" women get raped, or alternatively, that women who are raped must have done something wrong.

Rape is a violent, traumatic experience for the victim. However, the violence and trauma of this experience are also incredibly destabilizing for individuals learning of the incident after the fact. Not only has something so atrocious occurred, but it has also occurred without their knowledge. Becoming aware of rape is as if exposing termite damage: devastating damage that has seemingly suddenly appeared. The individual is pushed into a state of uncertainty, as their previous conception of his or her world (i.e., a world without rape) is exposed as flawed. In large part, while aware of rape (or any other undesirable event, such as cancer, or poverty), the individual is able to distance himself from these circumstances (Frieze 1987 in Sinclair and Bourne 1998). They may happen in other people's lives, but not hers. However, when confronted with an actual occurrence of rape, the individual must accept that she, too, is not immune from this trauma<sup>5</sup>.

However, once the individual accepts this, she may be afraid of this trauma directly affecting her. This state of fear can be debilitating, and the individual seeks to redress this uncertainty and fear in her life. One way in which to accomplish this is by explaining the event and thus removing the threat. Just world theory emerges here: rape is undoubtedly, though simply stated, a very bad thing. And if bad things only happen to bad people, then the victim must therefore have done something that prompted the rape, or have had some severe character flaw. Thus if the individual is not a bad person, the threat of rape is again relegated to the background of their world, a moot threat as she considers herself a good person.

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<sup>5</sup> Here I have specifically opted for the female individual as women are more likely to be victims, and thus face a more direct threat as the just world model comes into conflict with personal anecdotes; this then requires more decisive and swift reconciliation than those required of men.

The victim may be labeled as “bad” through a variety of circumstances, all of which are tied to rape myths, expectations of gender, and sexual scripts. Consider the victim incapacitated by alcohol: she chose to drink to the point of extreme intoxication. Though a man took advantage of her while she was in that state, she “put herself” in that situation. Drinking to excess is undesirable for any person, but especially a woman. Thus a bad woman brought rape upon herself. Two other undesirable qualities for women that often appear on college campuses that merit consideration here are promiscuity and provocative clothing. In each of those scenarios, the victim has chosen to engage in “bad” behavior, making her in turn a “bad” woman. That the perpetrator makes the ultimate choice to force her into sexual behavior against her will is lost in translation. She was bad, and something bad happened to her. While it is not necessarily desirable that she was raped, it is in this way “expected”, and thus not objectionable.

This conceptualization is made clearer through empirical studies. In general, women are more victim-empathetic than men, and tend to accept fewer rape myths than men (Brady et al. 1991). However, when prompted with hypothetical court cases in which victims engaged in alcohol consumption, premarital sex, entered perpetrator’s homes or cars willingly, and held reputations as “partyers,” women were much more likely to display victim-blaming attitudes when the result of the case was a guilty verdict, rather than a not-guilty verdict or no verdict (Sinclair and Bourne 1998: 581).

While seemingly ambiguous at first, closer consideration reveals that in the control group (which saw no court case) and the two groups that were presented

with not-guilty or no verdict did not have to claim that what occurred was rape. And while there is great ambiguity at times as to what constitutes rape, it is irrefutable that an occurrence labeled as rape is undesirable and reprehensible. That the label of rape (in this case, operationalized as a guilty verdict) was withheld or refuted in the groups without a verdict or with an not-guilty verdict suggests to the observer that what occurred did not merit the label of rape (which brings its own complications, discussed in the next section); thus there is no blame to be placed for a bad action, as none has occurred, and no distance to be created between the victim and observer. However, when presented as a guilty verdict, the observer must accept that what occurred was rape. Thus, women must either accept that they, too, are threatened by the reality of rape, or they must contort events such that the victim is ultimately responsible for her fate (Sinclair and Bourne 1998: 586).

The idea of a just world is rooted in the psychology not of the victim, but of the individual observing or learning of the sexual assault; simply, a second or third party. However, that is not to say that just world theory is removed from the victim and perpetrator; both victims and perpetrators can relate the just world theory to themselves. For the victim, this is evident in the common response of self-blame, while for perpetrators, the just world paradigm transfers blame from himself to the woman. Yet it is important to understand that this paradigm is better termed a fallacy – the only responsible party in cases of rape is that of the rapist, and the victim’s character is an irrelevant, but often unfortunately valued, consideration in the determination of rape “validity.”

## **Boundary Maintenance Applications**

“Thus, society’s myths, prevalent in our juries, appear to contribute to a persistently low conviction rate. The result is a de facto conviction-based definition of rape. ‘When a jury returns a... verdict in a rape trial, it also contributes to the ongoing process of defining rape... in a very real sense, rape is whatever a jury says it is.’” (Sinclair, Bourne and LaFree in Sinclair and Bourne 1998: 577).

The above quote is cited in an article concerning just world theory as manifested through victim-blaming rape myths (discussed in the previous section of this chapter). However, this quote also illustrates the close tie between the just world model and boundary maintenance. Just world theory affects the attitudes both jurors and observers hold about victims, perpetrators, and sexual assault as a whole. When these attitudes result in a conviction (as in a legal trial) or are the response to a conviction (as in Sinclair and Bourne’s study), they intimate the definitions of victim, perpetrator, and sexual assault believed by the jurors or observers. The circumstances jurors are willing to define as rape sends a strong message to other members of society. Jurors in fact hold great sway in supporting or weakening widely held constructed definitions, given the coinciding cultural belief in fair trial by a jury of one’s peers. That they are peers suggests that all members of society would share a jury’s conception. Thus the finite set of incidents juries are willing to define as rape creates an explicit determination of valuation, then transmitted to other members of society.

Kai T. Erikson first established the theory of boundary maintenance in his study of the witch trial epidemic in New England during the seventeenth century. In his analysis, he noted that the societal response (or lack thereof) to a certain behavior is indicative of the behavior’s value to society. Regardless of written law or procedure, if a certain behavior is undesirable, it will evoke a strong negative response (Erikson 1966: 11). The converse must also be true; if a behavior evokes

little or no response despite illegality, the behavior then must hold either neutral or positive value to society. It matters little if legal formality claims a certain value – it is how the law is practiced that is indicative of value (Erikson: 11-12). Application is key.

Therein lies the basic premise of boundary maintenance. Simply, what is unacceptable in society is not necessarily the establishment of laws, but the execution, or lapses in execution, of those laws. A law that is never enforced suggests that society does not view the behavior prohibited or mandated in that law to be a true breach of social expectations. This also holds true for laws that are only enforced in certain circumstances. That is the unfortunate reality of rape prosecution. It is estimated that nine of ten rapes are never reported to police. Only approximately 8% of all cases brought to the authorities are ever brought to trial (Sinclair and Bourne 1998: 576). And of those, only 1.3% resulted in convictions, based on the most recent data available from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (Rosenmerkel et al. 2009: 3).

Clearly there is little evidence that society takes rape cases seriously. However, given the nature of rape and the amount of personal trauma, it is also worth recalling that 90% of cases are never reported to the authorities. And of those 90% of survivors, every one of them interacts with individuals that hold socially constructed definitions of rape, of victims and perpetrators<sup>6</sup>. In addition to interactions with individuals, victims also consume countless cultural objects, such

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<sup>6</sup> Boundary maintenance then is a mode of understanding the enforcement of socially constructed definitions and values in the face of conflict. Sanctioning can be thus framed as both the reaffirming of one value and the “de-legitimization” of another in the case of conflicting values and/or behaviors.

as movies, music, and literature that support these definitions. Rape myths are not only present in biased juries but also in the everyday interactions of individuals. Thus victims face not only statements about what does and does not qualify as rape from jury verdicts, but also from every individual they encounter. Displaying these definitions does not have to be an explicit affair; cultural beliefs are transferred through subtle conversational cues, in body language, and often in the guise of abrasive humor. Herein lies the subtle realm of rape myths – they are not always supported or disproved in explicit conversation, but are instead the result of constantly reaffirmed definitions of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault. Within the context of social constructionist theory, rape myths serve the second level of legitimation; they provide a set of generalizable statements that inform the actor of the significance of certain behaviors and traits (see chapter 2).

Boundary maintenance works in two distinct ways: censoring victims and reinforcing sexual scripts. In the former, rape myths serve to censor certain victims from coming forward about their assaults. Rape myths reinforce the bounds of acceptable behavior for women, such as not dressing provocatively or being promiscuous. In the context of rape myths, these boundaries become associated with the threat of rape for those women who do not adhere to those boundaries. Women who dance provocatively, as they should not, will be raped. Women who go out alone at night in dark alleys, as they should not, will be raped. Rape myths are two-fold myths: they are worthy of the label “myth” for their fallaciousness and for their role in structuring social beings’ behaviors (see also Roche et al. 2005: 155 ff).

Now considering the latter instance: maintaining boundaries by reinforcing sexual scripts. When individuals, perhaps on an interpersonal level or as a formal jury, determine a set of circumstances to warrant consideration as rape, the application of this label, and the subsequent response, intimates what is worthy of being labeled rape. Preconceived understandings of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault, manifested through the acceptance of rape myths, are often critical to that determination. When certain circumstances occur, such as alcohol consumption by the victim, or having a reputation as a “partyer,” that cloud the assignation of a label of rape, no action is taken against the perpetrator (legal action, in the case of a trial, or social consequences in less formal settings). When there are no consequences in those specific circumstances, it suggests a certain amnesty to perpetrators and potential perpetrators; this amnesty is also perceived by victims and potential victims, implying that they are responsible for their own traumas.

In this way, rape myths maintain strict boundaries for victims; when they breach these boundaries, they are held responsible for their actions. The nullification of their sexual assault is the ultimate censuring. The assignation or withholding of assignation of a label of rape (either in a legal setting or in less formal social interactions) serves to reinforce what sets of circumstances constitute rape, and in doing so, establishes boundaries for sexual interactions.

### **Conclusion**

The primary purpose of this chapter was to provide two supplemental theories that better describe the ways in which culturally constructed definitions of gender, sexuality, and sexual assault interact with actual incidents and interactions between



individuals. In addition, both theories provide support for individuals' modes of using these definitions. In the case of the just world fallacy, often individuals continue to hold rape myths and other widely accepted detrimental beliefs in order to distance themselves from the threat of rape. Boundary maintenance theory suggests that rape myths mitigate the circumstances that may be considered for labeling as rape; in cases where individuals already stray outside established cultural values (recall intensified proscriptions), the victim is censored for her boundary crossing, and the perpetrator's potential breach is muted. In addition, the rape myths pertaining to "normal rape" (that is, stranger rape) establish a certain set of qualifications that establish what truly is outside normal expectations, maintaining a boundary between the "normal" aggression involved in stereotypical sexual encounters and that which deviates.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Introduction**

If we experience gender, sexuality, and sexual assault as objective definitions, rather than as constructed, challenging these definitions becomes difficult. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, in many cases these preconceived beliefs often are rape supportive and thus it is desirable (based on socially valued concepts of nonviolence, autonomy, and dignity) that they are changed. Therein lies one responsibility of peer education: raising awareness. However, also as discussed in the previous chapter, challenging these beliefs is difficult, as they are often tied to the earliest levels of socialization and the objectivation of reality.

The question then becomes whether or not peer-education methods are capable of changing these attitudes. And if these educational programs do produce changes, how significant are the changes, and how long do they last? This chapter is devoted to reviewing the existing literature on the subject in order to contextualize the Washington and Lee survey data gathered for this thesis.

Before considering the specific history of peer-education programming, it is worth noting that not all awareness and education programs address the same information discussed in the SPEAK and One in Four programs. In the larger context of sex education, abstinence-only education may be used as a way of preventing sexual assault. However, such programs will not be considered here for a number of reasons. Most notably, regardless of the choice of any person to remain abstinent, ultimately, rape involves losing one's own sexual agency. Even someone who chooses to remain abstinent may be raped – the act is against her will. Thus these methods will not be considered here and abstinence education may be considered a small subsection of risk-reduction education.

### **The Importance of Peer Education: Confronting Constructed Realities**

In studying the reasons for peer-education as well as its efficacy, it is necessary to provide the context in which these programs operate. In large part, therein lies the purpose of the preceding chapters: they provide the theoretical underpinnings of peer-education and more specifically, the foundation for this analysis of particular programs' efficacy.

Recall that reality is socially constructed: what we experience as objective truth is in fact the result of complex interactions between institutions and

individuals. The constructed definitions of gender and sexuality are based in strong and weak prescriptions and proscriptions. These boundaries merge to form sexual scripts; these scripts then provide ready-made sexual interactions, institutions in and of themselves. They are objectivated and become real to individuals. In this process, the individuals cede control over these scripts; while they retain the ability to change them, individuals lose sight of this option, instead perceiving scripts to be obdurate natural law.

These constructed definitions, then, are the preexisting circumstances that peer-education programs face. As previously discussed, these socially practiced constructed definitions are often opposed to (equally constructed) legal definitions, such that sexual assault is nullified or masked by cultural expectations. This conflict results in undesirable circumstances: the acting constructed definitions of gender and sexuality disadvantage victims and enable perpetrators to repeatedly commit acts of violence that have serious short- and long-term consequences. In effect, the beliefs that individuals hold on this campus prior to sexual assault education programs support sexual assault and weaken the position of victims to speak out against their perpetrators, allowing these acts to continue without repercussion.

Thus the goal of peer education is to change our perception of reality, such that individuals become more supportive of victims and attribute more responsibility to perpetrators. In order to do this, however, peer-education programs should address the underlying constructions of gender and sexuality that work in tandem to support violence in sexual interactions. This indeed is a tall order: in addition to depth of explanation required to truly explain the constructed

nature of these concepts, programs then also challenge very fundamental definitions, on which many others are founded. Gender is one of the first “definitions” apparent to the growing child, and challenging it is thus both difficult and alienating to audiences (return to chapter two for a more in-depth explanation of the objectivation process).

Of course, this is what theory suggests programs should attempt. However, in practice, programs face time restrictions that limit the depth of material that can be covered for particular audiences. Thus sacrifices must be made – if twenty hours of in depth deconstruction of gender would lead to long-lasting attitude changes among 100% of ten participants, but one hour of risk reduction and empirical evidence would increase awareness, empathy, and personal safety among 80% of 250 participants, which program is more effective? One engages a small group in deepening understanding, but the second program reaches a greater number at a level that is less abrasive to existing understandings of reality.

Given the theoretical foundations of this work, the survey instrument used later in this work focuses on the ability of peer education to affect both those deeper conceptions of gender and sexuality as well as more explicit assault knowledge, through a number of attitudinal measures. However, it is worth considering the limitations that the actuality of implementation imposes, as discussed above, when reviewing existing peer education programs, both on Washington and Lee’s campus and across the nation. The survey in this analysis (discussed and explained in later chapters) focuses on measuring changes in individuals’ conceptions of gender and sexuality (implicit attitudes) as well as rape awareness (explicit knowledge).

## **Why Peer Education?**

Peer education is one of many options for sexual assault awareness and prevention trainings. Even at Washington and Lee, peer-education is not the only programming available, though it is the most widely received (attended by every student at Washington and Lee their freshman year) and the only required programming. However, Green Dot<sup>7</sup> is conducted by older, professional facilitators, while Sex Signals<sup>8</sup> is performed by younger professional facilitators (who toe the line between peer and professional). With a variety of programming formats available, is peer education the most desirable choice? Peer education seems to be the most viable option for attitude change. Sloane and Zimmer noted that students resisted outside educators (1993). Weisz and Black show that peer educators engage students more than other presenters as well as acting as role models (at least in theory) (2010: 643). So while a wide range of programming options hold potential for success, peer-education may be the most feasible and the most effective methods for approaching students. The results of these encounters, though, are another consideration entirely.

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<sup>7</sup> Green Dot is an educational program focusing on bystander intervention in all situations of power based personal violence (it is not limited to sexual assault intervention). Training is purely voluntary and requires a 4-6 hour time commitment. The program has been on Washington and Lee's campus since May 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Sex Signals is a semi-structured skit performed by a male and female pair, focusing on gender expectations and communication between men and women, using comedic improvisation and audience participation. The show aims to promote ascertaining verbal consent in sexual encounters. A certain portion of newly Greek students has been required to attend every year the program has been on campus (March 2010).

### ***Theories Supporting Peer Education***

G.Turner and J. Shepherd discuss the theories that support the use of peer education over other methods (1999). They address ten often cited reasons for using peer education: low cost, peers are credible sources of information, peer education benefits the facilitators, it uses existing communication patterns, more successful communication between peers, educator's ability to act as positive role models, peer education empowers facilitators, peer education is more acceptable to the audience, it can reach hard to reach audiences, and peers can reinforce information outside formal educational programs (1999: 237). These reasons are then examined in relation to several existing theories that have evolved independently of peer-education.

Social Learning Theory is based on the premise that audiences will model the positive behaviors exhibited by presenters. This mimicking cements the new information in practicing it, until it becomes habitualized. Social Learning Theory relies on the posit of symbolic interaction, with an emphasis on individual reframing. "People are not simply reactors to external influences. They select, organize, and transform the stimuli that impinge upon them (Bandura 1977: vii). One of the mediating factors then is the credibility of peer-educators(Bandura in Turner and Shepherd 1999: 237) and reinforcement of information by presenters outside the context of the education programs (238). One notable limitation of attempting change through social learning, as Bandura notes, is the problem of retention. Without the stimulus in front of the audience indefinitely, social modeling ceases to be a viable option. As a solution, Bandura suggests imaginal symbolic performances (Bandura 1977: 25) – but this is a challenging concept when

considering the topic of sexual assault. Sexual assault education is more about *not* behaving in a particular way, rather than completing some action. Presenters are thus limited to verbal repetition, limiting retention.

Role Theory is somewhat aligned with Social Learning Theory. However, instead of relying on reinforcement, as Social Learning Theory does, Role Theory suggests that peer-educators experience an elevation in status that grants them a deeper understanding themselves (Turner and Shepherd: 241). Role Theory comes from the work of Sarbin and Allen (1954) – educators are taking on a role with implied role expectations. The assumption of these expectations creates a desire to fulfill them, often actualizing them; even if actors fulfill role expectations for the “wrong” reasons (being conscious of others responses to unfulfilled expectations, rather than assumption of the ideals associated with the role), the roles are performed nonetheless (Sarbin and Allen 1954: 502). In response to the greater confidence and status of the educators, audiences adapt to new expectations. However, this theory requires that roles are explicitly understood and that both the presenters and audience members desire to fulfill those role expectations. Also, peer-educators may not consider their role as educators outside of the programming context, freeing them from the associated role expectations in alternative contexts.

Differential Association Theory is similar to Social Inoculation theory: instead of relying on the pressure to imitate peers, it instead focuses on the teaching ability of peers. Social behavior can be learned through the persons one associates with; over time, the individual adopts or becomes trained to mimic the associate’s

habits through their interaction (Sutherland and Cressey 1960). Just as adolescents learn undesirable behaviors from peers, this may be reversed so that peers teach each other desirable behaviors (Turner and Shepherd: 241-2). Peer-education thus is a matter of informal teaching (leading by example). This of course requires that first year students interact with program facilitators in the appropriate settings (that is, those where sexual assault is likely to occur or is a focal point of discussion).

All three of these theories (which are, admittedly, a sampling of proposed theories in support of peer-education) overlap to some extent. Differentiation between them is often a matter of diction and connotation. However, as of yet, there are no theories that incorporate all ten reasons posed by Turner and Shepherd for using peer education. And in fact, many of the broader level theories leave out the majority of reasons and those reasons that are covered are often only loosely applicable. Consider the role modeling and reinforcement reasons for peer education; one or both of these is supported by Social Learning theory and Social Inoculation theory. Yet both the role model and reinforcement reasons for peer education fall through when the peer educators are not closely tied to the audience in social contexts (Turner and Shepherd 1999:239). In addition, in the case of sexual assault, the nature of the behavior being modeled is not easily learnt to observation (Turner and Shepherd 1999:238).

Further, peer education can be a minefield of potential mistakes and misrepresentations. Many peer-educators originally held the very same beliefs they are trying to change for their audience (Weisz and Black 2010: 653). Thus, training becomes critical. However, some students do not feel that the training they receive



is satisfactory (Weisz and Black 2010: 654). This can lead to misinformation, and also creates the possibility that peer leaders are reinforcing incorrect information. This is potentially very dangerous, given the elevated role of peer-educators. In addition, many peer-educators have experienced sexual violence themselves, and thus their confidence may be shaky when speaking to potentially resistant audiences (Simon 1993: 290).

If peer education is not solidly founded in theory and is riddled with potential problems, then its prolific use must be bound by its ability to change attitudes. Thus, it is necessary to understand different peer-education program's effectiveness. Unfortunately, few large-scale efficacy studies have been completed. And indeed, even these studies produce conflicting results.

### **National Efficacy Literature**

"While... most programs display short-term effectiveness in altering rape supportive attitudes, there is little understanding of the impact of these interventions beyond this point" (Anderson and Whiston 2005: 374).

Efficacy may be understood as a two-part process: short-term change and long-term change. It is for this reason that most studies use multiple post-tests to determine the relative efficacy of sexual assault education programs.

"To prevent sexual assault, it is necessary to reach the students who may be potential rapists to change the attitudes of these students that allow them to commit the crime" (Smith and Welchans 2000; 1256). Since most rapists are men, by this claim, sexual assault prevention should focus on reaching them (Foubert et al. 2010:2239). This is the premise of the national organization One in Four. They claim that men who go through their educational program (about 60 minutes long, depending on where it is practiced) are less likely to engage in coercive sexual

behavior (supported in Foubert et al 2007). In addition, as noted before in Sanday, rape supportive attitudes among men are tied to the use of force (Hamilton and Yee in Smith and Welchans 2000: 1255). Thus, targeting potential offenders and addressing these issues should be an effective method.

From Meredith Welch's data, we see that in almost all cases, men are more reluctant to label situations as rape than women (2000). In addition, men are more likely to engage in victim-blaming attitudes. Certain strategies have proven more effective in male peer education. The strategy discussed, teaching how to be effective resources for a survivor, is one undertaken by both the national organization of One in Four and the chapter on campus. Men were less likely to believe rape myths and less likely to be sexually coercive than a control group who did not undergo peer education. However, this male education program was found to be only somewhat effective two months after the program (Foubert and Marriott, 1997).

Foubert et al. again review the One in Four Men's Program. Having already shown that men who completed the program and later join a fraternity commit fewer and less severe acts of sexual violence in another article (Foubert et al. 2007 in Foubert et al. 2010: 2241), Foubert et al. proceed to examine participants two years after completing peer-education (the Men's Program). Of course, these data are self-reported, which warrants some caution. However, note that both the 2007 study and the 2010 study focus on the behaviors of potential perpetrators and potential bystanders. These follow up studies do not make an attempt to judge their underlying attitudes about gender or sexuality, which are critical components of

sexual assault attitudes; rather, they focused on rape knowledge. While Foubert et al. found that 79% felt that their attitudes or behavior had changed, two years later (2010:2243), these individuals were asked to determine whether these changes were the direct result of having seen the Men's Program. This may be an unrealistic expectation, given the length of time elapsed (two years), and the number of potentially confounding or reinforcing influences that participants may have interacted with and forgotten or without realizing.

However, sexual assault education is about more than targeting potential offenders. As discussed in the previous chapter, individuals can hold a wide variety of notions about what it is to be masculine or feminine, and these beliefs can support violent sexual encounters (sexual assault), even if those individuals are not involved themselves. These beliefs can have negative consequences on victims and social norms. While not partaking in the act, individuals can harm the victim after the fact in refusing to believe her, blaming her, etc. In addition, these views, especially those about gender, are firmly entrenched for the individual and thus are very hard to change. Thus, changing rape supportive attitudes, including those about broader concepts of gender and sexuality, are critical for both preventing sexual assault (in reaching potential perpetrators) and for supporting healing for victims after the fact.

In mixed gender studies, Lenihan et al. found that women are more receptive than men and changed attitudes more readily than men did. In this case, training was mixed gender both for participants and leaders (1992:335). In a meta-analysis, co-education produced the second highest effect size, measuring change in rape

attitudes; the method that produced the largest effect change was all female education (Anderson and Whitson: 380). However, women may in fact be more susceptible to program content after being primed with a pre-test (Lenihan et al.: 335). However, male-male groups did not show the same effect size, and in fact was significantly lower than any other gender combination of audience/facilitator (Anderson and Whitson: 380). This suggests that organizations should consider utilizing multiple educational programs with a combination of single-sex and coeducational programs. It is worth noting, however, that the meta-analysis discussed above considers change in rape attitudes, as distinct from rape knowledge, which showed a much greater effect (381). This is consistent with Foubert et al.'s two-year follow up interviews, which showed greater retention but focused on rape knowledge (2010, discussed above).

Men enter and exit education programs with less rape myth awareness than women (Smith and Welchans: 1257). Yet this may not be great cause for alarm – as Lonsway notes, there is little proof that changing attitudes in turn causes behavioral changes (1996: 242). Self reported behavior in studies like Foubert et al. (2010) can be accepted only conditionally.

In Smith, we find that men who enjoy a presentation score lower on posttests than those who did not enjoy it or find it interesting (2000); this relates to some questions on campus about the effectiveness of a specific part of the One in Four presentation that is often rejected for making participants too uncomfortable. In this case, it may be advantageous to take participants out of their comfort zone to get the educational goals across.

It is important to note that although most programs examined in this literature review seek to address attitudes, some programs also address risk reduction strategies; for example, Washington and Lee's female sexual assault orientation program proposes several safety techniques (Black et al. 2000: 591). This is a dubious situation – while not providing women with information about safety precautions can endanger them, this information also appears to shift responsibility from the perpetrator to potential victims (Black et al. 2000: 592). Women who fail to abide by the provided safety tips and are subsequently attacked ignored advice, and in that sense, might be seen as getting what they deserve. If women are unaware, this added stigma of “She should have known better” is theoretically removed. However, there are a number of other beliefs and circumstantial components that may still shift the blame to the victim, regardless of providing risk reduction techniques, and thus providing this information may be worth the potential message of victim blame. And indeed, a meta-analysis suggests that risk-reduction program content produces a very notable change in rape attitudes (Anderson and Whiston 2005: 380).

Unfortunately, while it has been shown that a higher acceptance of rape myths and negative attitudes about rape and rape survivors is correlated with a higher use of coercion among men, there is no indication that reducing rape acceptance beliefs has the converse effect of decreasing individuals' coercive behavior (Garrett-Gooding and Senter 1987). However, by decreasing the campus's rape acceptance beliefs, Washington and Lee could become an environment that is more hospitable to women who choose to bring charges and who refuse to remain

silent; this in turn will hopefully lead to a higher incidence of SFHB cases which will in turn remove predators from campus one by one.

### **Previous Efficacy Studies at Washington and Lee University**

Peer education programs about sexual assault first became part of mandatory orientation programming for first year students in 2005. That fall, Dr. Jennifer Sayre conducted a study to determine the efficacy of three health awareness programs; the three topics addressed were sexual assault, alcohol, and mental health (depression and suicide). She conducted a pretest and a single post-test (using the same survey) at the end of the first semester. Based on existing timelines, the post-test most likely took place about six weeks after the sexual assault timelines. While this is only an estimate, this timeline is close to common follow-up times in multiple post-test designs.

The survey is constructed in three parts; the first component contains forty-eight statements about drinking, mental health, and sexual assault. Of these, sixteen line items related to sexual assault. Fifteen of them are rape myths. However, one line item is of dubious quality: "This school should do more to prevent rape". This is more a political question than one of rape attitudes or knowledge. Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed with each statement on a scale from one to seven (1= Not at all agree, 7 = Very much agree).

The second section asks students to provide the percentage of students at Washington and Lee that reported various incidents and effects of sexual assault, alcohol use, and mental health issues. Four of the eleven items pertained to sexual assault. This section measures pure rape knowledge. While knowledge

programming has been shown to have greater efficacy, attitudes are more indicative of behaviors (see previous section). This section is little more than regurgitation of information and may not translate to social behaviors

The third and final component of the survey returns to the use of the seven point scale. However, this section pairs opposing statements, creating a spectrum of responses with examples at each end. For example:

I feel that the situation in which a man compels a women to submit to sexual intercourse against her will is an unjustifiable act under any circumstances.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	I feel that the situation in which a man compels a woman to submit to a sexual intercourse against her will is a justifiable act under certain circumstance
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Two of six paired statements related to sexual assault.

Ninety-one individuals completed both the pre- and post-test, 46 male and 45 female. This correlated to a 19% response rate. In her review of the orientation programs, Dr. Sayre calculated simple means tests. Overall, there was a decrease in the mean response value (the scale was constructed so that 1 represented accurate knowledge and 7 represented inaccurate knowledge). Pretest means were already below the neutral point of the scale (3.12), and post-test means fell slightly to 2.78. While this was a significant change ( $p < .01$ ), the already low scores suggest that individuals already are somewhat knowledgeable about sexual assault.

Dr. Sayre also examined the means controlling for gender. Men's pretest scores were notably higher than women's (3.24, 3.08 respectively). In addition, the change in average mean was lower among men than for women. The average score fell by .36 for men ( $p < .05$ ) and .72 for women ( $p < .01$ ). This suggests that the SPEAK program is more effective in changing rape knowledge. However, the One in Four program addresses more than knowledge, and in fact focuses a great deal on

empathy. Thus, the survey measure may hide abilities gained by the men's program that are not addressed in the women's program.

### **Conclusions**

Literature studying the efficacy of sexual assault peer-education programs produces a cloudy picture at best. While it is clear that programs can have short-term effects on attitudes, the long-term sustainability of those changes is uncertain. In general, women-women programs produce more profound changes, however this may be because women become primed by pretests. Men do not seem to respond as well to single-sex programming, and may benefit from coeducational programming. In conjunction with the short lasting effects of programming, this suggests that the most effective programming uses a variety of formats and occurs repeatedly (much like a booster shot after a vaccination).

In 2005, SPEAK and One in Four Programming seemed to produce change in rape knowledge, but this survey fails to measure changes in the attitudes that support rape (held by perpetrators and bystanders, as well as victims). These attitudes are harder to change and closely tied to behavior, and thus changing these attitudes is of greater interest.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Introduction**

Thus far, previous chapters have dealt exclusively in theory. However, even the most well-founded hypotheses must, at some point, be reconciled with actuality.



Intellectual thought must now be compared to empirical evidence. The next portion of this work delves into this realm.

Recall that the true focus of this work lies in determining the relative attitudinal shift prompted by the sexual assault awareness programs (that is, program efficacy) conducted on Washington and Lee's campus as part of first year students' extended orientation. As outlined above, the definitions that frame our reality are experienced as objective fact when in fact they are culturally constructed. However, many of our conceptions of gender, sex, and sexual assault are particularly detrimental to rape victims and help to both create and sustain environments in which sexual assault is not only overlooked, but is somewhat normalized. Sex, gender, and sexual assault are thus intrinsically intertwined, and one cannot be challenged without assailing the others. Efficacy in the context of sexual assault peer-led awareness programs then may be understood as the ability to produce these changes in fundamental definitions of gender, sex and sexual assault.

The problem lies in that our notion of gender is formed at such early points in socialization that an affront to gender challenges our entire perception of reality. Gender, after all, is a central concept to which we relate many others. Gender is often one of the first attributes assigned to a new individual that we encounter, and underlies any further determinations. Peer-education is thus forced into addressing, or at the very least, must be tailored around these commonly held constructed definitions. Yet, in confronting these definitions, peer-education efforts will undoubtedly face resistance for the reason detailed above. In facing this resistance, is it possible to create change over any notable length of time? The survey discussed

in the following chapters thus seeks to measure attitude changes following sexual assault prevention programs and also to determine the longevity of those changes.

### **Measuring Efficacy**

As outlined in the previous chapters, it is clear that our notion of sexual assault is composed of interlinked attitudes about gender and sex. Due to the overlapping nature of gender, sex, and sexual assault, any attempt to measure attitudes about sexual assault must also address issues of gender and sexuality. Without exposing and examining the ideological foundation, any change in attitudes specifically related to sexual assault is suggestive at best and ambiguous at worst. Thus the survey was designed to measure not only students' understanding of sexual assault based on facts and knowledge, but also to determine what, if any, changes in rape-supportive gender and sexuality attitudes occurred.

The ultimate goal of peer-education is not only to reduce the occurrence of sexual assault, but also to create a more supportive (or at minimum, a less hostile) environment for survivors. I argue, in fact, that the latter goal (environmental change) is more indicative of efficacy than the former for several reasons.

First, there is no evidence that peer-education has any effect on perpetrators' actions. While studies show attitudinal shifts, there has yet to be a study linking this attitude change with actual behavioral change. Behavioral change is also unable to be measured in any scientific way: physical observation would certainly raise a perpetrator's awareness of their behavior and poses obvious ethical dilemmas for the observer. The other option, self-reported change, is touted by the national organization of One-in-Four as a program merit. However as discussed earlier, these

studies must be treated with caution; it is unreasonable to expect honesty (and thus accuracy) when reporting such stigmatized behavior. Again, it is not that the cultural definition of rape is anything but negative; rather, the problem lies in the many mitigating factors that can nullify a rape (that is, prohibit a set of actions from being labeled rape), thereby removing the negative stigma.

Relatedly, it follows that perpetrators may not see their action as rape. It is this clouding that allows for repeat offenders; there is no ambiguity about the injustice of rape, but rather pertaining to what qualifies as rape. This is problematic in that if perpetrators do not view their actions as rape, and therefore, not socially unacceptable, then it follows that they will continue the behavior. Given this lack of recognition, it seems that a reliance on education to prevent future rape is dependent upon educators' abilities to successfully change the attitudes of perpetrators; yet, even that may not lead to change in behavior (see above and Chapter 4).

One strategy that peer-education groups often utilize to decrease sexual assault is through supplying preventative techniques to women. SPEAKs program includes, for example, suggestions relating to the use of the buddy system and maintaining control over both one's drink and overall consumption levels, as well as others. These avoidance techniques often work to reduce the risk. However, women can only protect themselves to a certain extent. Rape is, by definition, sexual intercourse without consent. Even if women exercise all of the provided techniques, they still do not necessarily have control over the situation. The control lies with the perpetrator. Thus, risk reduction is appropriately called such: the techniques can

reduce the risk, but never eliminate it entirely. Providing these techniques, then, is anything but an assurance of decreased sexual violence.

Further, in relying on risk reduction techniques for potential victims, programs wrongly place responsibility on the party without agency in the matter. And in placing the responsibility on potential victims, programs intimate that the blame, too, should lie with the victim. Women who are victimized after sexual-assault programming were given preventative information and were nonetheless attacked. Programs can be perceived as suggesting there are things that women, not only could do to prevent sexual assault, but indeed that these things are demanded of them.

Beyond the reasons for not basing efficacy on declining assaultive behavior, there are further positive reasons for specifically choosing environmental change as a measure of education effectiveness.

One such reason is that environmental change benefits current survivors as well as future survivors. While decreasing assault is certainly an admirable goal, and a desirable one, education that only focuses on decreasing the prevalence assault overlooks the large number of women who have already been assaulted. These women should not be abandoned, as the same attitudes that allow for sexual assault to occur without sanction also continue to support the perpetrator over the victim after the assault has occurred. Victims are blamed for one of the most traumatic experiences of their lives. These attitudes are harmful when exhibited by outsiders, but they are possibly even more harmful when victims themselves hold these attitudes. Recovery may be delayed, prolonged, or suspended by these attitudes.

Environmental change in the way of change in gender attitudes holds the potential to ease the recovery process for victims, both current and future survivors.

Second, environmental change as measured by shifting attitudes can indirectly reduce assault. In creating a more understanding environment, that is, one less hostile toward survivors and displaying less victim-blaming attitudes, peer-education can create circumstances in which victims feel more comfortable coming forward after an assault and seeking disciplinary redress (either at the University or legal level). If more women are willing to come forward, more perpetrators will be sanctioned.

Sanctioning of perpetrators, on Washington and Lee's campus, is beneficial in two ways. First, it results in the physical removal of the threat. The only sanction available to the disciplinary board for sexual intercourse without consent is immediate dismissal of the perpetrator. This removal not only benefits the psychological state of the survivor but also prevents the perpetrator from repeating the offense. The second way in which sanctioning is beneficial is tied to boundary maintenance. Merely in sanctioning the behavior, the community reaffirms its behavioral boundaries and signals to potential perpetrators that such behavior is not valued nor overlooked.

Thus, in both encouraging reporting and through sanctioning, environmental attitudinal change is directly and indirectly beneficial to both current and future survivors. Relying on a direct behavioral impact to determine program efficacy is scientifically unfounded and difficult to measure; and in fact, programs that aim

specifically to directly reduce these behaviors often do so in ways that unfairly places responsibility, and ultimately blame, on victims, rather than perpetrators.

Efficacy, then, is conceptualized such that a peer-education program is deemed to be effective if it is successful in producing a notable shift in attitudes about gender, sex, and sexual assault. A program's efficacy may then be determined based on the longevity of those attitudinal changes. The term efficacy refers to a relative spectrum of effectiveness over time. Greater efficacy is achieved the longer attitudes reflect positive change following peer-education programming.

### **Survey Design**

This study is titled to reflect its focus on efficacy. My interest, then, lies not only in the ability of SPEAK and One-in-Four's presentations to change attitudes, but their ability to produce long-term changes. National literature seems to suggest that the effect of peer-education is relatively short-term; attitudes return to pre-education levels within a period of six weeks to three months (see Chapter 4). The population in question is first year students at Washington and Lee, as they are the recipients of the extended orientation sexual assault programming.

To evaluate attitude changes, I chose to use a survey instrument. Using a survey allowed me to reach a large number of individuals with relative ease. In fact, using an Internet based survey, I was capable of reaching the entire target population through their University-assigned email addresses. I obtained a list of all first year students from the University online directory.

The benefits to using a survey were varied. Surveys allow for anonymity, compared to individual interviews; this may be especially important given the

sensitivity of sexual assault. In addition, the use of an Internet survey allowed for subjects to respond at their convenience, rather than at predetermined times. However, surveys do have pitfalls. For example, using a survey does not allow the opportunity for the researcher to redress questions or confusion the respondents may have. Surveys also do not allow for respondents to provide comments about their reasoning and often, answers are limited to a provided set of responses (Babbie 2010: 287). However, in this case, a survey was deemed to be the best instrument.

Students were prompted to complete the survey three separate times. The survey was first administered the week prior to the extended orientation peer-education sexual assault programming. Students had the opportunity to complete the survey over a weeklong period, from September 25, 2011 to 5 p.m. October 3, 2011. Sexual Assault programming began at 6 p.m. on October 3<sup>rd</sup>. The first post-test was administered on October 12, 2011, and the survey remained open until Wednesday, October 26. The third administration of the survey (second post-test) was administered over week long period from January 31, 2012 to February 6.

The first post-test was administered close to the time of the educational programming, yet not immediately after, in order to allow students time to process the information and limit the effect of immediately raised sensitivity to sexual assault following an educational programming. The second post-test was administered approximately three months after the original programming to determine whether Washington and Lee's programs can produce long term attitudinal change consistent with or beyond what has been shown in national

literature. The limitations of each of these stages will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Due to the longitudinal nature of this study, certain considerations must also be taken pertaining to the method of longitudinal data collection. The three administrations of the survey may be termed a “trend study”; that is, one that examines changes within a population over time using a different sample of respondents each time. A trend study was the most feasible method of longitudinal study given the ethical concern with anonymity due to the sensitivity of the topic. However, it is worth noting that due to this concern, the respondents who filled out each survey may have filled out any or none of the previous surveys. Thus an assessment of individual attitude change is not possible (see Babbie 2010: 107-110).

## **Instrument**

### *Attitudinal Measures*

If effectiveness is based on changing attitudes and efficacy is based on the longevity of these attitudinal changes, any instrument designed to measure efficacy must first establish effectiveness. Thus, the instrument must, in some way, measure the attitudes of respondents. In this case, the relevant attitudes are about gender, sex, and sexual assault.

However, there is some difficulty in measuring these attitudes. These attitudes are so often taken not only as objective reality (and thus not an “attitude” from the respondent’s perspective), but also are perceived in abstract manners,



making these attitudes difficult to articulate. Thus, the best way to assess these attitudes is to prompt respondents with statements and ask them to evaluate the proposed statements based on their agreement. This method allows for instinctual reactions, which are relatively uncensored and thus more accurate in depicting the beliefs held by respondents. Further, this method also limits the articulation required by respondents – the set of responses is predetermined and requires no deep, introspective, evaluation.

Attitudes measured in this survey fall into three categories: attitudes about victims (including attitudes about women), attitudes about perpetrators (including attitudes about men), and attitudes about sexual assault. Attitudes about women are subsumed under the broader category of attitudes about victims for two reasons. First, as discussed in the introduction, both on the national level and on Washington and Lee’s campus, sexual assault victims are primarily female; women and victim are largely overlapping categories. Secondly, attitudes about female sexual propriety can be found intertwined within attitudes about victims. For these reasons, attitudes about women can be said to inform attitudes about victims.

Attitudes about men are considered part of attitudes about perpetrators for similar reasons. Most assault perpetrators are men. Additionally, attitudes about male sexuality (e.g. aggressiveness) are intrinsically tied to attitudes about sexual assault perpetration. Gender attitudes help to frame definitions of sexual assault victims and perpetrators and are reinforced by these same attitudes, resulting in an infinite feedback loop.

However, once prompted, there must be a way to measure respondents' relative agreement or disagreement with these attitudes in a uniform manner. It is not enough to ask students how those statements make them feel. The question at hand is whether or not students themselves hold those statements to be true. The degree to which these attitudes are incorporated into, or discounted from, their understanding of reality demonstrates the extent to which respondents hold rape supportive attitudes. The difference between the pre-test and post-test scores indicates the ability of the peer-education programs to change these undesirable attitudes, and thus prove effective.

Of course it must also be understood that attitudes are not held simply in dichotomous distinctions. That is to say that individuals do not simply agree or disagree with a statement. Rather, even among individuals who agree with a statement, there will be varying degrees of agreement. The most suitable method to studying attitudes, then, allows for these subtle distinctions. In this case, I opted for a four point agreement scale, encompassing strong agreement, mediated agreement (phrased as "somewhat agree"), mediated disagreement, and strong disagreement<sup>9</sup>. While adding additional scale distinctions, such as "agree" or "disagree" or "both agree and disagree," may provide further clarity, given the relatively small sample size, this distinction may create small cell sizes during analysis (thus also limiting statistical significance and the conclusions which can be drawn). Further, based on Prentice and Caranza's work (2002), it follows that strong agreement or strong disagreement with these attitudes are more likely to prompt reaction than attitudes

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<sup>9</sup> For ethical reasons, a fifth option was included as well: Prefer not to say.

less fervently believed. Thus, further distinctions of attitudinal responses are unnecessary. A “neutral” option was not offered to encourage respondents to display either positive or negative feelings; given the role of gender in society, previously discussed, it is plausible to assert that all individuals have an opinion as to gender roles and expectations, and can assert these opinions in survey form.

The source of the attitudes that students were asked to respond to came from a variety of sources. One of the most useful sources was Martha Burt’s landmark study “Cultural Myths and Supports for Rape” (1980). Her analysis not only defines what constitutes a rape myth but goes so far as to enumerate many that were ultimately used in her Rape Myth<sup>10</sup> Attitude scale, which has been replicated and referenced many times in other literature. In some cases, her original wording has been updated to reflect current vernacular. Since the entire scale is not being replicated, rephrasing these statements is not detrimental to the integrity of the survey analysis. Other statements were derived from Meredith Welch’s work (2000), or composed independently.

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<sup>10</sup> The term “rape myth” suggests that what is perceived is in opposition to what “really is”, that the perception is contrary to reality. However, given the understanding of reality of socially constructed, the distinction between what is “perceived” and what “is” (inherently necessary for the definition of rape myths) becomes problematic. To resolve this, consider the previous discussion of the circularity of social constructionism (Chapter 2). When we examine the social construction of sexual assault, the tendency is to imply that it is incomplete and contrary to some “objective” definition of what rape “really is.” Yet in a socially constructed reality, this is impossible. Rather, the socially constructed definition of sexual assault must be compared to the socially constructed interest in human dignity, autonomy, and respect. Sexual assault, as currently constructed, does not take into account these concerns, and the goal of peer-education then is to reconcile these conflicting socially constructed values with definitions.

The survey was designed in such a way that attitudes about all three categories of inquiry were issued in categorical groups; respondents were prompted by attitudes about women, attitudes about men, and attitudes about sexual assault separately. This method has both benefits and drawbacks. Providing the attitudes in this unified form allows respondents to focus their attention on their personal beliefs about one topic at a time. This may promote greater introspection and produce more accurate results. However, providing related attitudes simultaneously may also cause respondents to develop a conception of “desired responses”.

Given the sensitivity of this survey’s focus, this is a reasonable concern; sexual assault is high stigmatized, and becoming aware that the presented attitudes are undesirable and associated with a support of sexual assault may cause students to tailor their attitudes to appear to hold more desirable attitudes. However, this concern may partially be alleviated by the structure of this survey, which was relayed to potential participants during the process of obtaining informed consent: students were informed that the survey was for the purpose of evaluating sexual assault peer-education programs. This transfers judgment from the respondent to the program, and thus promotes more honest responses, though respondents still may deduce what responses are considered desirable.

### *Applications*

Yet merely supplying statements to be evaluated is reductionist. These same attitudes measured are theorized to have an effect on the individual’s willingness to characterize a set of occurrences as either sexual assault or not sexual assault. These attitudes have practical implications. Sexual assault education/prevention

programming seeks to raise awareness of sexual assault; one component of that is informing audiences of the legal and commonly accepted definitions involved in sexual assault. Perhaps the most extensively covered issue is that of working definitions (and legal definitions) of consent.

The ideology behind this is two-fold: first, some men may engage in actions legally defined as rape without meaning to harm their victim. Rather, a miscommunication (often involving alcohol consumption) results in a traumatic experience for one party, an incident that could have been avoided by a more comprehensive understanding of consent. If education programming can make the concept of consent clearer to participants, the incidences of rape by miscommunication will decline. Secondly, the development of working definitions of consent and coercion can provide useful tools for students to rely on when faced with hearing claims of sexual assault, promoting the concept of a supportive environment for survivors.

Consent is inherently a difficult concept to measure. A determination of consent relies on the knowledge of specific circumstances leading up to an event. Thus, simple attitude responses to statements fail to portray individuals' understanding of this critical concept accurately. The best method of determining this requires an opportunity for application. Vignettes with follow-up questions provide this opportunity.

In order to provide easy comparison between this survey and previous research, it is desirable to use previously developed vignettes. This also eliminates the need for elaborate testing of vignettes to determine their clarity for respondents.

In this instance, I chose a scale developed by a graduate student doing research on sexual assault education. Carolyn F. Humphrey created the Comprehensions of Consent and Coercion scale in 1988. Given that this scale was specifically designed for use with college students, it seems to fit the dimensions of this survey well. The scale involves two vignettes and ten questions, five following each vignette. The questions are less concerned with the label of “sexual assault” or “not sexual assault”, but rather with respondents’ understanding of the degree to which victims gave consent or were coerced. These are important considerations in individuals’ understanding of what behaviors constitute sexual assault. Recall again that it is not the character of rape or its definition, but what actions are deemed to fall under that definition that is in question. Thus their perceptions of coercion and consent directly affect the attribution of the label of rape or sexual assault. The CCC scale directly measures these concepts and has been recreated in original form in the survey distributed to the first year students<sup>11</sup>.

The components of the CCC scale were broken in two portions; the two vignettes (and their related follow-up questions) were separated by a set of attitudinal questions about men and a series of perception questions. This was to prevent survey fatigue; vignettes require greater attention than responding to attitudinal prompts, and given the length of the survey, I deemed it prudent to separate the two vignettes. For more information about this scale’s construction and theoretical development, see “An Explanation of the Development of the CCC” (Humphrey) in the appendix.

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<sup>11</sup> Dr. Humphrey was very gracious in granting me permission to use her scale in my survey.

### *Perceptions, Demography, and Connections*

The third type of substantive question posed in the survey (the first two being attitudinal prompts and the application of knowledge through the CCC scale) targeted individuals' perceptions of the "reality of rape" on Washington and Lee's campus. While there are many student groups on campus and well-publicized data about sexual assault prevalence in the campus community, students have expressed disbelief in these institutions and the data they tout. Underestimating the true threat that faces them, in conjunction with the just world fallacy discussed earlier, may facilitate individuals' rape-supportive behaviors. Women may be less likely to protect themselves and may also doubt or blame those who come forward. This knowledge is also a central component of both sexual assault awareness programs. Thus, any measure of their effectiveness and efficacy should include such questions. A final theoretical reasoning lies in the fact that challenging first year students' constructed realities includes their perceptions of these behaviors, not only the definitions that justify the behaviors.

In addition to probing for students' perception of the prevalence, several questions in this section also focused on campus-specific perceptions of whom the men and women involved in sexual assaults are. The reasoning behind the selection of these questions is to determine whether there are certain factors unique to Washington and Lee's social climate that act as additional rape nullifiers (beyond breaches of gendered sexual scripts, discussed in previous chapters). This question also speaks to their perception of the reality of these behaviors. This series of

questions serves as a second application, though from a clearly different perspective than the preceding Comprehension of Consent and Coercion scale.

These conceptions were operationalized in two ways. The first set of questions targeted the specific ways in which perpetrators' social identities might act as intervening factors in individuals' willingness to assign the label of rape. Five questions were phrased as "How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by \_\_\_". Knowing that there are a wide variety of factors which can mitigate the determination of a set of events as rape, these questions allow for close examination of the specific effect of social status. Rape myths often focus on the identity of the victim (though not all), and those that do focus on the identity of perpetrators often focus on the myth that perpetrators are socially inept. This is a negative, rather than positive, approach to social identities of perpetrators. Even if respondents realize that not all perpetrators are villainous individuals, they may not believe that truly anyone can be a rapist. In asking about a wide range of social identities (both positive and negative), these questions can better illustrate the role that social identity does (or perhaps does not) have in the determination of validity of a victim's claim.

This area is of particular interest on Washington and Lee's campus due to the concrete social hierarchy that not only operates in but also is understood by the entire student population (Early 2007). Since social status is valued in a shared context, social status should be given special consideration in a study of Washington and Lee's sexual assault attitudes.



The second set of questions asks students to describe their perceptions of the reality of rape. This is not best accomplished by asking for estimations of the number of Washington and Lee women who have experienced rape. These facts are clearly stated and repeated throughout awareness and prevention programming; assessing students' memorization of these facts is not indicative of the cultural environment of this campus. Rather, questions targeting that knowledge would simply show the relative ability of students to regurgitate figures mindlessly.

How, then, can perceptions of the reality of rape at Washington and Lee be measured? In this case, I chose to target specific dynamics of rape reality. As a facilitator, I have experienced many instances of students believing that many or most women lie about being raped. In these cases, often students cite women being vengeful or concerned with their reputation as the reasons for these "false claims". Thus, two questions on the survey ask respondents to estimate the percentage of women who report rape who are lying either because they are "scorned" women and want to get back at the men they accuse or because they are protecting their reputation. If these numbers are high, it suggests that one potential reason students may not consider the problem of sexual assault on this campus to be serious is due to the perceived inflation of the rape statistics by presumed false claims.

The last grouping of questions is comprised of respondents' personal data. In this case, four primary traits were hypothesized to have some influence on attitudes about gender, sex, and sexual assault. It follows then that these sub-populations may have been affected differently by programming, and thus would portray different levels of efficacy, since each sub-population values different attitudes to a different

degree. These traits are to be used as control variables during analysis because of these potential influences; isolating these populations may also suggest certain areas in which programming may more successfully reach these groups.

The first such trait was gender. In national literature, the attitudinal differences between men and women have been well documented (see chapter four). Not only have the differences in original attitudes been proven, but it has also been shown that women and men respond differently to sexual assault awareness programming. Additionally, in this specific instance, controlling for gender is demanded as the programming is gender-specific. It cannot be assumed that men are affected by the Men's Program (One in Four) in the same way that women are affected by the program presented by SPEAK.

The second trait to be controlled for is regional differences. Washington and Lee draws its students from all across the United States as well hosting a notable international student population. Given that the pre-test measures attitudes as they existed upon entrance to college, the pre-test in effect measures the attitudes conveyed in childhood, which most certainly may differ across regions and between countries. Thus, students were asked what country and state they spent the most time in while growing up. It is in these locales that the constructed definitions of gender, sex, and sexuality would first have been imposed, and thus, these geographic considerations are important to catalog for more accurate analysis<sup>12</sup>.

The third component of personal information asked of the respondents was whether or not they are varsity athletes. Varsity athletes, even those who are

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<sup>12</sup> Note here that while I intended to control for these variables, small cell sizes later proved to be insufficient for analysis.

themselves women, engage in a wide variety of misogynistic and hypermasculine behaviors during competition. These environments support aggression and devalue all that is feminine; what is more, what does not have value is labeled as feminine, reinforcing the former (Messner 2002). Knowing this identity of respondents allows for better understanding of their pretest scores; this may also explain resistance to change in these attitudes and suggest a population that needs further attention in programming.

The final area of personal information was that of experience with sexual assault. This may take two forms: knowing someone who has been sexually assaulted and having personal experience with assault. Individuals with these experiences may be more sensitive to the reality of sexual assault or hold more supportive attitudes. However, depending on the type of experience and the degree of recovery, individuals may also be more hostile to other victims. For example, respondents whose only experience with assault is through their own or another's experience stranger rape may feel that acquaintance rape victims are more responsible for their experience than the respondent is for his or her own. However, the survey does not ask respondents to divulge explicit details of their experiences, merely whether or not they have been assaulted or they know someone who has been assaulted. Asking such detailed questions would be inappropriate and potentially harmful to respondents. The previous illustration was merely to outline two potential ways in which experiences with sexual assault may affect attitudes and applications of definitions, and thus merit being used as control variables.

## **Conclusions**

The survey administered to first year students has been carefully constructed to measure multiple indicators of efficacy. Attitudes, applications, and perceptions of the reality of rape are all target areas of sexual assault awareness programming, and thus any understanding of peer-education programs' relative success or nonsuccess must incorporate all of these elements. The success of these programs is not only dependent upon any change in knowledge and attitudes (effectiveness), but also on the longevity of these changes (efficacy). Therein lies the reasoning for both the survey design and the administration methods.

An important limitation of this research was highlighted in this chapter – the necessity of treating male and female programming separately. As SPEAK and One in Four conduct overlapping, yet highly differentiated programming, to treat each survey administration as a single entity would be foolish. Rather, it is necessary to consider each administration (the pre-test and each post-test) as two separate measures of efficacy: one of the men's program, and one of the women's. Though this thesis measures the efficacy of the extended orientation peer-education programming as a whole, it more accurately measures the efficacy of the women's program as put on by SPEAK and the men's program as put on by One in Four.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Introduction**

The survey instrument used to measure program efficacy and effectiveness for the purposes of this thesis was introduced and explained in the previous chapter. This

chapter moves to begin examination of the results of the three administrations of the survey, hereafter referred to as the pre-test, first post-test (post-test 1), and second post-test (post-test 2).

Specifically, this chapter includes discussions of the demographic variation in data (that is, the personal characteristics of the respondents who completed each survey administration) and a discussion of the variation in attitudes about women expressed by respondents. Examining the data by conceptual category (rather than by administration) will allow for clearer longitudinal comparisons, which is best suited to a question of efficacy. All questions will be analyzed within the context of respondent gender, as literature widely addresses the variation between rape supportive attitudes held by men and women and the variation in responses to programming as well as the difference in programming content. This is also to counteract any sampling error, given that women may be more likely to respond to the survey as sexual assault is often incorrectly understood as a “women’s issue.”

It is important to note that throughout this chapter and those following, responses will be referred to as “desirable” or “undesirable.” While these may be normative terms, they are in fact not to be understood as normative statements. Rather, response desirability must be framed within the context of program content and goals. Program goals were outlined in Chapter 1, but may loosely be described as the alignment of student attitudes with legal definitions and notions of human dignity, agency, and respect, as well as the alignment of student perceptions with empirically collected data on sexual assault.

## **Pre-Test Demographics**

The first survey administration proved to be the most successful in terms of recruiting participants. Respondents were asked to complete the survey anonymously, but as an incentive, they were told to send an email with “survey complete” in the subject or body to the author. This email would then qualify them to be placed in a random drawing for one fifty-dollar iTunes gift card. The author set up an inbox rule so as to maintain the confidentiality of those students who had or had not completed the survey until a time after the survey window closed. Given the low chance of winning the gift card, this incentive cannot be considered to compromise voluntary participation. One hundred seventy-seven students completed the first survey administration. This amounts to approximately a 35% response rate (of 496 first-year students solicited for participation).

Given that the survey seeks to measure attitudes about gender and aims to determine the efficacy of gender-specific programming, it is highly desirable to have a balanced gender sample. Further, based on previous research concerning peer-education programming and rape supportive attitudes, gender is clearly correlated with these attitudes and must be controlled for. The first administration had moderate success in this element: 41% of respondents identified as male, 58% as female, and 1% declined to indicate their gender.

Beyond gender, respondents’ personal information closely matched the student body as a whole. Thirty percent indicated that they were varsity athletes. Respondents came from 8 countries and 31 states, with foreign respondents at 4.5% of the total response pool. Of the 31 states represented, respondents clustered as

residents of Virginia (21 respondents), Texas (13), Georgia (10), Ohio (9), and North Carolina (9).

The last components of personal information collected concerned respondents' levels of personal experience with sexual assault. In the pre-test, 24.8% of respondents indicated that they knew someone that had experienced sexual assault; an additional 7.6% preferred not to indicate one way or the other. A smaller percentage admitted they had been sexually assaulted ("sexually touched against your will"), totaling just over thirteen percent of respondents, with 5.7% of respondents preferring not to say. Finally, 3.8% of respondents had been raped ("forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will") with an almost equivalent portion preferring not to say (2.5%).

### **First Post-Test Demographics**

Unfortunately, the second administration of the survey was less successful in securing participation than the first. Only sixty-five students responded to the survey; this equates to a decline in response rate from 35% to 13%. Such a significant drop warrants consideration as to the cause. While the incentive offered was the same, students may have been dissatisfied with their luck with the reward from the previous administration and have chosen not to participate because they did not feel the incentive was worthwhile; this problem might have been redressed by offering multiple gift cards (five for \$10 each, or 2 for \$25 each, for example). However, another likely concern lies in the timing of the post-test in relation to programming. The first post-test was offered less than two weeks after the

conclusion of the pre-test. Students may have been fatigued from the barrage of attention to sexual assault between the pre-test administration and subsequent extended orientation programming. A third possibility may be that, despite the explicit statement in the recruiting and consent form, students may have opened the survey and become confused upon seeing the same questions as the pre-test. Presuming that they had already completed the survey, they may have opted not to fill out the form.

Obviously, this significantly limits the conclusions that can be drawn from this second sample. The responses garnered will be discussed within the larger attitudinal shifts between administrations, yet are not significant on their own, and analysis must proceed cautiously.

In addition to the decreased response rate, the respondent pool also became less representative. The gender divide increased slightly, so that self-identified females represented 61%, males 35%, and 4% prefer not to say. Only 24% of respondents play a varsity sport, slightly less than the student body at large. Students hailed from 26 states, and only one international student completed the survey.

Data garnered from personal experience questions produced some interesting patterns. The portion of students who know someone that was raped or sexually assaulted skyrocketed to 41%. This increase of more than 15% may be explained in a number of ways. Students who have a personal connection may have been more motivated to complete the survey than those who do not (self-selection bias). Alternatively, this might be a sign that education programming helped more



students classify and define their own experiences as rape, resulting in a greater presence in social networks. Yet another explanation would be that a significant number of individuals were newly assaulted between the time of the pre-test administration and the first post-test administration. However, given the short time frame involved, this final explanation seems less likely than the former two. Respondents indicated almost identical levels of personal experience with sexual assault and rape (comparing both positive and noncommittal/"prefer not to say" answers).

Notably, 63% of respondents admitted that they had completed the pre-test administration of the survey. While this includes only 34 respondents, isolating and comparing this data to the pre-test scores potentially may provide a way of "tracking" responses without concerns of anonymity and ethical violations.

## **Second Post-Test Demographics**

The second post-test showed an atypical rebound in response rate. While it is often expected that participation decrease over time (see previous chapter), the final administration of the efficacy survey showed an increase in participation over the previous installment (though not to the pre-test levels). This supports the explanations of respondent confusion (at completing an almost identical survey so close together) or respondents being overwhelmed by the topic due to the proximity of survey administrations and training programs. The final response rate was almost precisely 20%, which although not as high as pre-test levels, still may be considered a valuable collection of responses.

The respondents' personal characteristics return more closely to pre-test diversity. Just over sixty percent of respondents were female, 34% male, and almost five percent declining to indicate either way. Just over 70% were not varsity athletes, with 25% positive responses and almost 5% declining to respond. Students represented 33 states, with Virginia and Texas residents representing the largest clusters. However, no foreign students identified themselves as such. Forty percent of students attended Sex Signals, which may have been a confounding factor (and thus should be taken into account when interpreting results). However, more than 50% did not attend, providing a useful and valuable control group to those that did attend. Seven percent did not remember if they had attended and 4.4% preferred not to say.

The levels of personal experience increased significantly between the first two and final administrations of the survey. Within approximately three months, more students know individuals who have experienced assault, more openly admit to being assaulted, and more "prefer not to say".

	Pre-Test		Post-Test 1		Post-Test 2	
	Yes	Prefer not to say	Yes	Prefer not to say	Yes	Prefer not to say
Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?	24.8%	7.6%	40.7%	3.7%	43.3%	6.7%
Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?	13.3%	5.7%	13.0%	5.6%	22.2%	8.9%
Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?	3.8%	2.5%	3.7%	3.7%	5.6%	7.8%

The notable increase in these statistics is worrisome. Among first year students, almost one-quarter have been assaulted, and more than 5% have been

raped. While, admittedly, efficacy here is not being defined as the reduction of assaults, these numbers are disheartening. However, the differential is not necessarily to be taken as the increase in women who have been assaulted on Washington and Lee's campus. Rather, this could simply represent a change in awareness (that is to say, a change in what student's consider to be "legitimate" rape) or a shift in communication such that more students are being forthcoming about prior experiences.

### **Attitudes About Women (and Victims) – Stagnant or Shifting?**

Given the focus of this endeavor on efficacy over immediate effect and the small number of responses collected during the second survey administration, it follows that analyzing the pretest and second post-test data will prove most informative. However, looking at the second post-test alone is not enough. For efficacy to be established, it must be determined that the extended orientation had some effect immediately, and that the shift in attitudes is not solely the result of time. The second administration is also important because these data are the least confounded by other educational programming conducted throughout the year.<sup>13</sup>

Rather than assessing each question in order, this chapter is being divided into implicit and explicit knowledge. Implicit attitudes are those attitudes about gender (specifically women in this chapter) that support violent sexual interactions

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<sup>13</sup> First year students were required to attend or were the target audience for at least two other programs: "Drunk Sex: Where Do you Draw the Line", and "Sex Signals" (the latter has already been discussed). Both aim to address the issue of consent, explicitly discussing the role that alcohol plays in compromising consent. Students also may have undergone Green Dot training or other supplementary programming.

but do not reference assault in the body or language of the prompt. Explicit knowledge is measured by those prompts that directly address concerns or issues surrounding sexual assault or the victims or perpetrators thereof. Educational programs may be successful in changing explicit knowledge, yet may be incapable of redressing the underlying beliefs that support these behaviors.

### ***Implicit Attitudes: Women and Femininity, Gendered Expectations***

Immediately upon beginning the survey, students were directed to respond to questions, all necessary preambles having been contained in the recruitment emails. The first statement respondents were prompted to respond to was “Women are naturally more sexually modest than men.” This statement immediately relates to sexual assault programming; the underlying attitude of female passivity is often used to support male aggression in sexual activity.

Students expressed notable hesitation to take either extreme, and largely clustered in the middle of the attitudinal spectrum (see table below). This clustering suggests that students may have been reluctant to take a position and the decision to exclude a neutral category was effective in pushing students to reflect introspectively about their true attitudes. In all administrations, the number of students who selected “Prefer Not to Answer” was small or nonexistent.

Among all three administrations, women were more likely to strongly disagree than men, yet less likely than men to somewhat agree. And of the two responses, a majority somewhat agree. Men, conversely, seemed to split evenly between the hedging positions, with similar proportions of men somewhat agreeing and somewhat disagreeing in both the pretest and second post-test. The first post-

test may be considered an outlier given that only 19 men responded to this question. Note also that only one student selected “Prefer Not to answer” at any administration and thus that answer category has been omitted from the data tables. As this chapter proceeds, this answer category will be omitted from all tables in which the cell count represents less than 5% of the total responses collected for the question unless the data suggest a pattern. However, given that answers are mutually exclusive and system missing data have been excluded from analysis, the percentage of students responding “Prefer not to answer” in any given instance may be determined by subtracting all other response rates from 100.

“Women are more sexually modest than men”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=8.574$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=19.074$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=3.651$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	6.3%	9.8%	5.3%*	9.1%*	9.7%	12.5%
Somewhat Disagree	39.1%	20.7%	57.9%*	15.2%*	35.5%	21.4%
Somewhat Agree	40.6%	56.5%	15.8%*	66.7%*	45.2%	55.4%
Strongly Agree	14.1%	12.0%	21.1%*	9.1%*	9.7%	10.7%

\*p<.005<sup>14</sup>

When considering the three administrations as marked by the progression of time, it appears that little changed between the first and final administration of the attitudes survey. Even the second administration remains largely consistent with the pretest and second post-test among female respondents (the data may closely mirror the pattern given the larger, though still small, response rate of women over

<sup>14</sup> For the next three chapters, the p-value statistic may be understood as significant when notated by one or multiple asterisks following a statistic. The chi-square values were calculated for response by gender for each individual administration and thus cannot be understood to represent the significance of the change between administrations. Thus while p-values are reported, they ultimately fail to indicate the significance of the findings most central to this determination of efficacy.

men). There appears to be a slight shift toward more desirable attitudes among women between the first and third surveys. Men's attitudes also shifted, however there was not a uniform decrease as among women. Rather, men are less likely to strongly agree or somewhat disagree and are more likely to somewhat agree or strongly disagree. This suggests that some men have been affected by programming and have chosen more desirable attitudes as a result thereof. However, most men still retain their original positions when prompted with "Women are more sexually modest than men."

Students were also asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed that women are expected to have sex often. This question indirectly refers to the passivity of women, and also the difference between sex object and sex agent. As will be discussed in the next chapter, there is a strong consensus that men are expected to have sex often. They are active agents, and this behavior is expected of them. However, very few students assert that women are expected to have sex often (and of those who do, all are women). There is very little difference between pre- and post-test scores. In fact, the shifts among women suggest that slightly more women are espousing the view that women are not supposed to have sex often. However, this may be a byproduct of Greek recruitment, where female students are often negatively viewed for sexual activity (formal recruitment took place approximately three weeks prior to the last post-test though potential new members are closely observed from their arrival on campus).

“Women are expected to have sex often.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=12.809$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=3.440$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=9.047$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	52.3%	41.3%	31.6%	42.4%	45.2%	50.0%
Somewhat Disagree	33.8%	34.8%	47.4%	39.4%	38.7%	25.0%
Somewhat Agree	12.3%	19.6%	21.1%	15.2%	12.9%	17.9%
Strongly Agree	0%	1.1%	0%	3%	0%	7.1%

Yet despite the expectation that men are having sex with women, women are not expected to have sex often, begging the question: who are these men having sex with? It seems (to the author) that men must not be having sex with women, but rather, with women as sex *objects* where the women are not so much having sex as sex is being had with them.

Not only are women not expected to have sex, but they are not expected to be interested in it either. This belief is rooted in Freud’s claim that a woman’s sexuality must be awakened by a virile man (see Chapter 3). This then allows for a sexual script in which a man forces a woman to become interested, or to acquiesce. However, even this belief is not strongly rooted in the class of 2015. A majority of both male and female students strongly or somewhat disagree with the statement that “Women aren’t as interested in sex as men are” even before educational programming.

“Women aren’t as interested in sex as men are.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=7.528$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=6.782$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=2.768$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	33.8%	20.7%	26.3%	9.1%	22.6%	26.8%
Somewhat Disagree	35.4%	38.0%	52.6%	51.5%	38.7%	42.9%
Somewhat Agree	18.5%	27.2%	15.8%	30.3%	29.0%	26.8%
Strongly Agree	12.3%	10.9%	5.3%	6.1%	9.7%	3.6%

However, while men tested as holding more desirable attitudes prior to programming than women, women surpass men in the final post-test data. Men, in fact, are more likely to hold undesirable views and less likely to strongly disagree with the statement that women are not as interested in sex as men are after education. This may suggest that men are alienated and feel attacked by the sexual assault programming they experience, which then causes them to abandon desirable attitudes. Women, on the other hand, may feel empowered by programming and may embrace the concept of agented consent.

The statement “Women should do all they can to look attractive” targets a subtlety of sex: the role and responsibility of attracting a partner. This statement intimates the degree to which respondents perceive women as sexual objects responsible for putting on a show for men. There is a notable difference between the pattern of female and male response here. Men appeared to cluster around the less committal categories, as in the previous question. Women, however, are more likely to express strong disagreement after education than are men (who originally displayed stronger disagreement) and show a larger percentile gain in this category as well.



“Women should do all they can to look attractive.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=6.937$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=9.159$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=6.509$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	24.6%	18.5%	26.3%	30.3%	12.9%	25.0%
Somewhat Disagree	36.9%	40.2%	15.8%	45.5%	41.9%	28.6%
Somewhat Agree	23.1%	32.6%	47.4%	21.2%	25.8%	33.9%
Strongly Agree	15.4%	7.6%	5.3%	3.0%	12.9%	10.7%

However, these data show some less than desirable outcomes as well. Among women, while a greater proportion strongly disagrees with this statement, a greater proportion also strongly agrees after education. Between the first administration and the final administration, 5.1% of women no longer strongly or somewhat disagree (58.7% of women in the first administration and 53.6% in the third). Men are also less likely to strongly disagree, in addition to fewer men disagreeing in any form. The stagnation of attitudes here suggests that peer education programming does little to address the underlying attitudes that support sexual assault by normalizing aggression and censoring victims.

The perception of victim responsibility for assault was operationalized for implicit attitudes by the prompt “A woman goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex.” Beyond responsibility for the assault, this statement targets the misconception that perpetrators are merely “confused” by the signals that women send, and are not intentionally harming women. Women who send a “signal” to a man by returning to his home or apartment on the first date may not want to have sex, but a man who has sex with her may be excused because he was only responding to the woman’s nonverbal

cues. As with previous statements measuring explicit knowledge, the vast majority of students hold desirable attitudes even before peer-education programming.

“A woman goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=5.550$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=16.480$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=14.840$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	40.0%	44.0%	42.1%*	69.7%*	61.3%	78.2%
Somewhat Disagree	44.6%	35.2%	26.3%*	15.2%*	16.1%	16.4%
Somewhat Agree	12.3%	14.3%	26.3%*	9.1%*	19.4%	3.6%
Strongly Agree	1.5%	5.5%	0%*	6.1%*	0%	1.8%

\*p<.05

As with previous statements targeting implicit attitudes, data fail to show a consistent pattern between survey administrations. While most students (both male and female) display desirable attitudes at the pretest, men seem less likely to display desirable attitudes after education. Women, to the contrary, seem to be more positively affected by education, with both a greater proportion displaying desirable attitudes and also a greater proportion strongly asserting that belief. This may not be the result of SPEAK’s programming, however. Female attitudes continue to shift in desirable directions into the second post-test, suggesting this may be part of a broader attitudinal shift independent of programming.

***Explicit Knowledge: Awareness of Victims and Sexual Assault***

Immediately after many respondents indicated to what extent women should try their best to look attractive, they were faced with the statement that “Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men.” If women are expected to appear attractive at all times and an individual then agrees with this statement, by that logic, all good women deserve to be raped.

It is interesting to note, then, that there are a notable number of individuals who both agree (in any capacity) with the statement that women should always try to look attractive and the statement that many women cause themselves to be raped because of their actions and the clothes they wear. More than 15% of pre-test respondents hold these conflicting views. However, this number falls to 7% at the first post test ( $p < .001$ ) and remains at 10% after the second post-test. Here the fruits of peer-education are somewhat illuminated. Students are made more aware of sexual assault as an issue and the attitudes related to it. With this increased awareness comes increased self-reflection, which may highlight these conflicting views.

Of course, it is worth noting that in general, students largely disagreed with this victim-blaming statement. However, this may be the result of increased awareness as to the undesirability of victim-blaming attitudes. Yet, one must not be quick to dismiss these data; even among pretest responses, 73% of men and women either somewhat or strongly disagreed with that statement, as did more than 75% of men and women in both post-tests. Compare this to the less clearly defined responses to "Women should do all they can to look attractive." While students know not to blame women, they also intimate that women are (at least in part) sex objects that should appeal to men. This clearly illustrates the difference between implicit attitudes and explicit knowledge. While students' explicit knowledge is clear, they often support women's self-objectification. If women are expected to portray themselves constantly in a desirable way, it follows that they always aim to be desired.

However, it is not enough that women are not expected to have sex (see previous section), but it is also the case that they are expected not to seek sex out. The degree to which Washington and Lee students hold this to be true is measured by their responses to the statement “A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.” This statement does not seek to determine if students believe women want sex, but rather to determine if students expect women to offer some resistance as part of normalized sexual interactions. If resistance is normalized, then what distinguishes a rape from an ordinary encounter?

“A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=2.609$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=9.469$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=8.550$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	33.8%	37.0%	42.1%	59.4%	35.5%	50.9%
Somewhat Disagree	35.4%	28.3%	21.1%	31.3%	38.7%	27.3%
Somewhat Agree	24.6%	30.4%	26.3%	9.4%	9.7%	12.7%
Strongly Agree	4.6%	3.3%	10.5%	0%	9.7%	7.3%

However, it seems that serious concern is not yet warranted. The majority of students either strongly or somewhat disagree in all three administrations. And even with the high proportion of students who fell into either disagreement category prior to education programming, a greater percentage of students associated with these responses after training, and notably, more students selected “strongly disagree”, implying strong disavowing of this rape supportive attitude. This statement may tie into the educational catchphrase “no means no,” by which victims’ resistance is given validity and transformed from coy play to an honest

assertion. Here it seems that peer-education programs have succeeded in changing attitudes.

Yet in this regard, there is some attrition of effect; the second post-test scores are lower than the first-post test scores (though still higher than the pre-test scores), especially among men. So while the number of students willing to more strongly disavow this rape supportive attitude has increased, it seems that the effect requires some maintenance, and perhaps offering other supplemental programming throughout the year may help sustain this positive shift.

Another question focusing on explicit rape knowledge pertained to the respondents' perceptions of victims' motivations in coming forward. There is a common misperception that women who claim they have been raped are in fact "women scorned" (hence the title of Peggy Reeves Sanday's work), and thus are speaking out for some vindictive motivation. Beliefs such as this suggest that women are falsifying rape claims and thus both create strong barriers to women speaking out and build strong cultural supports for men who are accused. Belief in this was operationally defined as somewhat agreement or strong agreement with the statement "When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward."

“When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=12.669$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=18.129$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=21.599$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	50.8%	64.1%	57.9%*	84.8%*	51.6%**	72.7%**
Somewhat Disagree	33.8%	30.4%	31.6%*	15.2%*	32.3%**	21.3%**
Somewhat Agree	13.8%	4.3%	5.3%*	0%*	9.7%**	5.5%**
Strongly Agree	0%	1.1%	0%*	0%*	0%**	0%**

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.005

These results are perhaps the most promising thus far, both when examining original attitudes and attitudes after peer-education. Prior to education, a majority of both men and women strongly disagreed that women who said they had been raped by an acquaintance most likely had changed her mind after sex. Immediately after peer-education (the first post-test), there was a notable increase in the number of students who strongly disagreed. However, there is even further evidence of the positive effect of peer-education in that for both post-tests, no students strongly agreed with the prompt statement, and among women, no students agreed in any fashion with the statement during the second post-test. Among men, a smaller percentage somewhat agreed with the statement; again, a larger portion selected this response than at the first-post test, though still below the original pre-test proportion of men. This speaks to the attrition of programming effect and may be considered further support for a programming schedule of “continuing education”, which will be discussed in chapter nine.

Another prompt statement also addressed this perception of victim motivation for accusation. However, rather than involving a situation where a woman originally granted consent and then “revoked it” after the act had been

completed, this statement more so speaks to the scorned woman stereotype whose claim of assault is less a management of stigmatized identity (as she “changed her mind afterward”) but more a conscious decision to punish men for either shunning their advances or for some other perceived transgression. Agreement here then is more than doubting victim claims, but rather represents the belief that women should be required to prove their claims to prevent men from being victimized. The victim is thus seen as a perpetrator. Respondents were asked to respond to the statement “Women often use the charge of rape vindictively.”

“Women often use the charge of rape vindictively.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=20.288$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=14.896$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=16.192$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	24.6%**	48.9%**	36.8%	78.8%	33.3%*	67.9%*
Somewhat Disagree	35.4%**	37.0%**	31.6%	18.2%	40.0%*	23.2%*
Somewhat Agree	33.8%**	8.7%**	21.1%	3.0%	20.0%*	8.9%*
Strongly Agree	1.5%**	2.2%**	5.3%	0%	6.7%*	0%*

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.01

Compared to other explicit knowledge prompts, students originally display less desirable attitudes than other prompts. This is especially true among men, who may feel personally vulnerable to such attacks. However, as is true for other explicit knowledge, education produces positive changes among both men and women. Students are more likely to hold desirable attitudes and are more likely to strongly assert them. However, more than a quarter of men still hold undesirable attitudes; as mentioned before, this may be the result of personal vulnerability. This could possibly be addressed through programming changes, which again will be discussed in chapter nine.

A common concern among peer-educators has been promoting the understanding that alcohol creates a situation in which consent is not able to be obtained. However, educators have encountered resistance to that; it is difficult to determine, and thus explain to audiences, just how much alcohol is required for consent to be compromised. Students know that women who are unconscious are unable to give consent, yet is one drink enough to compromise the ability to gain consent? For the purposes of this thesis, the inability to gain consent from a woman was operationalized such that she exhibited signs of alcohol poisoning in the forms of “blacking out” (alcohol induced partial retrograde amnesia) or alcohol-induced vomiting. Respondents were asked if it was rape when a woman drank enough to show either of these symptoms of intoxication and had sex.

“When a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=10.673$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=10.610$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=6.455$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	13.8%	8.8%	0%	3.0%	9.7%	8.9%
Somewhat Disagree	30.8%	20.9%	21.1%	9.1%	22.6%	10.7%
Somewhat Agree	35.4%	29.7%	42.1%	24.2%	16.1%	23.2%
Strongly Agree	18.5%	30.8%	36.8%	48.5%	38.7%	39.3%
Prefer not to Answer	1.5%	9.9%	0%	15.2%	12.9%	17.9%

As with the previous two prompts, there seems to be a clear effect of peer education on this measure of explicit rape knowledge. Between the pre-test and the post-test, there are notable declines of the men and women who would (implicitly) strongly disagree that women exhibiting signs of alcohol poisoning are capable of giving consent. There are also significant declines among respondents who would somewhat disagree with the prompt and an increase in the proportion that would strongly agree. However, there is slight recession of desirable responses by the



second-post test, again speaking to the declining efficacy of peer-education programming over time. One significant difference apparent with this prompt is the striking proportions of students who preferred not to take a position on the statement. This may be the result of personal indecision, or it may be that respondents were uncomfortable expressing what they perceived to be a socially undesirable attitude.

Peer-education not only intends to raise awareness of a rape reality but also seeks to remove the expectation that victims have done all that they can to resist the attack. In other words, programs aim to show that all responsibility and all agency in the assault belong to the perpetrator. Nevertheless, it is often expected that women resist in order to “validate” their claims of rape. Of course, that expectation implies that a woman’s resistance matters to the perpetrator; yet in cases of intentional assault (not a matter of miscommunication), rape is an assertion of power, and thus resistance is irrelevant to perpetrators actions. Additionally, many victims go through acute anxiety (which may later develop into post-traumatic stress disorder or other anxiety disorders). A common manifestation of this acute anxiety is victim “freezing”: they may become nonverbal and nonresponsive, essentially retreating within themselves to mentally avoid the trauma. Thus the expectation of victim resistance (either physical or verbal) is unfair both in that it wrongly implies agency to victims and also that many women may be physically or mentally unable to resist. This is essence the same problem as blaming a pedestrian for being hit by a motorist while he was walking in the crosswalk. To measure

students' expectations of victim resistance, they were prompted with the statement:

“Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to.”

“Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=4.716$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=9.645$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=22.386$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	61.5%	65.6%	52.6%	78.8%	54.8%*	72.7%*
Somewhat Disagree	20.0%	21.2%	26.3%	12.1%	32.3%*	20.0%*
Somewhat Agree	10.8%	8.9%	10.5%	9.1%	9.7%*	7.3%*
Strongly Agree	6.2%	3.3%	10.5%	0%	3.2%*	0%*

\*p<.005

Men and women originally hold very similar perceptions. However, after education, women show a marked increase in desirable responses. Women are significantly more likely to strongly disagree with the prompt statement than female pretest respondents and also more likely than men at the same administration. In fact, fewer men somewhat or strongly disagree with the prompt at the second administration than at the first. Yet by the third administration, a desirable shift is apparent in male attitudes. Overall, women are more likely to strongly assert desirable attitudes. While fewer men are willing to assert desirable attitudes as strongly, overall, a greater proportion of men are willing to express desirable attitudes.

Victim reputation is often cited as yet another reason to disqualify her claims of assault. This is closely tied to the intensified prescriptions and proscriptions outlined in the Prentice and Carranza's article (2002) and the just world fallacy. When victims who have “bad” reputations (that is, those contrary to feminine role obligations), the bad things that happen to them are negligible. This was operationalized by the statement “In the majority of rapes, the victim is

promiscuous or has a bad reputation.” Thus, in agreeing with this statement, respondents imply that in the majority of rapes, victims deserve what happens to them. They are thus undeserving of empathy and support and perpetrators are relieved of responsibility for the harm they have caused in a form of informal social justice.

“In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=11.480$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=13.191$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=14.601$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	46.2%	57.6%	47.4%	69.7%	45.2%	71.4%
Somewhat Disagree	35.4%	35.9%	36.8%	27.3%	38.7%	17.9%
Somewhat Agree	13.8%	3.3%	5.3%	3%	9.7%	8.9%
Strongly Agree	1.5%	1.1%	5.3%	0%	3.2%	0%

Students seem less likely to strongly assert desirable attitudes than for other forms of explicit knowledge. Yet over time and after education, more students are willing to strongly disavow this statement. Both men and women show signs of declining efficacy of peer education programming, though it is not a full rebound to pre-test levels. Women, more so than men, retain the effects of education, with no women in either post-test strongly asserting that victims often have bad reputations. This support among women is both surprising and promising, as the just world fallacy seems to pit women against each other in a fight for survival where only the good girls are safe and only the bad girls get hurt. Education seems to play a part addressing this fallacy, and may be facilitated by female only programming. This will be discussed further in the upcoming chapter on policy implications.

## **Conclusions**

By differentiating implicit attitudes and explicit knowledge within the broader category of attitudes about women and victims, it became clear that programming much more successfully affects explicit knowledge than the underlying attitudes. Further, it is apparent that students already hold more desirable explicit knowledge before education than might be expected. Programming may be considered to have some long-term efficacy with explicit knowledge; though effectiveness dissipates over time while not returning to or rebounding below pretest levels. While effective, programming only may be effective within a small range, as a majority of students already hold target attitudes. Addressing implicit attitudes may be more difficult but hold greater room for change. And as implicit attitudes help to sustain explicit knowledge, changing underlying attitudes may facilitate longer lasting explicit knowledge changes, and thus, increase program efficacy and decrease the need for continuous education.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Introduction**

This next chapter examines the shifting attitudes of students regarding attitudes about men and rape realities. As with the previous chapter, attitudes about men may be understood in two categories: implicit attitudes about masculinity and explicit knowledge about perpetrators (who are most often male).

The concept of “rape realities” has been operationalized through two methods. The first addresses victim believability as a function of the social identity of the perpetrator, and the second method addresses victim motivation. Though these methods of operationalization will be discussed further below, it bears noting now that understanding the role that victim motivation and perpetrator identity play in believability may expose the extent to which students are nullifying rape, and thus the portion of rapes that occur in their environment that they consider to be “unreal.” One component of peer-education is raising awareness such that students not only become aware of potential risks they face but also that they are aware of the struggles of their peers, thus promoting empathy (a critical component of both the men’s and women’s programs). The extent to which programs succeed in increasing victim believability may thus be understood as an effective increase in awareness of rape in accordance with legal definitions and as experienced by students on Washington and Lee’s campus.

### **Implicit Attitudes: Men and Masculinity, Gendered Expectations**

Student attitudes about masculinity and the qualities inherent to men seem to exhibit similar patterns to implicit attitudes regarding women. Overall, students display attitudes largely consistent with the qualities outlined in Prentice and Carranza (2002) and Sanday’s (1988) works.

Consider the first prompt statement posed to students “In general, men are more aggressive than women.” Few students (less than 5 in any one administration) answered with “strongly disagree.” Only slightly more were willing to “somewhat disagree,” leaving the vast majority of students holding what may be considered

undesirable attitudes (that is, attitudes that support gender difference and sustain rape-supportive practices). In this case, the normalization of male aggression creates the circumstances in which male sexual force is able to be pardoned, and even expected. If men are believed to be more aggressive than women (the generic implying a sort of natural predisposition), then aggression is to be *expected* in all realms of male life, including the sexual experience.

“In general, men are more aggressive than women.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=4.529$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=30.056$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=12.855$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	3.1%	2.2%	0%*	6.1%*	3.2%	5.4%
Somewhat Disagree	6.2%	2.2%	0%*	0%*	9.7%	12.5%
Somewhat Agree	58.5%	53.3%	52.6%*	57.6%*	54.8%	51.8%
Strongly Agree	30.8%	40.2%	42.1%*	36.4%*	32.3%	28.6%

\*p<.001

Again, as with implicit attitudes about women and femininity, there is little change in attitudes between survey administrations. In fact, in some instances, there is a *rebound* effect between the first and second administrations. That is, there are instances in which the first post-test shows *fewer* desirable attitudes than the pre-test. This may be somewhat exaggerated by the small sample size, however, the consistency of this pattern of responses to implicit attitudinal statements (which is inconsistent with explicit knowledge responses) suggests that this is more than a skewed respondent pool. While it may not be true that education is causing *less* desirable attitudes, it certainly may be concluded that education is not producing *more* desirable responses to implicit attitudinal prompts, and thus in this respect, fails to be effective.

In the previous chapter, some implicit attitudinal questions addressed the cultural expectations for women in regards to their sexual practices and willingness or desire to engage in such activities. Similarly, respondents were also asked several questions regarding the cultural sexual expectations of men. One such prompt was “If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation.” This statement targets the sexualization of men, such that their masculinity and thus, reputation as men, is dependent upon their sexual activities. Having sex is thus a method of improving one’s reputation and status in society. In such circumstances, however, men are positioned so that their status is dependent upon the action (that is, the acceptance) of a sexual partner. And yet, men are seen as aggressive and may, in the absence of such acceptance, choose to gain sexual experience without the consent of the required female partner.

“If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=3.656$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=10.393$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=10.101$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	6.3%	5.4%	10.5%	6.1%	0%	10.7%
Somewhat Disagree	28.1%	23.9%	10.5%	18.2%	22.6%	25.0%
Somewhat Agree	43.8%	43.5%	57.9%	54.5%	58.1%	46.4%
Strongly Agree	18.8%	25.0%	10.5%	15.2%	12.9%	16.1%

Here is one instance in which education seems to have had some positive effect on producing desirable changes in implicit attitudes about gendered role expectations. Fewer students (both male and female) display “strong agreement,” which might be understood as the least desirable response, as it represents strong support of the conflation of sexual activity and masculinity. However, upon further reflection within the context of analysis, it seems to the researcher that this question does not

accurately measure the effects of peer education. Programs do not extensively cover the role of sex (the act) in masculinity (or femininity). Rather, this question measures the extent to which participants believe that sex is a critical component of social status on this campus. And while interesting, this is outside the realm of the preliminary education programming. While highlighting a problem that must be addressed, this question may not be considered relevant to a study of program efficacy based on the fall 2011 administrations of these programs.

Similar to the previous statement, respondents were later asked to respond to the prompt “Men are expected to have sex often.” This further operationalizes the extent to which masculinity and sex are conflated to produce desirable social status. Recall that in the previous chapter, responses to the statement “Women are expected to have sex often,” students showed marked agreement both between men and women and across survey administrations. Consistently, students responded that women are not expected to have sex. Consider this in contrast to attitudes expressed by respondents with the same prompt, but concerning men:

“Men are expected to have sex often.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=6.894$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=7.568$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=5.918$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	18.5%	8.7%	5.3%	18.2%	9.7%	17.9%
Somewhat Disagree	30.8%	31.5%	26.3%	30.3%	25.8%	21.4%
Somewhat Agree	40.0%	45.7%	47.4%	39.4%	48.4%	42.9%
Strongly Agree	6.2%	10.9%	10.5%	9.1%	9.7%	14.3%

It appears that respondents hold weaker opinions about expectations of sex for men than for women. Recall that in the previous chapter, upwards of three-fourths of all respondents at each administration either strongly or somewhat disagreed with the



statement that women are expected to have sex. Yet the converse is not true for men; rather, the majority of respondents are clustered the somewhat agree and somewhat disagree options. This suggests that having sex is an intensified proscription for women, yet only a relaxed prescription for men, at least as experienced by students at Washington and Lee students.

As far as peer-education program efficacy, the results seem inconsistent. Rather than expressing more desirable attitudes, men are less likely to strongly disagree with sexual expectations of men, yet women are more so. As discussed in the previous chapter, shifts in implicit attitudes may not be the result of education but may rather reflect a gradual acculturation to Washington and Lee's social scene. However, given the close proximity between the pretest and first post-test administrations, the effect of peer-education programs cannot be irreverently discarded. Understanding these changes as a result of peer-education, however, highlights some problematic areas for the men's program. If the shifts in men's attitudes are understood as at least partially caused by peer-education programming, then programs are unfortunately producing more undesirable results in this respect. This may be the result of conflating messages of what is expected of men (that is, culturally constructed) and what is inherently male, and highlighting the differences between expectations and biological need may prove effective in resolving this.

Student responses to the previous statement suggested a relaxed prescription for men to have sex. However, proposing another dimension may help further extrapolate student's conceptions of masculinity. While men may not be so

rigidly expected to have sex, masculinity may be compromised by the refusal of sex when it is available.

“If a man doesn’t have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=2.953$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=8.450$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=10.031$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	20.0%	20.7%	0%	18.2%	19.4%	20.0%
Somewhat Disagree	24.6%	21.7%	31.6%	36.4%	12.9%	25.5%
Somewhat Agree	41.5%	44.6%	42.1%	33.3%	45.2%	41.8%
Strongly Agree	12.3%	10.9%	15.8%	12.1%	19.4%	10.9%

From the pretest data, it is highly apparent that men and women hold similar attitudes before education. This provides the opportunity for direct comparisons between the men’s and women’s programs. The men’s program appears to have little effect; between the pretest and the first post-test, there is little or no change between men’s attitudes. In fact, no men in the first post-test strongly disagreed with the statement. At the second post-test, numbers are largely the same for men, with slightly more men somewhat or strongly agreeing, representing an increase in undesirable attitudes. This is not attributable to the program, however, as it is not apparent in the first post-test.

Women’s attitudes are largely stagnant but show slight equaling between somewhat agree and somewhat disagree at the first post-test. However, by the second post-test, attitudes rebound toward pretest values, though not quite to original levels. This, again, is an indication of program effectiveness waning as time progresses.

As mentioned many times previously, there exists notable conflict between the normalization of aggression by men and the aggressor role in sexual

relationships and the negative perception of the term rape (note here that the *label* is understood negatively, though not that all experiences which might fall under this label are so labeled, and thus, so understood as negative). This extent to which aggression is normalized is explicitly operationalized in the statement “Aggression in sexual relations is natural.” The extent to which student respondents support this view can be understood as the extent to which students normalize abusive sexual acts, and thus, engage in rape nullification practices.

“Aggression in sexual relations is natural.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=40.837$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=6.786$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=37.039$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	32.3%*	36.3%*	31.6%	36.4%	12.9%*	41.8%*
Somewhat Disagree	40.0%*	39.6%*	36.8%	39.4%	58.1%*	40.0%*
Somewhat Agree	24.6%*	20.9%*	21.1%	24.2%	25.8%*	16.4%*
Strongly Agree	1.5%*	0%*	10.5%	0%	0%*	0%*

\*p<.001

In general, there is little change in responses between the three administrations. There is a slight shift among women to more strongly asserted desirable responses, yet a decline is seen among men who are willing to “strongly disagree.” Overall, however, students are displaying desirable attitudes in all three administrations. Approximately three-fourths of all students either strongly or somewhat disagreed with the assertion that aggression is natural. This departure from literature may be the result of the homogenous nature of the student body at Washington and Lee. However, this deviation, in conjunction with more desirable explicit attitudes even before education, may suggest that the new generation entering adulthood is more aware of rape and more informed even before reaching college age. This is merely

speculation, however, and will be discussed further in a later chapter concerning implications.

### **Explicit Knowledge: Expectations of Rape**

In contrast to statements targeting implicit attitudes about gendered role expectations, explicit knowledge statements prompt students more directly. This approach to questions is potentially problematic: respondents may respond to a stimulus with rote memorization without internalizing the message contained therein. However, explicit knowledge measures are still of value, as students do encounter direct stimuli in social settings; for example, students may hear that “So-and-so was raped.” The explicit use of sexual assault terms provides a context in which students may form responses. A change in explicit knowledge represents the extent to which programs successfully conditioned students to conceptualize rape and respond to rape in particular circumstances (the value of which should not be underestimated).

Perhaps one of Freud’s most detrimental claims was that many women have rape fantasies (see Sanday 1988). In this thinking, if women are raped, rape is to be understood not as some repulsive act, but rather the fulfillment of female desire. Beyond normalization and pardoning, this line of reasoning glorifies rape in the form of sexual fulfillment. Rape is transformed from an act of power to a fetish. Victims then are simply those who did not care for the fetish, and rape is a matter of taste, rather than a concern of dignity, respect, and agency.

At least to the researcher, the pretest responses provided great hope. More than 80% of men and almost 95% of women either strongly or somewhat disagreed

with “Women often fantasize about being raped.” Even prior to education, it appears that Freud’s influence in this regard is declining. However, notable in the pre-test and first post-test, some students preferred not to supply an opinion. Given the explicit nature of this question, this refusal may signify an objection to the question, or perhaps a desire not to express opinions that are perceived to be undesirable to the researcher (which, to some extent is a correct understanding, as the topic of sexual assault education concerns a sizable element of valuation of behavior).

“Women often fantasize about being raped.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=94.707$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=15.144$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=20.718$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	62.5%***	84.8%***	52.6%*	93.9%*	64.5%**	83.9%**
Somewhat Disagree	21.9%***	9.8%***	31.6%*	3.0%*	19.4%**	8.9%**
Somewhat Agree	10.9%***	1.1%***	5.3%*	3.0%*	9.7%**	1.8%**
Strongly Agree	0%***	0%***	0%*	0%*	0%**	0%**
Prefer not to Answer	4.7%***	4.3%***	10.5%*	0%*	6.5%**	5.4%**

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.005, \*\*\*p<.001

In this case, a clear pattern of attitudinal shift appears. Immediately after program participation, female respondents show a clear increased propensity to select “strongly disagree,” such that only one respondent expressed an undesirable response. By the second post-test however, female responses had returned to almost identical proportions as the original attitudinal survey (prior to education). The same can be said when comparing the first and third administration responses of men. The second administration proves problematic in that fewer men express strong disagreement than in the pretest and a proportion twice as large declined to respond. These statistics may be exaggerated by the small sample size, but when

simply considering the proportion who express desirable attitudes on the whole (that is, either strongly or somewhat disagreeing with the statement), men's attitudes seem largely unchanged in this regard, a fact not altogether concerning given the high proportion of students expressing desirable attitudes prior to education. Nevertheless, this suggests that the men's program may look to incorporate this element in future programming. While on the whole attitudes are desirable, there is yet some room for improvement.

The final two questions pertaining to student attitudes were targeted at measuring explicit knowledge. The first question relates to the sexual objectification of women and their relative agency. If students do not see women as agents of their own sexual action, but rather as sexual objects to be used at men's discretion, victims' positions are compromised. By taking away their agency in sexual activity, victims are transformed from individuals' whose right to dignity and respect has been compromised to inanimate objects with no right to complain. This concept has been operationalized in the following statement: "If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she just met there, she should be considered fair game to other males at the party who want to have sex with her." This statement also addresses the role of victim reputation in validation of a rape complaint. Agreement with this statement would suggest that respondents consider victim's past behavior as indicative of sexual "permission," thus negating any resistance (during or after the fact) offered by the victim.

“If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she just met there, she should be considered fair game to other males at the party who want to have sex with her.”

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=13.678$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=13.250$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=34.608$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	50.8%	70.7%	52.6%*	81.8%*	54.8%**	87.5%**
Somewhat Disagree	20.0%	19.6%	26.3%*	12.1%*	32.3%**	10.7%**
Somewhat Agree	18.5%	5.4%	10.5%*	3.0%*	6.5%**	1.8%**
Strongly Agree	3.1%	1.1%	0%*	0%*	0%**	0%**
Prefer not to answer	7.7%	3.3%	10.5%*	3.0%*	6.5%**	0%**

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.001

Upon further reflection, this statement may attempt to measure too many variables: first, the victim is drunk. Second, the victim’s prior behavior is being evaluated. Finally, the victim is being objectified as an object to be pursued or used by other men at the party. Thus, respondents’ answers may have been the result of consideration of any one or multiples of these factors, and may not be considered evidence of any particular component of peer-education programming.

Even from the pretest, clear distinctions arise between men and women. Women are almost uniformly expressing desirable attitudes. However, it cannot be overlooked that most men also express desirable attitudes, many of them selecting “strongly agree”. The number of men expressing desirable attitudes increases over time, suggesting that this is a gradual change in attitudes not prompted by a single peer education event, but rather an outgrowth of awareness and acculturation. Women’s attitudes also show evidence of acculturation though they express more desirable attitudes than men and fewer women opt not to provide an opinion. While already showing desirable attitudes, there is room for improvement; peer-education groups may hope to increase the number of individuals who strongly disagree.

The final statement of explicit knowledge targeted another measure of students' perceptions of rape claim validity. Rather than proposing victim motivations for claims, however, this specifically targets the validity of claims as understood by the position of the accused. Respondents were prompted to respond to the statement "Most men accused of rape are really innocent." Agreement with this statement would suggest that students doubt victim claims, for any reason whatsoever. Rather than isolating specific circumstances, this question provides an all-encompassing measure of rape nullification that is occurring.

"Most men accused of rape are really innocent."

	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=13.239$		Post-Test 1 df=4, $\chi^2=4.602$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=25.008$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Disagree	20.0%	31.5%	42.1%	51.5%	32.3%*	55.4%*
Somewhat Disagree	49.2%	56.5%	36.8%	39.4%	32.3%*	35.7%*
Somewhat Agree	20.0%	7.6%	0%	0%	16.1%*	1.8%*
Strongly Agree	1.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%*	0%*
Prefer not to answer	9.2%	4.3%	21.1%	9.1%	19.4%*	7.1%*

\*p<.001

One thing immediately apparent is the high percentages of both men and women who decline to respond to this prompt. Given the "loaded" nature of this question, this hesitation may potentially be explained by somewhat or strong agreement with the prompt. Aware of the social undesirability of this response, students may have elected not to respond instead. However, this masks the percentages of students who are expressing undesirable attitudes, especially among men whose nonresponse rates hovered around one-fifth for both post-tests.



Women seem to be positively affected by education, with a higher percentage choosing “strongly disagree” over “somewhat disagree” at the first post-test, and even continuing this trend by the second post-test. However the same longevity of effect cannot be said for the men’s program. While the immediate post-test showed an increase of males students expressing desirable attitudes and an increase in strong assertion, the second post-test shows a decrease in desirable attitudes below the pretest values. In conjunction with the high percentage of students declining to answer, it could be that education polarized men, and made men who agreed aware of the undesirability of their attitudes, resulting in their refusal to respond.

### **“Rape Realities”: Perception and Nullifications**

The final set of questions to be discussed in this chapter considered the extent to which respondents perceived the occurrence of rape (as presented to them through campus statistics and vignettes) as legitimate, or “real.” In referring to these questions as measures of a “rape reality,” I mean to say that respondents’ answers to these questions indicate the validity that they allot to claims of rape in certain situations. When rape is nullified, it may be considered in these terms to be “unreal.”

Measuring the “reality” of rape as perceived by students was done through two methods. The first set of four questions asked respondents how likely they were to believe a woman who claimed she had been raped by one of four men with social identities of varying prestige. These questions thus attempt to isolate the role that social identities of perpetrators play in the validity of rape claims to observers. A great deal of literature focuses on the often sullied reputation and identity of victims. However, perpetrators’ identities must also be considered. Given the nature

of the student body, variation in race and socioeconomic status did not warrant consideration (though arguably it does outside of Washington and Lee, especially concerning criminal trials). Rather than these two factors, I opted to use memberships within the existing and widely understood social hierarchy of the Greek system (see Early's 2007 thesis) and an additional category of varsity athlete as socially valued identities for perpetrators. Varsity athletes were considered based on the existence of misogyny and hypermasculinity within sports culture (Messner 2002).

Given the potentially overlapping statuses between the Greek hierarchical identities and those of varsity athletes, I opted to separate the question concerning varsity athletes from those concerning Greek identities so as not to imply that varsity athletes were a part of that hierarchy or assigning them a position relative to Greek identities. Thus, the first question measuring student perceptions of a "rape reality" was "How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete." Students had the option to indicate that they were very unlikely, somewhat unlikely, were not more or less likely ("neutral"), somewhat likely, or very likely to believe a woman in that circumstance. Respondents also had the option of preferring not to respond.

To be consistent with program goals, all students should respond that they are very likely to believe victims, regardless of the identity of the perpetrator. The unlikelihood of belief may potentially be the function of social identities, such that valued social identities elevate accused perpetrators above culpability by providing them with strong positive identities outweighing that of a rapist. However, rather

than basing belief on the social identity of the accused, students might also base their response off of a social knowledge of the type of individuals to hold that identity. For example, if students would not believe a victim who had been raped by a hypothetical Christian fraternity member, this might be understood as respondents' disbelief that a person of explicit Christian values would do such a thing. Thus responses potentially may show variation based on social identity of perpetrator or the association of individuals with a given identity.

"How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete?"

	Pretest df=10, $\chi^2=36.509$		Post-Test 1 df=10, $\chi^2=30.241$		Post-Test 2 df=10, $\chi^2=20.168$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Very Unlikely	4.6%***	0%***	0%**	3.0%**	0%*	1.8%*
Somewhat Unlikely	10.8%***	4.3%***	5.3%**	0%**	6.5%*	0%*
Neutral	16.9%***	10.9%***	15.8%**	0%**	19.4%*	8.9%*
Somewhat Likely	44.6%***	37.0%***	42.1%**	24.2%**	29.0%*	37.5%*
Very Likely	23.1%***	44.6%***	36.8%**	69.7%**	41.9%*	51.8%*

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.005, \*\*\*p<.001

Overall, students' responses suggest that they would, at the very least, not disbelieve women; indeed, a vast majority of both men and women would likely believe victims who claim they were raped by varsity athletes. However, women suggest that they are more often "very likely" to believe a woman.

After education, the proportion of men who express desirable attitudes (that is, likely and very likely to believe) increases, as specifically does the proportion who strongly agree. Correspondingly, there is a decrease of men who are very unlikely and somewhat unlikely. The same can be said for women; however, one individual in each post-test remained "very unlikely" to believe victims. The first post-test also shows a dearth of women who responded "neutral"; yet by the second

post-test, values return almost to pretest scores. Attrition is also seen in the expression of desirable attitudes of both women and men, such that the combined responses of “very likely” and “somewhat likely” decreases after the first post-test. This is consistent with previous analysis of explicit knowledge of victims, perpetrators, and sexual assault.

The second question attempting to measure the perception of validity of rape claims and statistics isolated accused perpetrators who were members of unpopular fraternities. This unpopular label connotes a negative social identity (while leaving which fraternities are popular or unpopular to the respondents’ own valuations), perhaps increasing student propensities to attribute a further negative identity to accused perpetrators. However, unpopular fraternities are often perceived as “safe” houses for women, and thus knowledge of personal association may provide a degree of implausibility.

“How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a member of an unpopular fraternity?”

	Pretest df=10, $\chi^2=45.991$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=3.234$		Post-Test 2 df=10, $\chi^2=18.896$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Very Unlikely	1.5%**	2.2%**	0%	3.0%	0%*	3.6%*
Somewhat Unlikely	10.8%**	5.4%**	0%	3.0%	0%*	3.6%*
Neutral	23.1%**	14.1%**	15.8%	9.1%	22.6%*	7.1%*
Somewhat Likely	41.5%**	37.0%**	47.4%	33.3%	19.4%*	28.6%*
Very Likely	23.1%**	38.0%**	36.8%	51.5%	51.6%*	55.4%*

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.001

At the pretest administration, more men select “neutral” when the accused perpetrator is a member of an unpopular fraternity than when the accused is a varsity athlete. This suggests that, at least for some men, the positive social identity of athletes is a nullifying factor in victim claims. Women, on the other hand, are less

likely to be “very likely” to believe victims and are more likely to be “very unlikely” believe victims claiming to be assaulted by members of unpopular fraternities than varsity athletes (though admittedly, the differences are slight). This suggests that prior to education, some women base their evaluation of claim validity based on the persons associated with particular social identities, rather than as men do, based on the prestige of social identities. That said, however, students in general express desirable attitudes about believing victims.

Considering responses as time progresses, both men and women become more likely to believe victims. This includes an increase (of both men and women) who are “very likely” to believe victims between the first and second post-tests, suggesting that education alone is not the cause of these changes, but rather the shift is also evidence of acculturation. However, recall this is not the same pattern apparent in the previous question (where the accused was a varsity athlete). These responses show consistent increases in desirability, rather than an increase that atrophies over time. In fact, in both post-tests, men and women were more likely to believe victims claiming to be raped by unpopular fraternity members than those claiming to be raped by varsity athletes.

Given the two different patterns of response shifts, consider then a second question pertaining to Greek affiliation of the accused perpetrator, or rather, a lack of affiliation. Independent students, especially men, are widely considered to have the least social prestige of any students on campus. However, they are also seen as the least predatory especially given the association between the Greek system and sexual assault; see Martin and Hummer 1989).

“How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?”

	Pretest df=10, $\chi^2=28.403$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=13.253$		Post-Test 2 df=10, $\chi^2=23.668$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Very Unlikely	4.6%**	0%**	0%	3.0%	0%*	1.8%*
Somewhat Unlikely	9.2%**	5.4%**	0%	9.1%	0%*	7.1%*
Neutral	24.6%**	17.4%**	21.1%	0%	25.8%*	10.7%*
Somewhat Likely	36.9%**	37.0%**	42.1%	39.4%	25.8%*	32.1%*
Very Likely	24.6%**	34.8%**	36.8%	48.5%	41.9%*	48.2%*

\*p<.01, \*\*p<.005

Pretest values for both men and women mirror the pretest values for accused perpetrators who are varsity athletes. However, slightly more students select “neutral”, rather than “somewhat” or “very likely.” However, post-test results for both men and women are also very similar between these two perpetrator profiles (which are not altogether different than the data concerning accused members of unpopular fraternities). This suggests that education has a unifying factor, increasing desirable attitudes among all offender profiles, despite preconceived notions of identity and believability.

However, it is worth noting that among women, association still seems to play a role in the percentage of women who are very likely to believe victims. Fewer women are willing to assert this position when the accused is independent, than when Greek but unpopular, than when a varsity athlete. While women know they should believe victims (a consequence of education), for at least some, association considerations affect their perceptions of assault claim validity.

The final question phrased in this manner concerned perpetrators who are members of popular fraternities. Given the prestige of the Greek system as a whole

on campus, combined with the popularity within the elite system, this question concerns the most prestigious social identity.

“How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?”

	Pretest df=10, $\chi^2=35.389$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=12.103$		Post-Test 2 df=10, $\chi^2=23.668$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Very Unlikely	1.5%**	3.3%**	0%	3.0%	0%*	1.8%*
Somewhat Unlikely	9.2%**	4.3%**	10.5%	0%	3.2%*	0%*
Neutral	16.9%**	8.7%**	10.5%	0%	16.1%*	8.9%*
Somewhat Likely	40.0%**	29.3%**	42.1%	24.2%	25.8%*	23.2%*
Very Likely	32.3%**	51.1%**	36.8%	72.7%	48.4%*	66.1%*

\*p<.01, \*\*p<.001

These data are interesting, as they suggest two different patterns of shifting perceptions. Women display the previously discussed pattern of an increased in desirable responses and an increase in the most extreme desirable response; this shift dissipates over time. Yet men exhibit both this waxing and waning in desirable attitudes as well as a steady increase in the most extreme desirable response.

Comparing this response pattern to the other three accused perpetrator identities evaluated by respondents, respondents are more likely to select “very likely” at all survey administrations when the accused man is a member of a popular fraternity than having any other social identity. However, the proportion of individuals who are “very unlikely” or “somewhat unlikely” to believe the victim remains relatively consistent between all social identities. There are two conclusions that can be drawn from this. First, there is a small, but relatively negligible, proportion of students whose doubt in victim claims is contingent upon social identity, such that a positive social identity increases doubt. However, more students’ perceptions are affected by the individuals known to associate with those

identity groups. Yet this association consideration is not tantamount to the difference between undesirable and desirable attitudes, but rather the degree of desirability, such that students are more willing to believe victims when the individuals associated with a particular identity are known to be misogynistic or hypermasculine.

As mentioned above, the measurement of students' perceptions of "rape reality" on campus was operationalized in two forms. The first form was discussed above, pertaining to validity of claims as a function of social identities of perpetrators. The second type of question asked students to estimate how many women who reported a rape were lying for one of two reasons. The reasons chosen are often cited as reasons for "malicious" reporting: that the victim is a scorned woman ("angry and wants to get back at the man she accused," for any reason, including both the sexual and social), or that the victim is calling an incident rape to protect her reputation (as promiscuity is highly undesirable for women). The degree to which respondents respond with high percentages to these questions is indicative of the degree to which students nullify reports of rape as a result of perceived victim characteristics (compared to perceived perpetrator characteristics, discussed previously).

Students were given a blank text box into which they recorded their answers. This included text and numerical responses, as well as some left blank. Students who did not provide an answer by omission as well as those who did not provide a percentage answer (such as "I haven't a clue" or "I don't know, you tell me") were isolated from the responses (still keeping these values as part of the variable



responses). The remaining answers were then coded into six categories of percentage ranges: 0-4%, 5-9%, 10-19%, 20-29%, 30-49%, and 50% or more. These divisions were made based on clustering found in the first pretest frequency data (students tended to cluster around values in those ranges).

Overall it is clear that many respondents thought a significant portion of women lie about being raped for one reason or another before peer education. However, there were slight differences among men between the two victim mentalities: men were thought slightly more women were lying because they wanted to get back at the men they accuse. This may be due to men's perceptions that their gender is attacked in sexual assault dialogues when they do little to deserve it. However, as mentioned, these differences were slight.

Consider the first victim "motivation" put forward to respondents: "How many women who report a rape who you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?" At the pretest, women are more likely to put lower percentages than their male counterparts, though a majority of both men and women estimate the number of women lying (that is, making false rape claims) to be more than 50% of all women reporting rapes.

“How many women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?”

	Pretest		Post-Test 1		Post-Test 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4%	22.0%	22.9%	26.3%	28.1%	31.8%	59.1%
5-9%	16.9%	24.1%	31.6%	28.1%	9.1%	6.8%
10-19%	23.7%	30.1%	15.8%	37.5%	27.3%	22.7%
20-29%	23.7%	7.2%	21.1%	6.3%	18.2%	6.8%
30-49%	5.1%	10.8%	5.3%	0%	4.5%	4.5%
50% or more	8.5%	3.6%	0%	0%	4.5%	0%

After education, there is a slight shift among men, such that the nearly 10% of men who thought that 50% or more of rape victims were lying for vindictive reasons no longer assert such a view. However, nearly half of all men still think that more than 10% of victims are lying. The two categories below ten percent may be understood as “desirable” answers, as the official estimation of false claims falls in the 0-10% range. The “most” desirable attitudes may be understood as an estimation between 0 and 4%, as this suggests the greatest acceptance of victims’ reports of rape, and thus a campus in which claims are considered valid and worth note; while the proportion of men and women who subscribe to these desirable perceptions of rape “realities,” these numbers do not shift significantly until the second post-test. In the second post-test, attrition becomes evident in examining male responses, as men return to the least desirable responses (which were not present in the first post-test). Women display this attrition to a lesser degree. However, of those women expressing desirable perceptions, almost all are expressing the *most* desirable perceptions. This may suggest that a core of Washington and Lee women is coalescing to support each other in their experiences of sexual assault. However, this may also be the result of some spurious relationship unaccounted for in these

data and may not be considered conclusive, especially given the rate of efficacy attrition over time among men and other women.

Overall, students seemed less concerned that women would claim to have been raped to protect their reputation. This may be due to the social stigma faced by students who openly admit to being raped. Washington and Lee’s campus is full of stories passed from class to class of women who were told to keep quiet about their rape so that their sororities could still have social events with the offending man’s fraternity, or of women denied acceptance into the sorority system because they had been raped and were thus seen as promiscuous. Thus there does not appear to be significant social gain for survivors who come forward. Nevertheless:

“How many women who report a rape would you say are lying because they want to protect their reputation?”

	Pretest		Post-Test 1		Post-Test 2	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4%	22.4%	24.7%	23.5%	32.3%	23.1%	47.1%
5-9%	22.4%	21.2%	29.4%	29.0%	26.9%	27.5%
10-19%	22.4%	25.9%	17.6%	25.8%	26.9%	15.7%
20-29%	15.5%	10.6%	11.8%	12.9%	3.8%	3.9%
30-49%	12.1%	10.6%	17.6%	0%	3.8%	3.9%
50% or more	3.4%	5.9%	0%	0%	11.5%	2.0%

However, beyond these initial differences, the pattern of attitudinal shift is largely the same as the previous question. After education, more men and women display desirable perceptions of the portion of women who are lying. Not only are more providing numbers in the 0-9% range, but greater proportions of respondents fall into the lowest category. Again as with the previous question, the percentage of women responding in this way continues to increase across both post-tests. Thus while this change is desirable, it is not entirely attributable to peer education. Yet peer-education does have some effect, evidenced by the change in men’s responses

and also among the least desirable responses (which lose support between the pre-test and first post-test and gain support again between the first post-test and the second post-test).

## **Conclusions**

As in the previous chapter, the efficacy of Washington and Lee's peer-education programming is dependent upon whether we consider implicit attitudes or explicit knowledge. Programming does little if anything to produce more desirable implicit attitudes. However, programs may be understood to be effective in the short term (though less so as time passes) in affecting explicit rape knowledge.

This chapter also incorporated student perceptions of "rape realities." This concept is separate from measures of explicit knowledge. Presenters do not address these topics specifically, but rather these questions prompt students to evaluate the considerations they take when learning of an accusation. The accused perpetrator's identity has a moderate but notable effect such that higher prestige social identities for perpetrators are positively correlated with an increase in victim belief. While this may be a function of known association (knowing the individuals and practices associated with those identities), this is merely speculation. Programming succeeds in increasing the proportion of respondents who are very likely to believe women, regardless of perpetrator identity. Education is particularly effective in changing the perception of false claims (the percentage of women who respondents believe are lying for one reason or another), yet the changes atrophy over time. The implications of these findings will be discussed in detail in chapter 9.

## Chapter 8

### Introduction

The previous two chapters examined the degree to which peer-education programming was successful in affecting implicit gendered attitudes, explicit knowledge of rape and the perceptions of victim reliability through “rape reality” questions (that is, again, the degree to which students consider the rapes they encounter as an outsider to be valid). This chapter examines the two opportunities presented to students through the survey instrument to apply their understanding of the abstract concepts of coercion and consent.

To some degree, there is an element of predictability to the responses seen in the previous chapters. Students respond to key rape terminology in largely desirable ways following education. Yet the items overlook a critical component: the assignation of the label of rape or sexual assault. When faced with situations explicitly defined as rape, or with individuals said to be involved in rape, students respond in desirable ways. The terminology is a stimulus, provoking a conditioned response. But when faced with a situation that is as yet unlabeled, how do students use their knowledge of the concepts coercion and consent to make labeling determinations? The ability to label situations matching the legal definition of rape or assault is desirable such that it suggests the alignment of social values and conceptions of the good; this alignment in turn allows for more effective boundary maintenance, and on an interpersonal level, a more empathetic environment for victims.

## **The Measure**

To measure students' abilities to apply the concepts of coercion and consent before and after education, Carolyn Humphrey's 1993 measure "The Comprehension of Consent and Coercion Scale" was utilized<sup>15</sup> (hereafter referred to as the CCC). For more information on the development of the CCC, please see Appendix.

Consent and coercion are critical components of the legal definition of rape. Rape is simply described as sexual intercourse without consent, and coercion refers to a person's inability to exercise will in providing consent (that is, coercion refers to actions resulting in the inability to withhold consent). Thus, to bring students' attitudes into accordance with legal definitions, it is crucial to convey an understanding of what constitutes consent and what may be considered as coercion (thus invalidating consent). These values are not only used in legal assessments but also reflect again the larger social value placed in autonomy, dignity, and respect. These concepts then are tools that may be utilized by students in the labeling process.

Each question in the CCC will be examined as a separate question, rather than as composite items in a scale. This is in part due to the construction of the CCC (such that the ten questions include two vignettes, thus creating the need to control for the variation in stimulus). However, examining each question individually rather than as an element within a larger scale allows for more detailed assessments of programming strengths and deficits.

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<sup>15</sup> A special thank you to Dr. Humphrey for granting me permission to use the scale as a component of my questionnaire.

## Understanding Consent

Consent is perhaps the most fundamental concept that must be effectively conveyed to students during education programming. The most simplistic definition of sexual assault or rape relies on the absence of consent. To recognize its absence, however, it is necessary to understand what consent “is.” The CCC includes five questions designed to measure students’ comprehension of consent. While these questions were interspersed among questions pertaining to coercion, they will be dealt with as a group for analysis to better illuminate the various intricacies of student comprehension.

Humphrey designed consent in the CCC as

1. The ability to comfortably say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to sexual contact with someone.
2. Being in a clear state of mind to give consent. Anyone who is asleep or intoxicated cannot legally give her/his consent.
3. Being able to speak your partner’s language fluently enough to fully understand what is being asked
4. When a person’s right to comfortably say no is taken away from her or him, then she or he cannot give her or his consent. And, if you cannot give your consent, and your partner has sex with you, then that is considered a sexual assault.

In addition, one cannot make assumptions about what a person is thinking or feeling based on their own judgment of the situation.

This is largely in line with legal definitions and thus with programming definitions (as SPEAK and One in Four undergo educational training including the most current legal definitions prior to presenting the orientation programming with the intention of aligning presented definitions of rape).

The first question posed to students after the first vignette targets students' comprehension of consent as a verbal affirmation. Verbal consent is desirable because either party may misunderstand physical cues and verbal consent alleviates the potential for misunderstanding; whether an individual is assaulted after the fact, their desires are made clear. After reading a vignette, students are asked a series of follow-up questions, the first of which is

“If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.”

CCC Consent Question 1	Pretest df=6, $\chi^2=17.330$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=32.217$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=25.232$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	0%*	0%*	0%***	0%***	3.2%**	0%**
Agree	3.1%*	6.6%*	0%***	0%***	3.2%**	0%**
No Opinion	6.2%*	1.1%*	10.5%***	0%***	3.2%**	1.8%**
Disagree	40.0%*	23.1%*	31.6%***	18.2%***	19.4%**	21.4%**
Strongly Disagree	50.8%*	69.2%*	57.9%***	81.8%***	71.0%**	76.8%**

\*p<.01, \*\*p<.005, \*\*\*p<.001

As with questions regarding specific rape knowledge, students already display strong support for desirable attitudes. More than 90% of men and women disagree or strongly disagree that Jim can assume consent. Again, as with the explicit rape knowledge, after education students display desirable attitudes more strongly after education. More men and women “strongly disagree”, though the combined proportion of students who *either* disagree or strongly disagree remains largely the same. While education is successful for some students, there seems to be an “untouchable” portion that remains entrenched in undesirable attitudes.

Over time, women’s attitudes tend to display typical attrition. At the second post-test, women return to near pre-test proportional distribution. However, for



men, interestingly, the second post-test shows an even higher proportion of men selecting the most desirable answers. While this may be due to small cell-sizes, this pattern is also seen in other questions examined in previous chapters. Thus, it cannot be unquestioningly attributed to sampling, but may in fact be evidence of a pattern of acculturation to rape knowledge through methods other than peer-education programming.

The second question concerning consent that students were asked related to circumstances in which verbal consent might not be considered to be valid. Specifically, given acts of coercion, verbal consent may be negated, as it was gained in a way that violated Allison’s free will. This was operationalized as “If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.” This truly expects a nuanced understanding of consent, looking beyond the verbal assent and toward the circumstances leading up to that point.

“If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.”

CCC Consent Question 2	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=19.155$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=12.895$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=12.708$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	9.4%*	5.5%*	5.3%	15.2%	12.9%	12.5%
Agree	17.2%*	27.5%*	31.6%	33.3%	16.1%	41.1%
No Opinion	17.2%*	17.6%*	31.6%	12.1%	29.0%	17.9%
Disagree	40.6%*	47.3%*	26.3%	36.4%	35.5%	23.2%
Strongly Disagree	15.6%*	2.2%*	5.3%	3.0%	6.5%	5.4%

\*p<.05

The differences between this question and the one above are stark. Only in one administration did a majority of either men or women express desirable responses (in this case, desirable responses include “strongly agree” and “agree”). Also, compared to the previous question, significantly more students opted to select “no opinion”. Yet “no opinion” might be understood not as ambivalence, but rather confusion that prohibits the assertion of opinion. In this case, the confusion arises out of Allison’s verbal consent in the wake of her mental dissent.

Overall, more students select desirable responses after education. However, as mentioned, even this change fails to bring about strong desirable responses. Women are slightly more inclined to select “strongly agree” after education, but men are less so (perhaps this is due to sampling error, but it may also be the emphasis on verbal consent in programming). For women, the first post-test showed the lowest levels of non-opinion (or confusion), suggesting that education provided some clarity that dissipated over time, though the same cannot be said for men’s responses. Men seem to display some reversion in attitudes: while the first post-test shows a notable decline in men who display undesirable attitudes compared to the pretest, this proportion rebounds slightly by the second post-test (though not entirely to pretest values).

The remaining questions targeting student understanding of consent followed the second vignette. In this vignette, alcohol complicates a flirtatious encounter and a woman’s nonverbal communication is ineffective in deterring the man’s (Kirk) behavior, resulting in intercourse. The first question following the vignette immediately focuses attention on the nonverbal cues that Mai (the woman)

sent. “It was okay for Kirk to assume that Mai’s kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him.” Students must recognize that physical cues are not necessarily consent, but rather consent must be gained verbally.

“It was okay for Kirk to assume that Mai’s kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him.”

CCC Consent Question 3	Pretest df=6, $\chi^2=17.199$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=12.596$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=41.013$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	0%**	0%**	0%*	0%*	0%***	0%***
Agree	16.9%**	5.5%**	10.5%*	6.1%*	13.3%***	0%***
No Opinion	6.2%**	2.2%**	10.5%*	6.1%*	6.7%***	3.6%***
Disagree	40.0%**	27.5%**	47.4%*	18.2%*	40.0%***	21.4%***
Strongly Disagree	36.9%**	64.8%**	31.6%*	69.7%*	40.0%***	75.0%***

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001

In this case, the desirable attitudinal shift would be from agreement to disagreement. This would signify students’ rejection of nonverbal consent and assumptions thereof. At the pretest, students do not espouse the most extreme undesirable attitude, with no students choosing “strongly agree”. In addition to the lack of undesirable attitudes, students also predominantly display the attitude most in line with programming ideals (“strongly disagree”). Women display more desirable attitudes than men prior to education, including fewer selecting “no opinion.” After education, numbers are largely similar among men, with only slightly more choosing “no opinion”, and even some slight shift between desirable categories. Women’s beliefs do not shift significantly, with only a slight increase from “agree” to “strongly agree.”

The final administration shows some evidence of attitudinal rebound among men. Interestingly, women’s responses do not show the same pattern of shifting. Rather, women’s responses show signs of acculturation (an increase in desirable

responses beyond the influence of a single instance of educational programming). This may be attributable to differences in programming, but it may also be the result of gendered experiences with sexual assault on campus.

The fourth question to address concerns with consent also involves the situation portrayed with Mai and Kirk in the vignette. This question targets potentially the most important complicating factor in college sexual assault education: the consumption of alcohol and its function in reducing inhibition. The question posed asked students if Kirk’s use of strong mixed drinks as a social lubricant was problematic in the consent process.

“Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.”

CCC Consent Question 4	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=13.928$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=34.950$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=31.964$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	1.5%	0%	0%*	0%*	0%*	0%*
Agree	16.9%	3.3%	10.5%*	0%*	10.0%*	1.8%*
No Opinion	6.2%	9.8%	21.1%*	3.0%*	16.7%*	7.1%*
Disagree	35.4%	28.3%	31.6%*	24.2%*	36.7%*	28.6%*
Strongly Disagree	40.0%	58.7%	36.8%*	72.7%*	36.7%*	62.5%*

\*p<.001

Again, in this case, the vast majority of students display desirable attitudes prior to education. Men display less desirable attitudes than women and to a greater extent. Notable are the proportions of both men and women (especially men) who chose not to take an opinion in either the first or second post-test. That these numbers increase *following* education for men suggests that students are still lacking the full array of tools to make determinations about consent and are unsure how to evaluate this situation. Women are less likely to select a non-opinion after education, yet this percentage increases over time, suggesting a rebound.

Yet while students are told not to rely on physical (nonverbal) cues to intimate consent, they are equally told to look to physical cues to determine *nonconsent*. That is, students are told that physical cues are important in determining resistance but are never acceptable on their own as a valid form of consent. Therein lies the nuanced element of the question: “Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.” This is a sort of double standard, but one necessary to protect victims from being blamed for rape. Often, victims are afraid and the trauma causes acute anxiety, prohibiting conscious resistance. Thus at times subtle bodily cues are all that is left for victims to resist the attack. Programs highlight the importance of paying attention to these cues to avoid “misunderstandings.”

“Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.”

CCC Consent Question 5	Pretest df=6, $\chi^2=2.715$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=27.987$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=12.807$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	36.9%	37.0%	47.4%*	51.5%*	40.0%	42.9%
Agree	43.1%	44.6%	42.1%*	39.4%*	33.3%	46.4%
No Opinion	9.2%	9.8%	10.5%*	6.1%*	16.7%	5.4%
Disagree	10.8%	8.7%	0%*	3.0%*	6.7%	5.4%
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0%*	0%*	3.3%	0%

\*p<.001

Students show strong awareness of the importance of bodily cues in intimate situations. This is consistent with their lack of support for the idea that aggression in sexual relations is natural (see previous chapter). The combination of these two questions suggests that students are coming in with notably different sexual scripts than previous generations. Yet while aggression may not be normalized to the same extent and is, (based upon the responses to this question), something to be taken

notice of in an intimate situation, students still hold gendered ideals that support sexual assault, so this may not be taken as a victory just yet.

After education, not only do more students select the desirable answers, but greater proportions of men and women choose the most assertive of the answers offered, “strongly disagree”. These numbers dilute slightly by the second post-test, especially among men. However, even at the second post-test, both men and women hold notably more desirable attitudes than at the pre-test.

### **Understanding Coercion**

Overall, students seem to understand consent relatively well even prior to education. After education, there is an increase in students’ tendency to select non-opinions, but students also show positive increases in desirable attitudes (both in proportion and strength of responses). Yet consent, although able to be compromised, is predominantly a straightforward issue. Students are taught that consent is a verbal yes, not the absence of a no. Verbal consent then must be evaluated for potentially nullifying factors, but it is simple logic: If “a” and not “b”, then “c”. If there is a verbal yes without the presences of a nullifying factor, an interaction can be termed consensual sex.

Coercion is another matter entirely. Coercion may encompass a whole host of circumstances and situations, not all of them physical actions or even blatantly obvious. “In the CCC Coercion is defined as: Any method that one person uses to take away another person's ability to comfortably say yes or no or consent to sexual contact. This includes threats, physical force, emotional pressure (e.g., saying "I will

leave you if you don't have sex with me or "I thought you loved me"), persuasive tactics, etc” (Humphrey in Appendix).

As mentioned above, the questions involved coercion definitions were interspersed among the questions involving consent. The first question involving coercion followed the first vignette with Allison and Jim.

“It is **not** ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.”

CCC Coercion Question 1	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=17.262$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=27.987$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=36.885$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	41.5%*	71.4%*	47.4%**	81.8%**	41.9%**	73.2%**
Agree	36.9%*	22.0%*	36.8%**	15.2%**	32.3%**	17.9%**
No Opinion	9.2%*	1.1%*	10.5%**	0%**	9.7%**	1.8%**
Disagree	6.2%*	2.2%*	5.3%**	0%**	12.9%**	3.6%**
Strongly Disagree	6.2%*	3.3%*	0%**	3.0%**	3.2%**	3.6%**

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.001

The difference between men and women is apparent even from the pretest. Women not only display more desirable attitudes but they also display stronger ones – more than 70% of women select that they strongly agree it is wrong for Jim to challenge Allison, while less than half of men espouse the same view. Women also seem more affected by education, with a 10% increase in “strongly agree”, while men only show a 6% increase. Notably, the proportion of men who hold non-opinions is about the same as the pretest. At the second post-test, both men’s women’s attitudes return almost to pretest values (within a few percentage points, though some vestiges of the positive effect of education remain); the number of men who strongly disagree at the second post-test is slightly lower than the pretest values, another positive, though small, sign. This suggests that education can affect attitudes about this blatant form of coercion, though room for improvement is limited. While education

can reach some of the students who hold undesirable attitudes, its hold is fleeting, and the small proportion of these students within the larger community may justify the limitation of program focus on this issue.

The second question is less obviously worded. The previous question outlines a scheme with the ultimate goal of sex. The next question concerning coercion is phrased more delicately: “It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.” This alludes to a hopeful partner, not a conniving one. Yet this behavior is attempting to be dominating, and thus must be considered coercion.

“It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.”

CCC Coercion Question 2	Pretest df=6, $\chi^2=8.709$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=17.680$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=36.704$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	0%	0%	5.3%*	0%*	3.2%**	0%**
Agree	6.3%	2.2%	10.5%*	0%*	0%**	0%**
No Opinion	10.9%	5.4%	10.5%*	0%*	9.7%**	5.4%**
Disagree	40.6%	43.5%	31.6%*	36.4%*	41.9%**	30.4%**
Strongly Disagree	42.2%	48.9%	42.1%*	63.6%*	45.2%**	64.3%**

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.001

Prior to education, the vast majorities of both men and women disagreed that Jim would be in the right to continue to undress Allison. Notably, however, more than 10% of men express having “no opinion;” these high proportions have been seen in previous consent and coercion measures. It seems that either men are more confused or at the very least, they are more uncomfortable asserting a position than women when given the option of a neutral stance (an option prohibited earlier in the survey). As time progresses, there is very little shift in male attitudes, and in fact there is a bit of a negative slide at the first post-test. Among women, however, the



choice is entirely positive and shows little evidence of attrition, suggesting that understanding coercion is perhaps one notable difference in outcomes between the two programs.

The final question that followed the Jim and Allison’s vignette explicitly asks students if the proposed behavior of Jim constitutes coercion (operationalized as “pressuring”). If students can recognize this pressure, this is the fundamental tool that can be used to recognize circumstances when consent is nullified. But can students recognize this coercion?

“Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.”

CCC Coercion Question 3	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=9.138$		Post-Test 1 df=6, $\chi^2=8.906$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=14.710$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	49.2%	68.1%	57.9%	75.8%	60.0%*	71.4%*
Agree	33.8%	24.2%	36.8%	21.2%	23.3%*	25.0%*
No Opinion	7.7%	1.1%	5.3%	0%	13.3%*	1.8%*
Disagree	6.2%	3.3%	0%	0%	3.3%*	1.8%*
Strongly Disagree	3.1%	3.3%	0%	3.0%	0%*	0%*

\*p<.05

As with the previous question, students express desirable attitudes in striking numbers prior to education. This then leaves little room for improvement by peer education. However, there is more room for improvement among men than among women – there is almost a full twenty percentage points between men and women who “strongly agree”. And this is not simply a matter of degree – not only do fewer men select “strongly agree,” but more men select “no opinion” or undesirable attitudes (that is, they disagree that Jim is pressuring Allison).

After education, these “deficits” in knowledge (if they can be called that) are somewhat mitigated. There are also some small changes among women, though this

was mostly an improvement in degree of desirable responses. Women’s attitudes show some sign of attrition in the second post-test, as do men’s. A similar question is posed after the second vignette. Recall that in the second vignette, alcohol complicates the situation, as does sexual activity prior to intercourse. Mai repeatedly redirects Kirk when he pushes for sex. Following the vignette, students were posed the question: “Kirk’s actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.” Understanding coercion as a method of limiting resistance (intimidation) is an important element of reducing responsibility attributed to victims, and thus is integral to college sexual assault education.

“Kirk’s actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.”

CCC Coercion Question 4	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=11.575$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=31.845$		Post-Test 2 df=8, $\chi^2=15.980$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	56.3%	77.2%	63.2%**	87.9%**	53.3%*	82.1%*
Agree	35.9%	19.6%	31.6%**	12.1%**	33.3%*	16.1%*
No Opinion	3.1%	3.3%	5.3%**	0%**	6.7%*	0%*
Disagree	3.1%	0%	0%**	0%**	3.3%*	0%*
Strongly Disagree	1.6%	0%	0%**	0%**	3.3%*	1.8%*

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.001

The physical behaviors that Kirk engages in here are clearly coercion. Students recognize this even at the pretest, though again women are more capable of recognizing and strongly asserting their objections to coercive behavior. After education, students are again more likely to assert desirable views and to a greater degree. In fact, no women in the first post-test displayed anything other than desirable attitudes. By the second post-test however, both men’s and women’s

attitudes have returned to near pre-test values, including even a slight rebound among men, with second post-test levels of undesirable responses slightly higher than pretest values.

The final question of the CCC Scale asks students to explicitly label a situation by asking them to respond to the statement “Kirk has not committed sexual assault.” Based on the vignette, desirable responses would be expressed as disagreement; clear coercion is present, compromising consent and meeting the legal definitions (and thus those expressed by programmers) of sexual assault.

“Kirk has not committed sexual assault.”

CCC Coercion Question 5	Pretest df=8, $\chi^2=14.761$		Post-Test 1 df=8, $\chi^2=14.327$		Post-Test 2 df=6, $\chi^2=9.585$	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	7.7%	4.3%	5.3%	0%	0%	0%
Agree	10.8%	2.2%	0%	3.0%	3.3%	0%
No Opinion	7.7%	6.5%	15.8%	6.1%	16.7%	7.1%
Disagree	40.0%	34.8%	31.6%	33.3%	36.7%	37.5%
Strongly Disagree	33.8%	52.2%	47.4%	57.6%	43.3%	55.4%

The results of this question are perhaps the least significant at each administration of all the CCC questions. Unfortunately, this is perhaps the most important question in terms of a measure of efficacy – it directly measures students’ ability to correctly classify a set of events as sexual assault. Despite less than conclusive significance tests, it appears that education does have some beneficial effect on students’ abilities to recognize sexual assault and label it as such. However, again the problem of male nonattitudes returns, with more than double the proportion of men choosing “no opinion” during the post-tests than at the pretest. Also, women are not as notably affected by programming as men – while this is in part most likely due to

the preexisting higher level of desirable responses among women, it may also be a function of differences in programming.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter has provided an important element to the study of Washington and Lee's sexual assault peer-education programs' efficacy. The Comprehension of Consent and Coercion scale offers a unique opportunity for students to demonstrate and apply knowledge of the abstract concepts of consent and coercion.

In general, programming appears to have positive effects: there exist some differences between pretest and post-test scores, most evident in the first post-test responses. However, attitudinal change atrophies over time. From this, further decline can be predicted. Women begin with more desirable responses than men, but seem less affected by programming. While it is possible that some sort of "critical mass" has been reached, it is not as though there is no room for improvement. Not all women always select desirable responses, nor do all women selecting desirable responses opt to select the most assertive position (either strongly agree or strongly disagree, dependent upon context). Rather, it seems that women's programming is less able to reach resistant participants than the men's program is. However, some criticism must be made of the measure: in subtle ways, vignettes transmit emotional cues that would not be available to the normal third-party hearing of the assault. In these subtle ways, students are directed to desirable responses. Thus while students may be able to correctly identify consent and coercion in these circumstances, they may not believe victims whose stories are

relayed with less emotional testimony. The programming implications of this and other analysis will be discussed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 9**

### **Introduction**

Having thoroughly examined the data collected in the survey over the previous three chapters, a discussion of program efficacy and the implications stemming from this evaluation is now merited. Beyond what the data suggest about student attitudes, this chapter moves past a summary and instead focuses on program goals moving forward.

Of course a brief ethical commentary is warranted here – how can social science claim to be objective if at the culmination of a project the researcher makes claims as to what *should* be done? Is this not the projection of the researcher’s own goals and ideals onto the subject of study? Activism, to the extent that it prompts academic interest in a subject, is not mutually exclusive to objectivity. Yet care must be taken such that the researcher’s own goals and ideals do not cloud investigation or interpretation.

Such clouding is tempting in sexual assault education evaluation: in seeking to reduce sexual assault, there is a strong pressure to find programs effective in prompting attitudinal changes (see Dr. Sayre’s study in Chapter 4). Explicit care was taken to limit “leading” questions in this work. And while the researcher has a personal investment in sexual assault prevention work (including a role in the

women's program), the impact of the role was limited to the inception of this project and care was taken to limit the subjectivity stemming from that role in analysis.

Studying sexual assault, and specifically, educational programs, inherently lends itself to policy implications. Yet these implications and proposed solutions must not be understood as normative claims. But rather, given the construct of efficacy, a degree of desirability is afforded based on program content. Desirable responses then are those that are in line with program content and, if not an explicit component of the program, are consistent with program goals of reducing sexual assault.

The policy implications discussed in this chapter must thus be received in the appropriate context: suggestions have evolved in order to produce the most desirable attitudes. The intention of these suggestions is thus to make programs more effective (as peer-education programs are considered desirable; see Chapter 4), while withholding judgment as to the validity or desirability of these programs or their goals.

### **The Limitations**

Before discussing broad policy implications, it is important to consider some important limitations of these findings. First and foremost, the low response rate for the first post-test drastically limits the conclusions that can be drawn from that sample, both independently and in context of the longitudinal study. Secondly, differences in response to programming between men and women may be the result of either social, cultural, or programming differences. While this study sought to determine the efficacy of the extended orientation programming, it is worth

recalling that the educational programs presented to men and women in the first-year class are markedly different in some respects; this was ultimately manifest in differential effects by gender.

Finally, it is important to understand that these data were gathered in an uncontrolled environment. That is to say, respondents did not necessarily only receive education from the programs discussed here, but rather may have participated in other educational programs on the same subject. In addition to these formalized educational opportunities, students were constantly receiving “peer-education” in informal settings, that is, learning from other students on campus. As new students, this first year is one during which students will become acculturated to Washington and Lee; this includes, then, receiving informal education from other students about gender, sex, and sexual assault that may conflict with the formal peer-education programs evaluated here.

### **Affecting *All* Attitudes**

In the previous chapters, a distinction was made between analyzing questions targeting implicit attitudes and explicit knowledge. While in constructing the survey instrument, the researcher chose to include a variety of question structures, this was hardly a foreseen distinction. Recall that in the course of analyzing attitudes about women, victims, men, and perpetrators, student responses to questions using key terminology (such as “rape”, “assault”, “victim”, and “perpetrator”) radically differed from the responses to questions about women and men in general (most often relating to prescriptions and proscriptions).

Students expressed more desirable attitudes to explicit questions than to implicit questions; that is to say that students hold more desirable attitudes about sexual assault than they do about gender. The problem, however, stems from the role that conceptions of gender play in supporting attitudes about sexual assault.

In chapters two and three it became clear that our definitions of gender are socially constructed. But given that gender is culturally conflated with sexuality and specifically, sexual roles, gender inherently impacts cultural definitions of sexual assault (as a component of broader realm of sexual activity). Thus implicit knowledge has a buttressing effect on explicit knowledge. Attitudes about gender inform knowledge about victims (women) and perpetrators (men).

Yet education is only prompting significant changes in explicit knowledge. This is, in effect, as though putting a new coat of paint on a house with a sinking foundation. The new coat of paint may show signs of improvement, but the house is still crumbling, regardless of these positive changes. The logical conclusion then is that peer-education should also seek to address gender norms within the context of sexual assault programming.

Recall, however, that gender is one of the earliest constructed definitions legitimated and institutionalized to newly socialized beings. Thus it is difficult to attempt to reconstruct young adults' perceptions of gender. First, of course, they must be aware that gender is in fact culturally constructed. Yet peer-education is limited to an hour! That is hardly enough time to convey the intricacies of the theory to students, let alone be able to deconstruct current definitions and reconstruct program ideal definitions. Yet without addressing constructionism, program leaders



are left with lecture options, speaking a priori; leaders can hope that students listen, but there is no hope for internalized understanding.

This may be an inherent limitation of programming. However, one potential method for addressing gendered definitions without delving into social constructionism would be to address gender much in the same way as programs teach students about sexual assault. Programming can incorporate redefining gender in terms of autonomy, respect, and dignity much in the way that it reframes definitions of sexual assault. While this still may encounter resistance and perhaps superficial effects, it may produce desirable shifts in attitudes about gender, creating a more comprehensive effect.

### **Understanding Abstract Concepts**

One interpretation of peer-education program efficacy can be understood as providing students with the ability to correctly label situations consistent with sexual assault as such. As mentioned above, explicit terminology is widely understood by students and students respond to circumstances in desirable ways. Yet outside of a survey environment, students are not “given” that a situation was rape, that a woman was a victim, that a man was the perpetrator. Rather, they must assign these labels themselves, using culturally constructed definitions that they have internalized.

Critical to this determination, however, are two abstract concepts: consent and coercion. Rape, by definition, is sexual intercourse without consent; coercion comes into play to the extent that consent is communicated but is not freely given (thereby invalidating it). The degree to which students can successfully label a

situation as rape is dependent upon their understanding of these two concepts. Yet while seemingly self-evident in nature, in emotionally charged situations, determining the presence of consent and coercion must take into account both the verbal and nonverbal, the feelings and motivations of both victim and perpetrator.

As with explicit knowledge questions, students display desirable attitudes even prior to education. Noticeably, however, women are much more in tune to nuances in consent and coercion, especially the latter. This suggests that the men's program could benefit from a discussion of coercion: the physical and verbal actions that perpetrators engage in that compromise victim's ability to freely give consent. This may stem from the focus on verbal consent. In the process of encourage students to get consent, especially verbal consent, the means by which that consent is obtained are overlooked. Students learn that as long as verbal assent is obtained, it is an automatic pardon for any emotional distress the victim suffers.

Students were more aware of coercion when it took a physical form: such as being pushed down, or other physical force. Men in particular were less sensitive when coercion was manifested in speaking, such as a verbal challenge. While this is a nuanced form of coercion, and thus some confusion is expected, it is far from desirable. It should be expected that coercion will often take these forms, a sort of negotiation between partners where one has the upper hand yet the other is given the appearance of agency. It cannot be expected that all rape occurs under physical threat – therein lies the myth of stranger rape. Thus program aims must also include the recognition of less blatant coercion.

Within the examination of consent and coercion, an interesting pattern became apparent in responses to the CCC measures that was not evident in previous questions. Students, especially men, selected “no opinion”, often more likely so after education. This was especially noticeable when the victim said “yes” despite it being made clear to the students that she did not want to have sex but rather gave in to the perpetrator’s pressure. This most likely stems from students’ confusion as to the relative importance of verbal consent versus the circumstances that brought about the consent.

The appropriate program remedies then must encompass consent and circumstance. Verbal consent cannot be the only emphasis of peer education programming. While students are already largely capable of recognizing coercion in its most obvious forms prior to education, more attention must be paid to its nuanced forms to fully realize the transmission of desirable definitions of sexual assault (and thus, consent and coercion). Verbal consent is desirable for its ability to limit miscommunication, yet verbalization alone cannot support education.

### **Limiting Attitudinal Erosion**

It was clear from the previous chapter that when peer-education did have an effect on attitudes and knowledge, one of two patterns happened over the longitudinal study: waning effectiveness and progressive acculturation. The most commonly occurring pattern will be discussed first.

Programming was most effective at affecting explicit knowledge, with a notable increase in desirable attitudes expressed in the first post-test following education. However, at the second post-test, responses declined, often resembling

pretest response patterns, though sometimes retaining slight increases in desirability. Overall, this mirrors the patterns displayed in other efficacy studies of peer-education sexual assault programming, and indeed sexual assault education in general.

This process may be understood as effect attrition: while initially successful in changing attitudes, the programs' salience fades over time. As students become increasingly removed from the programs, they are also increasingly distanced from the messages contained therein. Based on the previous discussion of the supportive role of gendered attitudes in the understanding of sexual assault, this seems a plausible explanation for this phenomenon. As the implicit attitudes about gender (which are socially constructed) remain largely unaffected by peer-education programming, subsequent changes in explicit knowledge are at best superficial. They cannot be sustained without completely reconstructing the definitions at the core of sexual assault: gender and the associated roles. For long-lasting change, peer-education must find a way to address these deeper concerns.

Yet this is not necessarily feasible: programming must be concise and address a wide variety of material, both definitional in nature and resource related. Currently, the programs are constrained by a time limit of one hour. Yet even if this were enhanced considerably, programs would then be undertaking an inherently challenging prospect, as presenters would certainly meet a great deal more resistance than they already do. As evidence, consider pretest proportions of desirable attitudes for implicit attitudes versus explicit knowledge; students are noticeably more likely to display desirable responses for explicit knowledge

questions than for those measuring gendered attitudes. While this suggests that this is the area in greatest need of education, their resistance to change over time is supported both by data (see Chapter 6-7) and theory (see Chapter 2).

However, that is not to say that superficial changes in explicit knowledge are undesirable. If these changes can be induced at several points, repeated indefinitely at specified intervals over time, changes may be sustained. This is much like taking medication for a chronic condition: by repeating doses over time, a stable level of medication (in this case, desirable perceptions) can be maintained. Therein lies the argument for “continuing education.” That is, education should not take place at a single point in time, but rather be repeated several times through the course of college education.<sup>16</sup> Based on this data, it seems that by the third month, attitudes have largely returned to pretest values, suggesting that peer-education should occur approximately every 2-3 months, in order to *build* on previous success, rather than beginning from the point as if they have never been educated before, and in this way, producing the maximum levels of desirable attitudes in the student population.

This building may be viewed as reconstructing social definitions. By repeating the same information over time, the action becomes typified. After typification, legitimation is possible, and from there, objectivation. This change, of course, will not be seen in the weeks or even months following orientation sexual assault awareness programming. Yet that is not to say it will not happen over the course of four years. As students hear the same message from different sources it

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<sup>16</sup> The limitation of this method, however, is that presumably students leave the Washington and Lee environment and will no longer receive the same continuing education, and thus education’s effect eventually completely fades.

will become real to them, though in fact carefully constructed. The potential problem lies in the potential conflict between unchanged objectivized definitions of gender and newly typified definitions of sexual assault, and care should be taken to minimize this conflict.

The second pattern of change was less common, but especially noticeable in female attitudes. In these cases, an increase in desirable responses followed education, apparent in the first post-test. However, rather than a subsequent decline in the second post-test, as with the pattern discussed above, proportions of desirable responses continued to increase through the second post-test. In the previous chapters, this has been referred to as a process of acculturation.

In these cases, it seems as though students are receiving the positive benefits of education without continuing education. While the performance of Sex Signals may be thought to have some effect, only about half of students who participated in the second post-test attended and when controlled for, no significant differences were found (hence the exclusion from analysis). In addition, the effect was not seen uniformly or exclusively in either implicit or explicit attitudes. Rather, one instance involved an implicit attitude about masculinity but another involved explicit knowledge about sexual assault. In the case of the explicit knowledge, what is noticeable is not just the increase in desirable attitudes but also the increase in desirability of those responses, such that students selected the most desirable answer. This acculturation may be the result of discussions between students or the gradual negotiation of identity on campus. However, acculturation is happening in

only a limited set of circumstances and thus continued education emerges as the most effective policy solution.

## **Conclusions**

This thesis sought to determine the efficacy of the mandated peer-education sexual assault education programs for first-year students at Washington and Lee University.

In considering social constructionist theory, peer-education is situated as a method of reconstructing social definitions of sexual assault. However, program success is limited by its inability to affect constructed definitions of gender, something expected based on the fundamental role that gender plays in the situation of other social definitions.

In addition to social constructionist theory, a discussion of sexual assault is benefited by a consideration of rape nullification as boundary maintenance for victims who fail to abide by gender prescriptions and proscriptions. This provides support for the claim that traditional gender attitudes are rape supportive and thus changing these attitudes should be under the purview of sexual assault education programming, though currently programs do little to affect these attitudes.

When successful in changing attitudes, peer-education's effect often shows evidence of attrition over time. After about three months, values return to pretest levels, suggesting that three months is length of time for which education is effective. If efficacy is understood as long-term effectiveness then peer education at Washington and Lee has relatively little efficacy. However, this is not unique to Washington and Lee, but rather consistent with national literature. The response

then must be a pro-longed educational process spanning the four years of education, allowing the sustainment of desirable attitudes.

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# Appendix

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## One in Four Script (as performed in 2011)

How To Help A Sexual Assault Survivor: What Men Can Do

### PART A

#### Team 1

Thank you all for coming out. We are from One in Four and we're here to present a program called "How to Help a Sexual Assault Survivor: What Men Can Do."

So we're going to be talking about sexual assault. But we're going to do it in a way that is different from other programs you may have seen. So to start off, let me make one thing perfectly clear:

*We are not here to blame you for rape.* We are not here to preach to you about rape. And we are not here because of any specific incidents here or anywhere else. The reason we're here is because when someone is sexually assaulted or raped, usually the first person they go to for help is a friend—not a counselor, not the police, not a parent, a friend. And often times that friend is a guy, one of you. So we want you to be prepared should a sister, friend, or someone close to you ask for your help after going through this.

We're not going to stand up here and lecture you about why you shouldn't rape women. We already know that; let's move on. Instead, let's discuss what we as guys can do about it. Let's talk about how to help rape survivors, as well as some things we can do to make sure it isn't happening around us in the first place. We want each of you to know that you can make a huge difference here, and that will be our focus today.

But before we get into it, we will introduce ourselves. (*Introduce selves*)

To begin, I'd like to talk about our name—One in Four. The name comes from the statistic that one in four college-aged women have experienced sexual assault since their 14<sup>th</sup> birthday. When I first heard this statistic, it shocked me. It was hard for me to believe that *25% of the women that I knew* had experienced something as bad as sexual assault.

Another study was done by the American College Health Association in 2005. They surveyed over 55,000 students at 71 schools. They found that 6% of college women survived rape or attempted rape during the 2004-2005 school year.

According to the 2010 NCHA survey, 19.3% of W&L women reported experiencing sexual touching against their will. In a national reference group of similar colleges, only 7% of women reported experiencing such unwanted touching. Furthermore, 7.6% of W&L women

reported experiencing attempted sexual penetration against their will, and 4.2% of W&L women reported experiencing sexual penetration against their will. In the national reference group, those percentages were 3% and 2% respectively. In other words, women are more than twice as likely to sexually assaulted or raped at W&L than at any other similar school.

The reason we are here is to discuss ways to make that statistic go down. We all have sisters, friends, or girlfriends who may be affected by this at some point. It's important that we do something about it.

## **Team 2**

### **Disclaimer**

Obviously, rape is a disturbing subject. There are parts of this program that may disturb you. If you need to leave the room for a minute at any time, that's OK. We hope you will stay with us for as long as you can.

It is important to remember that both women and men survive rape, and both women and men commit rape. If you are a rape survivor, or are a friend or relative of a survivor, you may be particularly upset by this program, especially by the videotape we will show you. If you'd like to talk more privately, we will be available at the end of the program. Also, just so you know, we have placed some brochures and resource cards that give you an overview of resources available. (Please distribute the brochure and Resource card at some point to all participants.)

## **Team 1**

### **Overview**

We are going to do 5 basic things in this program.

- First, we will define rape.
- Next, we will show you and then discuss a police training video that describes a rape situation. This tape will help you learn about what rape is like so that you are better able to help a survivor in case they come to you.
- We will then talk specifically about how to help a sexual assault survivor.
- In the final two sections we will talk about some ways that we can decrease the incidence of sexual assault, and at certain points in these sections, we will be asking for you to engage in the discussion.
- Finally, we will end by answering any questions you have.

## **Team 2**

### **Definition Poster**

To start off, we'll go over several definitions. The definition of rape varies by state, and each college campus has its own policy. (Here) in Virginia, rape is:

**RAPE: Sexual intercourse with another person that is**

- A. against their will, by force, threat, or intimidation**
- B. a child under the age of legal consent**
- C. mentally incapacitated or physically helpless**

In a nutshell, rape is having sex with someone who *does not* agree to it, or *cannot* agree to it. Part C of that definition covers those situations where a person may be in a position where they *cannot* agree to it. Let's talk about those.

**MENTAL INCAPACITY: the person is in a condition where they cannot understand the nature or consequences of the sexual act involved.**

**PHYSICAL HELPLESSNESS: unconsciousness or any other condition, such as intoxication, that makes the person physically unable to communicate an unwillingness to act.**

Basically, this includes cases when someone is passed out, unconscious, asleep, too intoxicated by alcohol or other drugs, or has some sort of temporary or permanent handicap that prevents them from being able to understand or communicate during a sexual encounter.

Here's a good guideline to remember: if you feel they are too drunk to drive, they are too drunk to give consent.

**Team 1**

What do you typically think of when you hear the word rape? Before I saw this presentation, I always thought of what I saw on the news or on C.S.I.. There's a woman running alone late at night, and some guy she doesn't know jumps out from behind the bushes, pins her down, and rapes her. We call that stranger rape, and while stranger rape does occur sometimes, we want you to remember this:

*Four out of five times when a woman is raped, it is by someone she knows. It could be an acquaintance, such as someone from class. It could be a friend. It could even be a boyfriend. But 4 out of 5 times, it is someone she knows, **and** the average length of time she has known him is one year. So, it's usually not someone she was set up on a blind date with or some guy who just picked her up. But on average, she's known her attacker for an entire year.*

**Team 2**

Right now we're going to show you a 15-minute video that describes a rape situation. This will help you understand what rape survivors go through so you'll be better equipped to help them; if they come to you. The tape is of Seattle police detective, Dick Ramon, training new officers to deal with rape situations. Again, we want to let you know that the video is graphic

and disturbing. After the video is over, we'll talk more about what it might feel like to be raped. (Show tape here)

## **Part B**

### **Team 1**

We showed you this video to help you understand what it might feel like to be raped. If a woman comes to you after she has been raped, it is important that you understand what it might have felt like. Obviously, both men and women can be raped and there are differences between a man raping a woman and a man raping a man. Discussing a situation in which a male perpetrator asserts power by forcibly and unwillingly penetrating another man is the closest parallel we could find to help you understand what rape feels like.

### **POLICE OFFICER'S EXPERIENCE/EXPERIENCES COMMON TO WOMEN**

#### **Team 1: A Cop Moves a Trash Can**

Think back to when the police officer decided to move the trashcan. He was just doing his job. In fact, he was just being helpful. Of course, he had no way to know what was about to happen.

#### **Team 2: Everyday Situation Turns Bad**

In the same way, when women are raped, many of these incidents arise out of normal everyday situations. She may be studying in the room of a trusted male friend, dancing at a party with someone, or even hanging out with a guy she wants to hook up with. But these are all things that she has control over, and the thing about rape is that at some point, control is taken away from her. The point is that there are no big signals that a rape is about to occur; no flashing sign that goes off to say "you are about to be raped." These are just everyday situations that turn bad.

#### **Team 1: "Don't Make a Move"**

In the next part of the video, the police officer is told not to make a move. Since he is being threatened, his first reaction is to remain still, play for time, and figure out what is going on.

#### **Team 2: Frozen with Fear**

Keep in mind that four out of five times when a man rapes a woman, the woman knows who he is. So usually, this person who is threatening her is someone she trusts, and that trust is being grossly violated. If someone we trust suddenly threatens us, our first reaction might not be to fight back, run, or scream. In most rape cases, what happens is that the woman freezes up and tries to figure out what is going on.

#### **Team 1: Get on Your Knees**

Later, the police officer is told to get on his knees, and what is about to happen becomes more obvious. It's hard to tell what anyone would do in this situation, but he decided the most important thing was to stay alive.

### **Team 2: Desire to Avoid Violence**

Most men who rape women weigh a lot more than the woman they are attacking. This physical difference poses a threat, especially in an intimate situation where trust is on the line. Sensing this threat, a survivor may find that if she kicks or screams, he may become even more violent toward her. So, it makes sense why some women might suddenly freeze in this situation where a guy is doing something she doesn't want, out of fear that he might become more violent. Still, the U.S. Department of Justice found that 70% of sexual assault survivors physically resist, but often they end up being overpowered physically or psychologically.

### **Team 1: Fear of STIs**

In this situation, the police officer worried that, given the high-risk contact that was involved, he might be exposed to a whole variety of sexually transmitted infections.

### **Team 2: Fear of STIs and Pregnancy**

Today, there are a lot of sexually transmitted infections to worry about. Being raped could mean catching a potentially fatal disease. According to the Centers for Disease Control, one out of every 500 college students is infected with HIV. In addition, one out of five adults in the United States has genital herpes.

As guys, we can protect ourselves from these things in our relationships – we can choose not to have sex, or we can have protected sex. You can imagine that female rape survivors don't have these options.

Female survivors, face the possibility that the rape could result in a pregnancy. In fact, pregnancy occurs in about 5% of rape cases. These women must then consider the ramifications of that pregnancy on their lives.

### **Team 1: Humiliating Hospital Visit**

Remember how the officer felt in the waiting room? He wasn't the first one treated because he wasn't in immediate danger of dying. He was then put on a table and had a doctor probe around his body to collect evidence. Clearly, this was an uncomfortable and often humiliating experience.

### **Team 2: Another Painful Process.**

Even though the rape exam is an extremely important part of recovery, many survivors describe it as yet another painful process. She has to tell and retell her story to people who come in and out of the exam room. She has a person she's never met before thoroughly examining the most intimate parts of her body. Really, how many of us would be willing to have pubic hairs plucked out of our groin? And this is just one thing that has to happen during a rape exam. As you can imagine, the rape exam is much more intrusive than other kinds of visits to the doctor, quite painful, and happens right after she's experienced something extremely traumatic.

**Team 1: Did You Fight?**

Remember how the other officers reacted to the raped officer. “What? You did what? You didn’t pull your gun? Didn’t you scream, yell, kick him in the balls?” (with disbelieving look) Later on, the cop has his friend say, “The guys have been talking, and we think you knew those guys, and maybe this was something consensual that kinda just got out of hand. Is that true?”

**Team 2: Did You Resist?**

[With disbelieving tone of voice.] Where were you? Were you drinking? You were with *that* guy? You hooked up with him before, didn’t you? So you were alone with that guy again? What were you wearing? Well, if you really were raped, why didn’t you scream, yell, push him away and leave? Are you really sure it was rape or did you want this to happen? [Pause; speak in normal tone of voice]. Rape survivors get asked these questions all of the time, and none of them matter. The point is, her instinct was to stay alive and no matter what, no one, *no one*, ever asks to be raped.

**Team 1**



The point of the video is to get you to emotionally empathize with a rape victim. However, the actual scenario is very atypical of rapes—especially here at W&L. As we’ve mentioned, acquaintance rape is four times more prevalent than stranger rape. In other words, it’s much more likely for rape to occur when a couple of students who vaguely know each other meet up at a Pole House party, get too drunk, and go home together. It’s an everyday situation that turns sour

## **Part C**

### **HELPING A SURVIVOR**

#### **Team 1**

Now that you’ve heard more about how it might feel to survive rape, we are going talk about how to help a sexual assault survivor who comes to you asking for your help.

A lot of guys ask us what they can do to help their friend recover from rape. Many times they look for the solution—the perfect step-by-step plan— to make everything “better.” Surprisingly enough, there isn’t a perfect solution. She will recover in her own way and on her own schedule. With that said, there are a few things you can *do*, and a few things to *avoid*, that can make her recovery easier.

Of course, no woman reacts the same way to being sexually assaulted, and different women find different things helpful in their recovery. We will focus on reactions that many women have and what tends to be most helpful.

#### **Team 2**

#### **No More Violence**

I don’t know about you, but if one of my friends came up to me, with her voice shaking and body trembling, and told me that some guy raped her, that some guy has caused *her* the kind of pain the cop went through on that video, my first instinct would be to go find that guy and beat the crap out of him. Maybe this would be your instinct too; a lot of guys feel this way at first. Actually, that is one of the worst things you can do if you want to help her recover.

Take a step back and think – she has already tried to calm one violent man down. The last thing she needs as she is trying to tell you her story is to feel like she has to calm you down and try to control your anger too. She may worry that if you go beat him up, he may come back and hurt her or even rape her again. Instead of more violence, let her know calmly that you will do anything you can to help her.

#### **Team 1**

#### **Listen**

This next suggestion can be one of the toughest: *talk less and listen more*.

Don't ask for details about what she was wearing or where she was. Don't suggest why it happened. Instead, listen to what she wants to say, respect what she wants to keep private, and don't judge her statements.

Many rape survivors say that one of the worst parts of their experience is having control taken away from them. As a friend, your first instinct may be to hug her, but it is important for you to consider whether or not she wants to be held at all. If you think she does: ask her. Of course, she should always have control over who knows about her story. Remember that if you tell others about what happened to her without her permission, she has lost even more control. So, be sure to keep her information confidential.

## **Team 2**

### **Believe Her**

As we get into the next suggestion, think about this statistic: about 95 percent of rapes are never reported to the authorities, making rape the single most underreported crime in the country, by far. Why is that? Why are so many rape survivors not coming forward with their stories? A lot of it has to do with our next suggestion—a lot of survivors don't feel like they're going to be believed. Because being able to talk about their rape- to counselors, to friends, and to the police- is an extremely important factor in a survivor's recovery, one of the most important things you can do as a friend is to let her know that you believe her.

I realize this may sound like a trivial suggestion, but think about how people usually respond to someone who claims they were raped. We generally respond with skepticism-we assume it's a he-said/she-said situation, where half the time she's telling the truth, and half the time she probably isn't. The truth is, rape is falsely reported a lot less often than we may think it is. According to the FBI, if you were to compile all of the cases of rape that they receive in a given year, only 2% to 8% of them are marked as "unfounded". That's a pretty low percentage. But even if we take it at it's highest point- 8%- what that means is that, at a bare minimum, 92% of the time when someone says they've been raped, that's exactly what's happened.

Obviously, you don't need to know a bunch of statistics in order to believe your friend, but it's important to know how harmful our skepticism towards rape survivors can be. It doesn't make sense for someone to go through all of the things we've talked about if she wasn't actually raped. As such, it's important to create a campus where survivors are believed.

Part of believing a survivor is making sure she knows that *what happened to her was not her fault*. Many survivors may start blaming themselves for being raped, asking themselves questions such as, "Why did I drink so much?" or "Why did I

sit down with that guy?” As we’ve discussed, these questions don’t matter. It’s important to remind her that nobody ever asks or deserves to go through this.

## **Team 1**

### **Encourage Medical Attention**

The Student Health Center is an invaluable, 24-hour resource. They offer STI testing, as well as Plan B, an emergency contraception pill. Also, charges billed home won’t contain specifics; they will only read “Student Health Center charge.” You also have the option to pay by cash or check. They are a first stop to receiving medical care, learning about evidence collection, or on-campus judicial options. They can connect you to a CAIR (Confidential and Impartial Resolution) Resource who can explain all of your options.

If she wants to report to the criminal justice system it is important that she goes to the hospital for medical attention within 72 hours of the assault. A rape victim has 72 hours to collect evidence from her body that will allow her to decide whether to be a witness in a criminal case against her attacker. The nearest hospital that offers a PERK (Physical Evidence Recovery Kit) is Augusta Health in Fishersville. Offer to go with her. There she will get tested for STIs and have any other injuries treated. She may have internal injuries that she cannot feel. So, one of the best things you can do is encourage her to go to the hospital, but remember, *never* try to force her to do anything after she has been raped. Recommend that she go, but if she doesn’t want to right away, respect her decision.

## **Team 2**

### **Seek Counseling**

Rape isn’t something people get over in a short period of time; if they ever really get over it. Survivors often remain in the very early stages of their recovery for months. The best thing she can do to feel better quickly is to see a counselor on a regular basis. Fortunately, the university offers a staff of four highly trained and experienced counselors who can provide non-judgmental, confidential help. The Counseling Center is open Monday through Friday, and there is a counselor on call 24/7 who can be reached through the Student Health Center.

If she would prefer to speak with someone closer to her age, each first-year hall has been assigned a peer counselor, who has also been trained to provide confidential help.

Finally, if she would prefer to speak with an off campus resource, Project Horizon is a non-profit organization based in the Lexington area that offers a 24 hour hotline, counseling, and emergency shelter (info is in the brochure).

Also, it may be a good idea for you to go seek a counselor yourself. We've asked you to do some pretty difficult things—not beating this guy up, not asking a lot of questions, not getting angry in front of the survivor—and a counselor is a good person to see about venting your own personal frustrations about what happened. Not only will you have a confidential setting to talk, but that counselor will give you more suggestions on how to help your friend, which is the most important thing.

## **Part D**

### **Other Ways Men Can Help End Rape**

#### **Team 1**

Although learning how to help survivors is important, it is possible that a survivor will never approach you for help. So what else can we do? Let's talk about some things we can do to *decrease* sexual assault—to help make a society where people feel safer and are more aware of this issue.

#### **COMMUNICATE DURING ENCOUNTERS**

The number one thing we can do is make sure we are safe in our own sexual experiences, if we choose to have them. The best way to do that is to keep an open line of communication when hooking up with someone.

None of us go into sexual situations intending to hurt the person we're hooking up with. But I do know good guys who have gotten themselves into sketchy situations when hooking up, and it usually boiled down to a lack of communication. So, it's important to communicate if you choose to hook up with someone. Whether it be having sex or anything else, be sure to listen to what the other person wants and does not want.

#### **Cooperation Does Not Equal Consent**

Just because a person is going along with something in a sexual situation, it doesn't mean she has necessarily agreed to it. She might be overwhelmed by how fast things are moving, she could be intimidated by size difference, or she could just be uncomfortable. The only way to be sure that she is comfortable with what's happening is to *ask*.

What we want you guys to know is that it *doesn't* have to be awkward. We're certainly not talking about pulling out a permission slip and asking her to sign it. It can be really simple. It could even just be a few words, "Is this okay?" Maybe even ask her what she wants to do, if you're comfortable with that. We don't want to get into it too much, because we all have our own styles, but the important

thing is to have a situation where you ask her, give her time to respond, and then respond appropriately.

Asking is one way to know if a person is comfortable with what is going on. What we call “The Freeze” is one way to know that they might be *uncomfortable* with what is going on.

## **The Freeze**

Sometimes in an intimate situation, a person may freeze up. Some guys may think the person just needs to be “persuaded.” He may push a little harder, try again, pour a drink, or turn on some music. But think back to the video. When did the police officer freeze up? It was when he was scared and surprised. Consequently, if someone freezes up it’s a good idea to find out why they’re uncomfortable, and the best way to do that is simple: *stop and ask*. So, if you’re initiating something new, think the other person is uncomfortable, or if you yourself are uncomfortable, be sure to stop and clear up what you two will do together. The point is, we’ve all grown up hearing that no means no, and that is definitely true. But what that fails to acknowledge is that the absence of a “no” doesn’t mean “yes.”

## **Team 2**

### **CHANGING LANGUAGE**

We all hear a lot of things that other men say that directly or indirectly hurt women.

It might be an attitude that puts women down. It might be something obvious, or it might be something subtle. We think it is important that when you hear these types of things to step up and find a way to let other guys know that their language can hurt women, even if they didn’t intend to. Here are a few examples of when we think it is important to say something.

**Joking about Rape** -- Joking about rape is not funny, but the word “rape” gets thrown around jokingly all the time. I know I’ve heard people say, “Man, that test raped me.” No it didn’t. Of course guys mean no harm by it, but the problem with that kind of comment is that it diminishes someone else’s pain and suffering. It can be tough for a survivor, or the friend or relative of a survivor, to hear people laugh about the word “rape,” making light of a terrible ordeal. If someone makes a joke about rape, or uses the word “rape” in casual way, we hope you’ll tell them it’s just not cool.

**Stories of abuse** -- Maybe one morning after a party, you’ve heard a guy talk about how he had sex with a woman who we all knew was too drunk to hook up. If a man you know brags about hooking up with someone who obviously was unable to consent, then we urge you to condemn his behavior. Other men are probably also uncomfortable with what the guy is saying. We encourage you to be the first one to speak up. Others will probably respect you more for it. If you aren’t comfortable calling this guy out and letting him know that what he did was

wrong, at a bare minimum, please don't laugh or condone his behavior. Because while he may think he's talking about getting laid or hooking up, I hope after seeing this video that you understand that he may be talking about causing someone a *lot* of pain.

Again, these are all minor changes that we can make, all dealing with language, and while they may sound small, they can make a BIG DIFFERENCE if we all do them.

## **Part E**

### **Bystander Intervention**

#### **Team 1**

In this last section of our program, we are going to talk about bystander intervention. In other words, situations where you or someone else might be able to do something to prevent a sexual assault from occurring.

In fact, W&L offers an entire program on bystander intervention called Green Dot.

The program is based on the premise that if you were to visualize a map of Washington & Lee, it would be full of red dots and green dots. A red dot represents an act of power-based personal violence (partner violence, sexual violence, stalking) or a choice to tolerate such violence. On the other hand, a green dot represents an action or choice that promotes safety and communicates intolerance for such forms of violence. (Give examples of green dots)

The ultimate goal of the program is to replace would-be red dots with green dots.

So, in this final section, we are going to show you a video of a red dot situation. As you watch the video, we ask you to put yourself in the shoes of the bystanders. Think about what you might have done to step up, *safely* intervene, and create a green dot.

A word of warning: the male in this video is not representative of the male gender. He is portrayed as the stereotypical predator with bad intentions. He is the type of guy who is a repeat offender. We know that a very small percentage (5%) rape repeatedly.

This video will give you the chance to think about these situations now, before they happen, so you can be prepared for the future. (Show video)

#### **Team 2**

Questions/Talking points about the video.

What did you notice? Is this realistic? What ways can you be active bystanders at W&L?

### **Team 1**

#### **Some Advice**

Taking action is the point we are going for. If we could offer one piece of advice on approaching your friend, approach him as just that: a friend. Appeal to his loyalty to you as a friend, to a group you both belong to, to his hall, whatever. No one wants to be preached at or talked down to, so if you approach him as a friend, he will be more likely to follow your lead. Of course, it's not necessarily easy to step up and intervene without the possibility of feeling like a jerk or damaging your friendship. However, in the end, it is the right thing to do; and sometimes the hardest thing and the right thing are the same thing.

Lastly, another way to take action is to get involved. Please come talk to us after the program if you are interested in being part of our group and giving this presentation to educate other guys on campus about this issue.

Before we close, we'll now take any questions you have. (Take questions)

Our goal is to inspire you to help end rape, sexual assault, and the suffering they cause. We hope you will join us in being part of the solution. We have pamphlets and Resource cards available with resources that you can give to a friend who has been raped or sexually assaulted. We will also stay after if you would like to talk with us individually.

### **Team 2**

One final statistic before we leave. The U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey found that in the year 2005, over 176,000 women survived rape and other forms of sexual assault. If you do the math, that works out to 20 women every hour. We've been here for about an hour. If this was an average hour in this country, while we sat here, 20 women had an experience similar to the one you saw on the video.

### **Team 1**

20 women have just been sexually assaulted. 20 women have had an experience similar to the one we showed you on that video. That's 20 best friends, 20 sisters, and 20 daughters. 20 women have just been sexually assaulted.

### **Team 2**

Thank you for coming.

## Team 1

Please make a difference at W&L to make our community safer.

# **SPEAK Talking Points (as given to presenters by leadership in 2011)**

1. A guy and a girl get drunk at a party. They go home together and hook up.
  - a. Both are accountable/responsible
  - b. Neither was giving consent
  
2. After a party, a guy and a girl go home and make out. He asks her if she wants to have sex and she says “no.” He asks again a few minutes later.
  - a. Harassment
  - b. Take this as a red flag if you feel uncomfortable.
  
3. A guy grabs a girl’s butt at a party.
  - a. Still sexual harassment...unwanted touching
  - b. We are desensitized, this sort of thing is not okay
  - c. Be serious and firm, telling him to stop
  
4. In a tennis PE class, a male student tries repeatedly to slap a girl’s butt with his racket, even after she asks him to stop.
  - a. Take control and be serious if you feel uncomfortable
  - b. Verbalize “NO”
  
5. A girl gets very drunk at a party and clearly needs to go home. A sober driver offers to drive her home. Once there he follows her into her room and begins kissing her.
  - a. Importance of a buddy system
  - b. Even if you all go to separate parties, be sure to text and ask if she got home safe
  - c. Friend’s safety is more important than the party
  - d. If you are not a friend, you can step in
  
6. At the library, you overhear two guys saying, “she’s so hot, I can’t wait to get her drunk this weekend” as a girl walks by their table.
  - a. Verbal harassment
  - b. Only some guys think this way, but it’s still wrong to want to take advantage of the girl
  
7. While dancing with a guy at a party, a guy takes the girl’s moves as an invitation to unexpectedly kiss her.
  - a. Problem if she is uncomfortable



- b. You can still be cool and flirty, but you have to be able to say "NO"
- c. Don't be afraid to tell him that you don't want him to do that

8. A guy at a party constantly refills a girl's drink from an unknown source without her requesting it.

- a. Always be aware of what you are drinking
- b. Bystander behavior, someone should step in

9. You overhear some guys talking about putting Nyquil in the grain to get girls drunk faster

- a. Obviously wrong
- b. Tell friends not to go to the party

10. One night, your boyfriend asks you if you want to have sex. You say, "no, I'm tired." He grabs you and pushes you on the bed and says, "oh come on, I know you want to" and begins kissing you.

- a. Consent is not assumed

11. Your boyfriend tells you in front of his friends that he will only drive you to a party if you give him a blowjob.

- a. Get another ride!
- b. Inappropriate

True/False

It is only rape if you say no or fight back

- T
- F

Flirting, dancing provocatively, dressing sexily, or making out implies consent

- T
- F

Many women say they've been raped if they feel embarrassed or jilted, especially with men then know

T

F - here they should know that the amount of false reporting (of those that are reported, which is about 1 in 10) is the same as any other violent crime

Rapists are a very small proportion of men who are "sex-starved, insane, or both"

T

F - here they should know that many rapists are actually socially successful ("smooth talkers") but that it is indeed a small proportion of men who are repeat offenders. Also, there is no "profile" that explains all rapists

Only promiscuous girls or party girls get raped

T

F - beliefs like this are what prevent jury conviction, which is why the conviction rate for rape (significantly less than 10% of of rapes will make it this far in the legal system) is so low - estimates are between 1.5 and 3%. Jurors feel that people similar to themselves, or "good people", will not be raped, and defendants who are "good people" like themselves will not be raped.

## **CCC**

### **(Comprehension of Consent and Coercion)**

### **Comprehension of Consent and Coercion Scale (CCC)**

**Reference:** Gibson D.B., & Humphrey, C.F. (1993). Educating in regards to sexual violence: An interactional dramatic acquaintance rape intervention. Unpublished manuscript, University of Minnesota, Sexual Violence Program, Minneapolis, MN.

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#### **Directions**

**PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING SHORT SCENE AND ANSWER THE STATEMENTS FOLLOWING IT TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY USING THE SCALE PROVIDED:**

Jim and Allison are undergraduates at a large state university. They have been dating for a month and have been sexually involved. They returned to Allison's apartment after having dinner and seeing a movie. Sitting together on the couch, Allison pulls Jim to her and kisses him. She begins to unbutton his shirt and rub her hand against his chest. Jim whispers playfully into her ear letting her know that he would like to have sex (intercourse). She doesn't respond. He begins to slowly undress Allison, but she pulls his hand back up to her face and kisses it. Again Jim tells her he would like to have sex; Allison says she doesn't want to. Jim pauses while Allison continues to caress him. Then he leans over and unbuttons her blouse. Allison doesn't stop him. He puts his hand on her jeans and begins to unzip them. Allison stops caressing him and zips her jeans up. Jim gets angry and tells her that the past several times that they have been together, she has initiated being sexual but doesn't go all the way. Jim asks her if she is afraid. Allison says she is not afraid. Jim tells her to prove it. She says nothing. Jim tells her that he has been thinking about dating other women or just breaking it off with her since she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.

Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

1. If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.
2. It is **not** ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.
3. If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.
4. It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.
5. Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.

**PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING SHORT SCENE AND ANSWER THE STATEMENTS FOLLOWING IT TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY USING THE SCALE PROVIDED:**

Mai and Kirk are new students at a small college. They were friends in high school, but never dated. Tonight, they had their first date. After coming back to Kirk's apartment (which he shares with his brother who is out of town), he mixes some drinks using his brother's stock of alcohol. They have each had several drinks. Mai is clinging to Kirk, laughing and giggling about things that happened while they were in high school. Suddenly, she kisses him on the lips. Kirk is surprised but kisses her back. Mai walks over to a sofa and he joins her. Kirk pushes her down on the couch and begins pulling his clothes off. Mai pushes against him as if attempting to push him away. She says nothing. Kirk gets undressed while kissing Mai. He begins to undress her. Mai freezes for a moment: she is afraid. Then she tries to put her clothes back on, but Kirk grabs them out of her hand and throws them across the room. He pushes her back on the sofa. Mai looks at the clothes and up at Kirk; for a moment she is unsure of what to do. She is afraid of what Kirk will do if she tries to get the clothes. She tries to get up from the

couch but has trouble getting her balance. She falls back onto the couch. Kirk begins to kiss Mai and to have sex with her.

<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
1	2	3	4	5

1. It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him.
2. Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.
3. Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.
4. Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.
5. Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.

## SCORING KEY For CCC

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<u>Item</u>	<u>Scoring Direction</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
1	Reverse	Consent
2	Normal	Coercion
3	Normal	Consent
4	Reverse	Coercion
5	Normal	Coercion
6	Reverse	Consent
7	Normal	Coercion
8	Reverse	Consent
9	Normal	Consent
10	Reverse	Coercion

To score CCC add up all items after reversing the score of items indicated above. A low score indicates a better understanding of consenting/coercive behavior, and a high score indicates a worse understanding of consenting/coercive behavior.

### **Explanation of scoring directions and meaning:**

The Comprehension of Consent & Coercion scale was developed in conjunction with an intervention that focused, in part, on whether or not participants could recognize consenting or coercive behaviors. In order to develop the CCC scale, it was necessary to define "consent" and "coercion" rather stringently so that one could measure whether a participant understood what each term meant. It is recognized that there are other possible definitions of the two terms, and that in the scenarios- which are purposefully subtle or ambiguous at times- one may debate whether or not the person was actually consenting or coercive. The definitions of consent and coercion, below, were the definitions used in the intervention itself and thus the definitions measured in the scale. Thus, if using the CCC to measure the effects of an intervention (i.e., whether or not participants gained knowledge about what consent/coercion are), consent and coercion must be defined or demonstrated at some point.

### **Definitions:**

A. In the CCC Consent is defined as:

1. The ability to comfortably say 'yes' or 'no' to sexual contact with someone.
2. Being in a clear state of mind to give consent. Anyone who is asleep or intoxicated cannot legally give her/his consent.
3. Being able to speak your partner's language fluently enough to fully understand what is being asked.
4. When a person's right to comfortably say no is taken away from her or him, then she or he cannot give her or his consent. And, if you cannot give your consent, and your partner has sex with you, then that is considered a sexual assault.

In addition, one cannot make assumptions about what a person is thinking or feeling based on their own judgment of the situation.

**B.** In the CCC Coercion is defined as:

Any method that one person uses to take away another person's ability to comfortably say yes or no or consent to sexual contact. This includes threats, physical force, emotional pressure (e.g., saying "I will leave you if you don't have sex with me" or "I thought you loved me"), persuasive tactics, etc.

**C.** Explanation of Individual Questions

Question 1:

If a participant were to "strongly agree" to this, then they would be saying that they did not understand consent. Specifically, by not saying anything, Allison is not verbally saying "no" to sexual contact at that moment, but Jim cannot assume that she has changed her mind. If he understood what "consent" means, then he would not make assumptions about what she is thinking or feeling.

Question 2:

Challenging Allison to be sexual by asking her to "prove" that she is not scared to have sex with him clearly meets the definition of coercion as outlined above.

Question 3:

Jim has taken away Allison's right to comfortably say "no" or "yes" because of his coercive threats (i.e., I'll leave you). Thus, Allison cannot consent in this situation. A participant who "strongly disagrees" with this would not understand the definition of consent.

Question 4:

If Jim were to continue to undress Allison in an effort to persuade her to have sex, it would meet the definition of coercion outlined above.

Question 5:

A person who "strongly disagrees" with this statement would not understand the definition of coercion outlined above as Jim is taking away Allison's right to say "yes" or "no" comfortably by asking her to prove she is not afraid and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women.

Question 6:

Under the definition of consent, a participant cannot make assumptions about what a person wants sexually.

Question 7:

A person who disagrees with this statement does not recognize that physical force takes away Mai's ability to comfortably Consent (i.e., say "yes" or "no") because Mai is afraid of what will happen to her if she resists Kirk.

Question 8:

Under the definition of Consent, a person who is intoxicated may not be able to clearly say "yes" or "no" to sexual activity in this situation. The participant who agrees that it is OK for Kirk to have sex with Mai after giving her alcohol does not understand the definition of consent as outlined above.

Question 9:

Although Mai does not say "no" verbally, her body language (pushing away from Kirk) indicates a negative reaction to the situation. Kirk has taken away her ability to comfortably say "no" to sex because she is afraid of him. Mai cannot consent in this situation according to the definition.

Question 10:

Kirk has clearly coerced Mai into sexual contact this scenario through physical force and fear tactics (e.g., throwing her clothes across the room)

## **An Explanation of the Development of the CCC**

The following section describes the development of a cognitive measure of acquaintance rape as it relates specifically to the coercive and consensual /nonconsensual issues involved in rape that occurs when the victim knows the perpetrator. The Comprehension of Consent and Coercion scale (CCC) (Humphrey & Gibson, 1993) is an instrument designed to measure the ability of participants to recognize consensual behaviors and coercive behaviors in sexual relationships (Appendix 2). This scale was originally developed in conjunction with an intervention (Humphrey & Gibson, 1993) that focused, in part, on whether or not participants could recognize consenting or coercive behaviors. It was hoped that the scale would assist researchers in determining whether or not participant cognitions changed from pretest to posttest. In other words, giving participants the scale before they engaged in the intervention and again afterwards provided a way to measure the participant's change in knowledge concerning consent and coercion.

The drama intervention itself consisted of a team of facilitators who invited an audience to experience two dating situations via improvisational theater. During the intervention, the facilitators emphasized issues of consent and coercion as they relate to dating relationships and acquaintance rape. In brief, the intervention attempted to teach participants the definitions of consent and coercion by stating them verbally as well as by demonstrating consensual and coercive situations through the interactive drama.

Because the CCC was designed to assess whether or not the dramatic intervention was effective, the scale developers thought the best way to determine that was to create a measure that mirrored the concepts asserted by the intervention. Thus, two short scenarios of typical sexual situations in dating relationships that were similar to the actual drama were developed. Because the intervention was specifically designed for a college population, the scenarios were written with this audience in mind. The scenarios describe scenes where participants are asked to decide if a particular statement is consensual or coercive in nature. After each scene, respondents are asked to answer five questions measured on a 5-point Likert scale concerning their understanding of the scenario.

In order to develop the scenes, however, it was necessary to define "consent" and "coercion" rather stringently so that one could measure whether a participant understood what each term meant. It was recognized that there are other possible definitions of the two terms, and that in the scenarios- which are purposefully subtle or ambiguous at times- one may debate whether or not the person was actually consenting or coercive. The definitions of consent and coercion, below, were the definitions used in the intervention itself and thus the definitions measured in the scale.

In the CCC Consent is defined in four parts as: 1) The ability to comfortably say 'yes' or 'no' to sexual contact with someone, 2) Being in a clear state of mind to give consent. Anyone who is asleep or intoxicated cannot legally give her/his consent, 3) Being able to speak your partner's language fluently enough to fully understand what is being asked, 4) When a person's right to comfortably say no is taken away from her or him, then she or he cannot give her or his consent. And, if you cannot give your consent, and your partner has sex



with you, then that is considered a sexual assault. In addition, one cannot make assumptions about what a person is thinking or feeling based on their own judgment of the situation.

In the CCC Coercion is defined as: Any method that one person uses to take away another person's ability to comfortably say yes or no or consent to sexual contact. This includes threats, physical force, emotional pressure (e.g., saying "I will leave you if you don't have sex with me or "I thought you loved me"), persuasive tactics, etc.

Approximately half of the items in the CCC represent "coercive" definitions, and half represent "consensual" definitions. In addition, in order to counteract response bias, five of the items were developed in the positive direction and five in the negative direction. The CCC is scored by summing all items after reversing the score of items indicated above. A low score indicates a better understanding of consenting/coercive behavior, and a high score indicates a worse understanding of consenting/coercive behavior. For an explanation of each item's score please refer to Appendix 3.

The CCC has been used in at least three studies that give some insight into its psychometric properties. The first study by Heppner, Humphrey, Hillenbrand-Gunn and DeBord (1995) indicated that the CCC Questionnaire demonstrated an internal consistency coefficient alpha of 0.79 and a test-retest reliability of .60 at a 5 week interval and .50 at a 5 month interval on a sample of male and female undergraduates in a rape intervention study. In addition, as an indicator of construct validity the CCC was found to be significantly related to the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale ( $R = -.46, p < .0001$ ) (Burt, 1980) in the same study. In a second study (Humphrey & Hillenbrand-Gunn, 1996) the CCC was found to be related to the SIARA ( $r = 0.60, p < .0001$ ) (Humphrey & Hillenbrand-Gunn, 1996). In addition, significant sex differences were found indicating that men were less likely to comprehend the meanings of consent and coercion than were women [ $F(1,334) = 45.27, p < .0001$ ]. Although there is some preliminary knowledge concerning the reliability and validity of the CCC in relation to other measures and across time, there has been no statistical analysis of the structure of the CCC itself.

## Pretest Frequency Data

**Women should do all they can to look attractive**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	38	21.5	21.5	21.5
	Somewhat Disagree	66	37.3	37.3	58.8
	Somewhat Agree	54	30.5	30.5	89.3
	Strongly Agree	18	10.2	10.2	99.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	76	42.9	42.9	42.9
	Somewhat Disagree	47	26.6	26.6	69.5
	Somewhat Agree	39	22.0	22.0	91.5
	Strongly Agree	12	6.8	6.8	98.3
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total		177	100.0	100.0	

**Women are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	81	45.8	45.8	45.8
	Somewhat Disagree	58	32.8	32.8	78.5
	Somewhat Agree	32	18.1	18.1	96.6
	Strongly Agree	2	1.1	1.1	97.7
	Prefer Not to Answer	4	2.3	2.3	100.0
Total		177	100.0	100.0	

**A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	60	33.9	33.9	33.9
	Somewhat Disagree	56	31.6	31.6	65.5

Somewhat Agree	51	28.8	28.8	94.4
Strongly Agree	8	4.5	4.5	98.9
Prefer Not to Answer	2	1.1	1.1	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**Women aren't as interested in sex as men are**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	45	25.4	25.4	25.4
Somewhat Disagree	65	36.7	36.7	62.1
Somewhat Agree	44	24.9	24.9	87.0
Strongly Agree	19	10.7	10.7	97.7
Prefer Not to Answer	4	2.3	2.3	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	97	54.8	54.8	54.8
Somewhat Disagree	58	32.8	32.8	87.6
Somewhat Agree	18	10.2	10.2	97.7
Strongly Agree	3	1.7	1.7	99.4
Prefer Not to Answer	1	.6	.6	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	18	10.2	10.2	10.2
	Somewhat Disagree	46	26.0	26.1	36.4
	Somewhat Agree	56	31.6	31.8	68.2
	Strongly Agree	46	26.0	26.1	94.3
	Prefer Not to Answer	10	5.6	5.7	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.6		
	Total	177	100.0		

**Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	107	60.5	61.1	61.1
	Somewhat Disagree	36	20.3	20.6	81.7
	Somewhat Agree	21	11.9	12.0	93.7
	Strongly Agree	9	5.1	5.1	98.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	175	98.9	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.1		
	Total	177	100.0		

**A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	75	42.4	42.6	42.6

	Somewhat Disagree	67	37.9	38.1	80.7
	Somewhat Agree	25	14.1	14.2	94.9
	Strongly Agree	6	3.4	3.4	98.3
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	176	99.4	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.6		
	Total	177	100.0		

**Women often use the charge of rape vindictively**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	65	36.7	36.7	36.7
Somewhat Disagree	63	35.6	35.6	72.3
Somewhat Agree	38	21.5	21.5	93.8
Strongly Agree	5	2.8	2.8	96.6
Prefer Not to Answer	6	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	92	52.0	52.0	52.0
Somewhat Disagree	61	34.5	34.5	86.4
Somewhat Agree	14	7.9	7.9	94.4
Strongly Agree	5	2.8	2.8	97.2
Prefer Not to Answer	5	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	11	6.2	6.5	6.5
	No Opinion	6	3.4	3.5	10.0
	Disagree	51	28.8	30.0	40.0
	Strongly Disagree	102	57.6	60.0	100.0
	Total	170	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	4.0		
Total		177	100.0		

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	101	57.1	59.4	59.4
	Agree	48	27.1	28.2	87.6
	No Opinion	7	4.0	4.1	91.8
	Disagree	7	4.0	4.1	95.9
	Strongly Disagree	7	4.0	4.1	100.0
	Total	170	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	4.0		
Total		177	100.0		

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	14	7.9	8.3	8.3
	Agree	39	22.0	23.1	31.4
	No Opinion	29	16.4	17.2	48.5
	Disagree	72	40.7	42.6	91.1
	Strongly Disagree	15	8.5	8.9	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	4.5		
Total		177	100.0		

**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	7	4.0	4.1	4.1
	No Opinion	13	7.3	7.6	11.8
	Disagree	71	40.1	41.8	53.5
	Strongly Disagree	79	44.6	46.5	100.0
	Total	170	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	4.0		
Total		177	100.0		

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	101	57.1	59.4	59.4
	Agree	47	26.6	27.6	87.1
	No Opinion	9	5.1	5.3	92.4
	Disagree	8	4.5	4.7	97.1
	Strongly Disagree	5	2.8	2.9	100.0
	Total	170	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	4.0		
Total		177	100.0		

**In general, men are more aggressive than women**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	4	2.3	2.4	2.4
	Somewhat Disagree	8	4.5	4.7	7.1
	Somewhat Agree	94	53.1	55.6	62.7
	Strongly Agree	60	33.9	35.5	98.2
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	1.7	1.8	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	4.5		
Total		177	100.0		



**If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	10	5.6	6.0	6.0
	Somewhat Disagree	42	23.7	25.0	31.0
	Somewhat Agree	76	42.9	45.2	76.2
	Strongly Agree	36	20.3	21.4	97.6
	Prefer Not to Answer	4	2.3	2.4	100.0
	Total	168	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	9	5.1		
Total		177	100.0		

**Aggression in sexual relations in natural**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	58	32.8	34.5	34.5
	Somewhat Disagree	67	37.9	39.9	74.4
	Somewhat Agree	36	20.3	21.4	95.8
	Strongly Agree	2	1.1	1.2	97.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	5	2.8	3.0	100.0
	Total	168	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	9	5.1		
Total		177	100.0		

**Women often fantasize about being raped**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	126	71.2	75.0	75.0
	Somewhat Disagree	25	14.1	14.9	89.9
	Somewhat Agree	9	5.1	5.4	95.2
	Strongly Agree	1	.6	.6	95.8
	Prefer Not to Answer	7	4.0	4.2	100.0
	Total	168	94.9	100.0	
Missing	System	9	5.1		
Total		177	100.0		

**Men are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	22	12.4	13.0	13.0
	Somewhat Disagree	50	28.2	29.6	42.6
	Somewhat Agree	76	42.9	45.0	87.6
	Strongly Agree	15	8.5	8.9	96.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	6	3.4	3.6	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	4.5		
Total		177	100.0		

**If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity  
may be questioned**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	34	19.2	20.1	20.1
	Somewhat Disagree	37	20.9	21.9	42.0
	Somewhat Agree	75	42.4	44.4	86.4
	Strongly Agree	20	11.3	11.8	98.2
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	1.7	1.8	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
	Missing System Total	8	4.5		
		177	100.0		

**If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just  
met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the  
party who want to have sex with her**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	103	58.2	60.9	60.9
	Somewhat Disagree	31	17.5	18.3	79.3
	Somewhat Agree	22	12.4	13.0	92.3
	Strongly Agree	3	1.7	1.8	94.1
	Prefer Not to Answer	10	5.6	5.9	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
	Missing System Total	8	4.5		
		177	100.0		

**Most men accused of rape are really innocent**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	45	25.4	26.6	26.6
	Somewhat Disagree	89	50.3	52.7	79.3
	Somewhat Agree	22	12.4	13.0	92.3
	Strongly Agree	2	1.1	1.2	93.5
	Prefer Not to Answer	11	6.2	6.5	100.0
	Total	169	95.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	4.5		
Total		177	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	3	1.7	1.8	1.8
	Somewhat Unlikely	12	6.8	7.2	9.0
	Neutral	25	14.1	15.0	24.0
	Somewhat Likely	66	37.3	39.5	63.5
	Very Likely	57	32.2	34.1	97.6
	Prefer not to say	4	2.3	2.4	100.0
	Total	167	94.4	100.0	
Missing	System	10	5.6		
Total		177	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	4	2.3	2.4	2.4
	Somewhat Unlikely	14	7.9	8.4	10.8
	Neutral	31	17.5	18.6	29.3
	Somewhat Likely	63	35.6	37.7	67.1
	Very Likely	51	28.8	30.5	97.6
	Prefer not to say	4	2.3	2.4	100.0
	Total	167	94.4	100.0	
	Missing System	10	5.6		
Total		177	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	3	1.7	1.8	1.8
	Somewhat Unlikely	14	7.9	8.4	10.2
	Neutral	35	19.8	21.0	31.1
	Somewhat Likely	60	33.9	35.9	67.1
	Very Likely	49	27.7	29.3	96.4
	Prefer not to say	6	3.4	3.6	100.0
	Total	167	94.4	100.0	
	Missing System	10	5.6		
Total		177	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	4	2.3	2.4	2.4
	Somewhat Unlikely	12	6.8	7.2	9.6
	Neutral	22	12.4	13.2	22.8
	Somewhat Likely	55	31.1	32.9	55.7
	Very Likely	69	39.0	41.3	97.0
	Prefer not to say	5	2.8	3.0	100.0
	Total	167	94.4	100.0	
Missing	System	10	5.6		
Total		177	100.0		

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		22	12.4	12.4	12.4
	?	1	.6	.6	13.0
	.5	1	.6	.6	13.6
	.5%	1	.6	.6	14.1
	>5%	1	.6	.6	14.7
	0	3	1.7	1.7	16.4
	0.0000001%	1	.6	.6	16.9
	0.0001%	1	.6	.6	17.5
	0%	2	1.1	1.1	18.6
	1	3	1.7	1.7	20.3
	1%	4	2.3	2.3	22.6
	10	11	6.2	6.2	28.8
	10%	16	9.0	9.0	37.9
	11	1	.6	.6	38.4
	12%	1	.6	.6	39.0
	15	4	2.3	2.3	41.2

15-20%	1	.6	.6	41.8
15%	10	5.6	5.6	47.5
2.5%	1	.6	.6	48.0
2%	9	5.1	5.1	53.1
20	12	6.8	6.8	59.9
20%	2	1.1	1.1	61.0
25	2	1.1	1.1	62.1
25%	4	2.3	2.3	64.4
3	1	.6	.6	65.0
3%	2	1.1	1.1	66.1
30	2	1.1	1.1	67.2
30%	2	1.1	1.1	68.4
35	3	1.7	1.7	70.1
37%	1	.6	.6	70.6
4	1	.6	.6	71.2
40	3	1.7	1.7	72.9
40%	1	.6	.6	73.4
5	5	2.8	2.8	76.3
5 percent	1	.6	.6	76.8
5-10%	2	1.1	1.1	78.0
5%	17	9.6	9.6	87.6
5%(trace amount)	1	.6	.6	88.1
50	2	1.1	1.1	89.3
50%	2	1.1	1.1	90.4
60%	2	1.1	1.1	91.5
7	1	.6	.6	92.1
7%	1	.6	.6	92.7
75%	1	.6	.6	93.2
8	2	1.1	1.1	94.4
8%	2	1.1	1.1	95.5
80%	1	.6	.6	96.0

I don't have a clue. It depends what kind of girl we are speaking about. A lot of girls are unsafe or promiscuous so it would be hard to tell whether they were telling the truth or whether they led someone to believe it was okay with them and got themselves into a bad situation.	1	.6	.6	96.6
I have no clue	1	.6	.6	97.2
less than 1%	1	.6	.6	97.7
Maybe forty percent.	1	.6	.6	98.3
So small as to be negligible.	1	.6	.6	98.9
two percent	1	.6	.6	99.4
very few	1	.6	.6	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	24	13.6	13.6	13.6
?	1	.6	.6	14.1
>5%	1	.6	.6	14.7
0	4	2.3	2.3	16.9
0.0001%	1	.6	.6	17.5
0.1%	1	.6	.6	18.1
0%	3	1.7	1.7	19.8
1	3	1.7	1.7	21.5
1%	4	2.3	2.3	23.7



10	8	4.5	4.5	28.2
10 percent	1	.6	.6	28.8
10-15%	1	.6	.6	29.4
10%	15	8.5	8.5	37.9
11	1	.6	.6	38.4
12	2	1.1	1.1	39.5
14	1	.6	.6	40.1
15	6	3.4	3.4	43.5
15%	2	1.1	1.1	44.6
2	2	1.1	1.1	45.8
2.5%	1	.6	.6	46.3
2%	7	4.0	4.0	50.3
20	5	2.8	2.8	53.1
20%	6	3.4	3.4	56.5
23%	1	.6	.6	57.1
25	5	2.8	2.8	59.9
25%	2	1.1	1.1	61.0
3	1	.6	.6	61.6
3%	5	2.8	2.8	64.4
30	4	2.3	2.3	66.7
30%	2	1.1	1.1	67.8
40	4	2.3	2.3	70.1
40%	4	2.3	2.3	72.3
43%	1	.6	.6	72.9
47	1	.6	.6	73.4
5	6	3.4	3.4	76.8
5-10%	1	.6	.6	77.4
5%	20	11.3	11.3	88.7
5% (trace amount)	1	.6	.6	89.3
50	1	.6	.6	89.8
6%	1	.6	.6	90.4
60	1	.6	.6	91.0
60%	1	.6	.6	91.5
68	1	.6	.6	92.1
7%	4	2.3	2.3	94.4

70	1	.6	.6	94.9
75%	3	1.7	1.7	96.6
A very small percentage.	1	.6	.6	97.2
I have no clue	1	.6	.6	97.7
Less than 1%	1	.6	.6	98.3
Maybe thirty percent.	1	.6	.6	98.9
Same story.	1	.6	.6	99.4
very few	1	.6	.6	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	17	9.6	10.8	10.8
	No Opinion	6	3.4	3.8	14.6
	Disagree	51	28.8	32.3	46.8
	Strongly Disagree	84	47.5	53.2	100.0
	Total	158	89.3	100.0	
Missing	System	19	10.7		
Total		177	100.0		

**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	109	61.6	69.0	69.0
	Agree	41	23.2	25.9	94.9
	No Opinion	5	2.8	3.2	98.1
	Disagree	2	1.1	1.3	99.4
	Strongly Disagree	1	.6	.6	100.0
	Total	158	89.3	100.0	
Missing	System	19	10.7		
Total		177	100.0		

**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	1	.6	.6	.6
	Agree	14	7.9	8.8	9.4
	No Opinion	13	7.3	8.2	17.6
	Disagree	50	28.2	31.4	49.1
	Strongly Disagree	81	45.8	50.9	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	58	32.8	36.5	36.5
	Agree	71	40.1	44.7	81.1
	No Opinion	15	8.5	9.4	90.6
	Disagree	15	8.5	9.4	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	9	5.1	5.7	5.7
	Agree	9	5.1	5.7	11.3
	No Opinion	12	6.8	7.5	18.9
	Disagree	58	32.8	36.5	55.3
	Strongly Disagree	71	40.1	44.7	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

**Are you male or female?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	65	36.7	40.9	40.9
	Female	92	52.0	57.9	98.7
	Prefer not to say	2	1.1	1.3	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

**Do you play a varsity sport?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	48	27.1	30.2	30.2
	No	107	60.5	67.3	97.5
	Prefer not to say	4	2.3	2.5	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

**State:**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		28	15.8	15.8	15.8
	AK	1	.6	.6	16.4
	AL	5	2.8	2.8	19.2
	CA	5	2.8	2.8	22.0
	CO	1	.6	.6	22.6
	CT	1	.6	.6	23.2
	DC	2	1.1	1.1	24.3
	FL	6	3.4	3.4	27.7
	GA	10	5.6	5.6	33.3
	ID	1	.6	.6	33.9
	KY	4	2.3	2.3	36.2
	LA	3	1.7	1.7	37.9
	MA	6	3.4	3.4	41.2
	MD	5	2.8	2.8	44.1
	ME	1	.6	.6	44.6
	MI	1	.6	.6	45.2
	MN	4	2.3	2.3	47.5
	MO	1	.6	.6	48.0
	NC	9	5.1	5.1	53.1
	NH	2	1.1	1.1	54.2
	NJ	5	2.8	2.8	57.1

NY	4	2.3	2.3	59.3
OH	9	5.1	5.1	64.4
OR	3	1.7	1.7	66.1
PA	5	2.8	2.8	68.9
SC	7	4.0	4.0	72.9
TN	5	2.8	2.8	75.7
TX	13	7.3	7.3	83.1
VA	21	11.9	11.9	94.9
WA	2	1.1	1.1	96.0
WI	1	.6	.6	96.6
WV	6	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	75	42.4	42.4	42.4
America	2	1.1	1.1	43.5
argentina	1	.6	.6	44.1
Canada	1	.6	.6	44.6
France	1	.6	.6	45.2
Philippines	1	.6	.6	45.8
Singapore	1	.6	.6	46.3
U.S.	1	.6	.6	46.9
U.S.A.	1	.6	.6	47.5
Uganda	1	.6	.6	48.0
UK	1	.6	.6	48.6
united states	1	.6	.6	49.2
united States	3	1.7	1.7	50.8
United States	34	19.2	19.2	70.1
United States of America	3	1.7	1.7	71.8
us	3	1.7	1.7	73.4
US	6	3.4	3.4	76.8

usa	7	4.0	4.0	80.8
Usa	1	.6	.6	81.4
USA	31	17.5	17.5	98.9
USA USA USA USA	1	.6	.6	99.4
USA USA USA USA				
USA USA BRADY ELLISON WINS THE GOLD MEDAL				
Vietnam	1	.6	.6	100.0
Total	177	100.0	100.0	

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	22.0	24.8	24.8
	No	106	59.9	67.5	92.4
	Prefer not to say	12	6.8	7.6	100.0
	Total	157	88.7	100.0	
Missing	System	20	11.3		
Total		177	100.0		

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	21	11.9	13.3	13.3
	No	128	72.3	81.0	94.3
	Prefer not to say	9	5.1	5.7	100.0
	Total	158	89.3	100.0	
Missing	System	19	10.7		
Total		177	100.0		

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	3.4	3.8	3.8
	No	149	84.2	93.7	97.5
	Prefer not to say	4	2.3	2.5	100.0
	Total	159	89.8	100.0	
Missing	System	18	10.2		
Total		177	100.0		

## First Post-test Frequency Data

**Women are naturally more sexually modest than men**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	6	9.2	9.2	9.2
	Somewhat Disagree	20	30.8	30.8	40.0
	Somewhat Agree	29	44.6	44.6	84.6
	Strongly Agree	8	12.3	12.3	96.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total		65	100.0	100.0	



**Women should do all they can to look attractive**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	18	27.7	27.7	27.7
	Somewhat Disagree	22	33.8	33.8	61.5
	Somewhat Agree	20	30.8	30.8	92.3
	Strongly Agree	3	4.6	4.6	96.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	39	60.0	60.0	60.0
	Somewhat Disagree	14	21.5	21.5	81.5
	Somewhat Agree	10	15.4	15.4	96.9
	Strongly Agree	1	1.5	1.5	98.5
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**Women are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	29	44.6	44.6	44.6
	Somewhat Disagree	22	33.8	33.8	78.5
	Somewhat Agree	12	18.5	18.5	96.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	32	49.2	50.0	50.0
	Somewhat Disagree	18	27.7	28.1	78.1
	Somewhat Agree	11	16.9	17.2	95.3
	Strongly Agree	2	3.1	3.1	98.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.5	1.6	100.0
	Total	64	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.5		
Total		65	100.0		

**Women aren't as interested in sex as men are**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	10	15.4	15.4	15.4
	Somewhat Disagree	31	47.7	47.7	63.1
	Somewhat Agree	18	27.7	27.7	90.8
	Strongly Agree	4	6.2	6.2	96.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	46	70.8	70.8	70.8
Somewhat Disagree	15	23.1	23.1	93.8
Somewhat Agree	2	3.1	3.1	96.9
Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	1	1.5	1.5	1.5
Somewhat Disagree	7	10.8	10.8	12.3
Somewhat Agree	25	38.5	38.5	50.8
Strongly Agree	24	36.9	36.9	87.7
Prefer Not to Answer	8	12.3	12.3	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	46	70.8	70.8	70.8
Somewhat Disagree	10	15.4	15.4	86.2
Somewhat Agree	6	9.2	9.2	95.4
Strongly Agree	2	3.1	3.1	98.5
Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	37	56.9	56.9	56.9
Somewhat Disagree	12	18.5	18.5	75.4
Somewhat Agree	11	16.9	16.9	92.3
Strongly Agree	3	4.6	4.6	96.9
Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**Women often use the charge of rape vindictively**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	41	63.1	63.1	63.1
Somewhat Disagree	13	20.0	20.0	83.1
Somewhat Agree	8	12.3	12.3	95.4
Strongly Agree	1	1.5	1.5	96.9
Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	40	61.5	61.5	61.5
	Somewhat Disagree	17	26.2	26.2	87.7
	Somewhat Agree	4	6.2	6.2	93.8
	Strongly Agree	2	3.1	3.1	96.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	1.5	1.8	1.8
	No Opinion	3	4.6	5.4	7.1
	Disagree	12	18.5	21.4	28.6
	Strongly Disagree	40	61.5	71.4	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
	Total	65	100.0		

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	37	56.9	66.1	66.1
	Agree	12	18.5	21.4	87.5
	No Opinion	5	7.7	8.9	96.4
	Disagree	1	1.5	1.8	98.2
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.5	1.8	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	6	9.2	10.7	10.7
	Agree	19	29.2	33.9	44.6
	No Opinion	11	16.9	19.6	64.3
	Disagree	17	26.2	30.4	94.6
	Strongly Disagree	3	4.6	5.4	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	1	1.5	1.8	1.8
	Agree	2	3.1	3.6	5.4
	No Opinion	4	6.2	7.1	12.5
	Disagree	20	30.8	35.7	48.2
	Strongly Disagree	29	44.6	51.8	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	37	56.9	66.1	66.1
	Agree	16	24.6	28.6	94.6
	No Opinion	2	3.1	3.6	98.2
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.5	1.8	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**In general, men are more aggressive than women**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	2	3.1	3.6	3.6
	Somewhat Disagree	1	1.5	1.8	5.4
	Somewhat Agree	31	47.7	55.4	60.7
	Strongly Agree	21	32.3	37.5	98.2
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.5	1.8	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	4	6.2	7.1	7.1
	Somewhat Disagree	12	18.5	21.4	28.6
	Somewhat Agree	29	44.6	51.8	80.4
	Strongly Agree	7	10.8	12.5	92.9
	Prefer Not to Answer	4	6.2	7.1	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		



**Aggression in sexual relations in natural**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	19	29.2	33.9	33.9
	Somewhat Disagree	22	33.8	39.3	73.2
	Somewhat Agree	13	20.0	23.2	96.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.6	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**Women often fantasize about being raped**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	43	66.2	76.8	76.8
	Somewhat Disagree	9	13.8	16.1	92.9
	Somewhat Agree	2	3.1	3.6	96.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.6	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**Men are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	7	10.8	12.5	12.5
	Somewhat Disagree	17	26.2	30.4	42.9
	Somewhat Agree	24	36.9	42.9	85.7
	Strongly Agree	5	7.7	8.9	94.6
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	4.6	5.4	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	6	9.2	10.7	10.7
	Somewhat Disagree	20	30.8	35.7	46.4
	Somewhat Agree	21	32.3	37.5	83.9
	Strongly Agree	7	10.8	12.5	96.4
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	3.1	3.6	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
	Missing System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	38	58.5	67.9	67.9
	Somewhat Disagree	11	16.9	19.6	87.5
	Somewhat Agree	4	6.2	7.1	94.6
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	4.6	5.4	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**Most men accused of rape are really innocent**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	26	40.0	46.4	46.4
	Somewhat Disagree	22	33.8	39.3	85.7
	Somewhat Agree	1	1.5	1.8	87.5
	Prefer Not to Answer	7	10.8	12.5	100.0
	Total	56	86.2	100.0	
Missing	System	9	13.8		
Total		65	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a  
varsity athlete?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	1.9
	Somewhat Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	3.7
	Neutral	5	7.7	9.3	13.0
	Somewhat Likely	16	24.6	29.6	42.6
	Very Likely	30	46.2	55.6	98.1
	Prefer not to say	1	1.5	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
	Missing System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a  
man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	1.9
	Somewhat Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	3.7
	Neutral	6	9.2	11.1	14.8
	Somewhat Likely	21	32.3	38.9	53.7
	Very Likely	25	38.5	46.3	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
	Missing System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	1.9
	Somewhat Unlikely	3	4.6	5.6	7.4
	Neutral	5	7.7	9.3	16.7
	Somewhat Likely	21	32.3	38.9	55.6
	Very Likely	24	36.9	44.4	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
	Missing System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.5	1.9	1.9
	Somewhat Unlikely	2	3.1	3.7	5.6
	Neutral	2	3.1	3.7	9.3
	Somewhat Likely	17	26.2	31.5	40.7
	Very Likely	32	49.2	59.3	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
	Missing System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	12	18.5	18.5	18.5
.5%	1	1.5	1.5	20.0
<10	1	1.5	1.5	21.5
<2%	1	1.5	1.5	23.1
0	2	3.1	3.1	26.2
0%	1	1.5	1.5	27.7
1	1	1.5	1.5	29.2
1%	2	3.1	3.1	32.3
10	7	10.8	10.8	43.1
10%	6	9.2	9.2	52.3
15	1	1.5	1.5	53.8
2%	2	3.1	3.1	56.9
20	1	1.5	1.5	58.5
20%	2	3.1	3.1	61.5
25	1	1.5	1.5	63.1
25%	2	3.1	3.1	66.2
3	2	3.1	3.1	69.2
3-5% Trace amount	1	1.5	1.5	70.8
3%	2	3.1	3.1	73.8
30	1	1.5	1.5	75.4
40	1	1.5	1.5	76.9
5	3	4.6	4.6	81.5
5%	9	13.8	13.8	95.4
7	1	1.5	1.5	96.9
8%	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	12	18.5	18.5	18.5
.5%	1	1.5	1.5	20.0
<2%	1	1.5	1.5	21.5
<5	1	1.5	1.5	23.1
0	3	4.6	4.6	27.7
0%	2	3.1	3.1	30.8
1%	3	4.6	4.6	35.4
10	4	6.2	6.2	41.5
10%	4	6.2	6.2	47.7
15	1	1.5	1.5	49.2
15%	2	3.1	3.1	52.3
2	1	1.5	1.5	53.8
2%	1	1.5	1.5	55.4
20	1	1.5	1.5	56.9
20%	4	6.2	6.2	63.1
25%	1	1.5	1.5	64.6
3	1	1.5	1.5	66.2
3-5% Trace amount	1	1.5	1.5	67.7
3%	3	4.6	4.6	72.3
30	2	3.1	3.1	75.4
35	1	1.5	1.5	76.9
4%	1	1.5	1.5	78.5
40	1	1.5	1.5	80.0
5	3	4.6	4.6	84.6
5%	5	7.7	7.7	92.3
7	1	1.5	1.5	93.8
7%	2	3.1	3.1	96.9
8	1	1.5	1.5	98.5
9	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	5	7.7	9.3	9.3
	No Opinion	4	6.2	7.4	16.7
	Disagree	16	24.6	29.6	46.3
	Strongly Disagree	29	44.6	53.7	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	42	64.6	77.8	77.8
	Agree	10	15.4	18.5	96.3
	No Opinion	1	1.5	1.9	98.1
	Disagree	1	1.5	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		



**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	6.2	7.4	7.4
	No Opinion	5	7.7	9.3	16.7
	Disagree	14	21.5	25.9	42.6
	Strongly Disagree	31	47.7	57.4	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	27	41.5	50.0	50.0
	Agree	21	32.3	38.9	88.9
	No Opinion	4	6.2	7.4	96.3
	Disagree	1	1.5	1.9	98.1
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.5	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	1	1.5	1.9	1.9
	Agree	1	1.5	1.9	3.7
	No Opinion	5	7.7	9.3	13.0
	Disagree	18	27.7	33.3	46.3
	Strongly Disagree	29	44.6	53.7	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Are you male or female?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	19	29.2	35.2	35.2
	Female	33	50.8	61.1	96.3
	Prefer not to say	2	3.1	3.7	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Did you take the previous survey when it was offered before your extended orientation programming on sexual assault (September 25th-October 3rd)?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	34	52.3	63.0	63.0
	No	10	15.4	18.5	81.5
	I don't remember	9	13.8	16.7	98.1
	Prefer not to say	1	1.5	1.9	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Do you play a varsity sport?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	20.0	24.1	24.1
	No	39	60.0	72.2	96.3
	Prefer not to say	2	3.1	3.7	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**State:**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		13	20.0	20.0	20.0
	AK	1	1.5	1.5	21.5
	AL	1	1.5	1.5	23.1
	AR	1	1.5	1.5	24.6
	CA	1	1.5	1.5	26.2
	CT	1	1.5	1.5	27.7

FL	3	4.6	4.6	32.3
GA	1	1.5	1.5	33.8
LA	1	1.5	1.5	35.4
MA	1	1.5	1.5	36.9
MI	1	1.5	1.5	38.5
MN	2	3.1	3.1	41.5
MO	2	3.1	3.1	44.6
MS	1	1.5	1.5	46.2
NC	2	3.1	3.1	49.2
NH	1	1.5	1.5	50.8
NJ	4	6.2	6.2	56.9
NY	2	3.1	3.1	60.0
OH	3	4.6	4.6	64.6
OR	1	1.5	1.5	66.2
SC	2	3.1	3.1	69.2
TN	1	1.5	1.5	70.8
TX	2	3.1	3.1	73.8
UT	1	1.5	1.5	75.4
VA	12	18.5	18.5	93.8
WI	1	1.5	1.5	95.4
WV	3	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	36	55.4	55.4	55.4
Ghana	1	1.5	1.5	56.9
The United States of America	1	1.5	1.5	58.5
U.S.A.	1	1.5	1.5	60.0
United States	11	16.9	16.9	76.9
United States of America	1	1.5	1.5	78.5
us	1	1.5	1.5	80.0
US	1	1.5	1.5	81.5
usa	1	1.5	1.5	83.1
USA	11	16.9	16.9	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
Yes	22	33.8	40.7	40.7
No	30	46.2	55.6	96.3
Prefer not to say	2	3.1	3.7	100.0
Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing				
System	11	16.9		
Total	65	100.0		

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	10.8	13.0	13.0
	No	44	67.7	81.5	94.4
	Prefer not to say	3	4.6	5.6	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	3.1	3.7	3.7
	No	50	76.9	92.6	96.3
	Prefer not to say	2	3.1	3.7	100.0
	Total	54	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	11	16.9		
Total		65	100.0		

**Second Post-test Frequency Data**

**Women are naturally more sexually modest than men**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	10	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Somewhat Disagree	29	29.0	29.0	39.0
	Somewhat Agree	51	51.0	51.0	90.0
	Strongly Agree	9	9.0	9.0	99.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total		100	100.0	100.0	

**Women should do all they can to look attractive**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	19	19.0	19.0	19.0
	Somewhat Disagree	33	33.0	33.0	52.0
	Somewhat Agree	34	34.0	34.0	86.0
	Strongly Agree	11	11.0	11.0	97.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	56	56.0	56.0	56.0
	Somewhat Disagree	27	27.0	27.0	83.0
	Somewhat Agree	15	15.0	15.0	98.0
	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Women are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	47	47.0	47.0	47.0
	Somewhat Disagree	30	30.0	30.0	77.0
	Somewhat Agree	17	17.0	17.0	94.0
	Strongly Agree	4	4.0	4.0	98.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	46	46.0	46.5	46.5
	Somewhat Disagree	28	28.0	28.3	74.7
	Somewhat Agree	14	14.0	14.1	88.9
	Strongly Agree	8	8.0	8.1	97.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	99	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.0		
	Total	100	100.0		



**Women aren't as interested in sex as men are**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	26	26.0	26.0	26.0
	Somewhat Disagree	41	41.0	41.0	67.0
	Somewhat Agree	28	28.0	28.0	95.0
	Strongly Agree	5	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	60	60.0	60.6	60.6
	Somewhat Disagree	24	24.0	24.2	84.8
	Somewhat Agree	12	12.0	12.1	97.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	99	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.0		
	Total	100	100.0		

**If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	8	8.0	8.0	8.0
	Somewhat Disagree	15	15.0	15.0	23.0
	Somewhat Agree	24	24.0	24.0	47.0
	Strongly Agree	36	36.0	36.0	83.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	17	17.0	17.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	63	63.0	63.6	63.6
	Somewhat Disagree	23	23.0	23.2	86.9
	Somewhat Agree	11	11.0	11.1	98.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	99	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.0		
	Total	100	100.0		

**A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date  
implies that she is willing to have sex**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	68	68.0	68.7	68.7
	Somewhat Disagree	16	16.0	16.2	84.8
	Somewhat Agree	13	13.0	13.1	98.0
	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	99	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Women often use the charge of rape vindictively**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	52	52.0	52.5	52.5
	Somewhat Disagree	27	27.0	27.3	79.8
	Somewhat Agree	18	18.0	18.2	98.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	99	99.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	58	58.0	58.0	58.0
	Somewhat Disagree	25	25.0	25.0	83.0
	Somewhat Agree	12	12.0	12.0	95.0
	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.0	96.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	Agree	1	1.0	1.1	2.2
	No Opinion	5	5.0	5.4	7.5
	Disagree	20	20.0	21.5	29.0
	Strongly Disagree	66	66.0	71.0	100.0
	Total	93	93.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	7.0		
	Total	100	100.0		

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	54	54.0	58.1	58.1
	Agree	22	22.0	23.7	81.7
	No Opinion	8	8.0	8.6	90.3
	Disagree	6	6.0	6.5	96.8
	Strongly Disagree	3	3.0	3.2	100.0
	Total	93	93.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	7.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	11	11.0	11.8	11.8
	Agree	28	28.0	30.1	41.9
	No Opinion	23	23.0	24.7	66.7
	Disagree	26	26.0	28.0	94.6
	Strongly Disagree	5	5.0	5.4	100.0
	Total	93	93.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	7.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	Agree	1	1.0	1.1	2.2
	No Opinion	9	9.0	9.7	11.8
	Disagree	31	31.0	33.3	45.2
	Strongly Disagree	51	51.0	54.8	100.0
	Total	93	93.0	100.0	
Missing	System	7	7.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	59	59.0	64.1	64.1
	Agree	23	23.0	25.0	89.1
	No Opinion	8	8.0	8.7	97.8
	Disagree	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**In general, men are more aggressive than women**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	4	4.0	4.3	4.3
	Somewhat Disagree	10	10.0	10.9	15.2
	Somewhat Agree	50	50.0	54.3	69.6
	Strongly Agree	26	26.0	28.3	97.8
	Prefer Not to Answer	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	6	6.0	6.5	6.5
	Somewhat Disagree	22	22.0	23.9	30.4
	Somewhat Agree	47	47.0	51.1	81.5
	Strongly Agree	13	13.0	14.1	95.7
	Prefer Not to Answer	4	4.0	4.3	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Aggression in sexual relations in natural**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	27	27.0	29.7	29.7
	Somewhat Disagree	41	41.0	45.1	74.7
	Somewhat Agree	19	19.0	20.9	95.6
	Strongly Agree	1	1.0	1.1	96.7
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	91.0	100.0	
Missing	System	9	9.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Women often fantasize about being raped**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	68	68.0	73.9	73.9
	Somewhat Disagree	11	11.0	12.0	85.9
	Somewhat Agree	7	7.0	7.6	93.5
	Prefer Not to Answer	6	6.0	6.5	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		



**Men are expected to have sex often**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	13	13.0	14.1	14.1
	Somewhat Disagree	21	21.0	22.8	37.0
	Somewhat Agree	42	42.0	45.7	82.6
	Strongly Agree	11	11.0	12.0	94.6
	Prefer Not to Answer	5	5.0	5.4	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
	Missing System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	17	17.0	18.7	18.7
	Somewhat Disagree	19	19.0	20.9	39.6
	Somewhat Agree	40	40.0	44.0	83.5
	Strongly Agree	12	12.0	13.2	96.7
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	91.0	100.0	
Missing System		9	9.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	67	67.0	72.8	72.8
	Somewhat Disagree	16	16.0	17.4	90.2
	Somewhat Agree	6	6.0	6.5	96.7
	Prefer Not to Answer	3	3.0	3.3	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Most men accused of rape are really innocent**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	41	41.0	44.6	44.6
	Somewhat Disagree	30	30.0	32.6	77.2
	Somewhat Agree	9	9.0	9.8	87.0
	Prefer Not to Answer	12	12.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a  
varsity athlete?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	Somewhat Unlikely	2	2.0	2.2	3.3
	Neutral	15	15.0	16.3	19.6
	Somewhat Likely	30	30.0	32.6	52.2
	Very Likely	43	43.0	46.7	98.9
	Prefer not to say	1	1.0	1.1	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	3	3.0	3.3	3.3
	Somewhat Unlikely	2	2.0	2.2	5.4
	Neutral	14	14.0	15.2	20.7
	Somewhat Likely	22	22.0	23.9	44.6
	Very Likely	48	48.0	52.2	96.7
	Prefer not to say	3	3.0	3.3	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
	Missing System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	2	2.0	2.2	2.2
	Somewhat Unlikely	4	4.0	4.3	6.5
	Neutral	17	17.0	18.5	25.0
	Somewhat Likely	26	26.0	28.3	53.3
	Very Likely	41	41.0	44.6	97.8
	Prefer not to say	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
	Missing System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Unlikely	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	Somewhat Unlikely	1	1.0	1.1	2.2
	Neutral	13	13.0	14.1	16.3
	Somewhat Likely	22	22.0	23.9	40.2
	Very Likely	53	53.0	57.6	97.8
	Prefer not to say	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
	Total	92	92.0	100.0	
Missing	System	8	8.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<1%	13	13.0	13.0	13.0
	0	1	1.0	1.0	14.0
	0-5%	4	4.0	4.0	18.0
	0.1%	1	1.0	1.0	19.0
	0%	1	1.0	1.0	20.0
	1%	3	3.0	3.0	23.0
	10	8	8.0	8.0	31.0
	10-20	6	6.0	6.0	37.0
	10%	1	1.0	1.0	38.0
	10% or less	6	6.0	6.0	44.0
	100	1	1.0	1.0	45.0
	13	1	1.0	1.0	46.0
	13%	1	1.0	1.0	47.0
	17	1	1.0	1.0	48.0
		1	1.0	1.0	49.0

2	5	5.0	5.0	54.0
2 percent	1	1.0	1.0	55.0
2%	3	3.0	3.0	58.0
20	3	3.0	3.0	61.0
20%	1	1.0	1.0	62.0
25	1	1.0	1.0	63.0
25%	2	2.0	2.0	65.0
3%	1	1.0	1.0	66.0
30	1	1.0	1.0	67.0
30% ?	1	1.0	1.0	68.0
35%	1	1.0	1.0	69.0
5	4	4.0	4.0	73.0
5%	16	16.0	16.0	89.0
5% ?	1	1.0	1.0	90.0
60	1	1.0	1.0	91.0
68	1	1.0	1.0	92.0
I dont know, you tell me	1	1.0	1.0	93.0
I haven't a clue	1	1.0	1.0	94.0
less than 1%	1	1.0	1.0	95.0
Less than 1%	1	1.0	1.0	96.0
less than 5%	1	1.0	1.0	97.0
Less than 5%	1	1.0	1.0	98.0
None	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
trace 2-5%	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

what percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	13	13.0	13.0	13.0
<1%	1	1.0	1.0	14.0
0	6	6.0	6.0	20.0
0-5 %	1	1.0	1.0	21.0
0.1%	1	1.0	1.0	22.0
0%	3	3.0	3.0	25.0
1	2	2.0	2.0	27.0
1%	5	5.0	5.0	32.0
10	8	8.0	8.0	40.0
10-20	1	1.0	1.0	41.0
10%	5	5.0	5.0	46.0
10% or less	1	1.0	1.0	47.0
100	1	1.0	1.0	48.0
15	1	1.0	1.0	49.0
15%	2	2.0	2.0	51.0
17%	1	1.0	1.0	52.0
2	2	2.0	2.0	54.0
2%	1	1.0	1.0	55.0
20	2	2.0	2.0	57.0
20%	1	1.0	1.0	58.0
3 percent	1	1.0	1.0	59.0
3%	4	4.0	4.0	63.0
30	2	2.0	2.0	65.0
33%	1	1.0	1.0	66.0
4%	2	2.0	2.0	68.0
5	2	2.0	2.0	70.0
5%	14	14.0	14.0	84.0
5%?	1	1.0	1.0	85.0
50%	1	1.0	1.0	86.0
60	1	1.0	1.0	87.0
7	1	1.0	1.0	88.0
70	1	1.0	1.0	89.0
8	1	1.0	1.0	90.0
80%	2	2.0	2.0	92.0
I haven't a clue	1	1.0	1.0	93.0
less than 1%	1	1.0	1.0	94.0

Less than 1%	1	1.0	1.0	95.0
less than 10%	1	1.0	1.0	96.0
Less than 5%	1	1.0	1.0	97.0
None. Rape is a serious issue, and I would always believe the woman.	1	1.0	1.0	98.0
Same as above	1	1.0	1.0	99.0
trace 2-5%	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	4.0	4.4	4.4
	No Opinion	7	7.0	7.8	12.2
	Disagree	24	24.0	26.7	38.9
	Strongly Disagree	55	55.0	61.1	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		



**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	64	64.0	71.1	71.1
	Agree	20	20.0	22.2	93.3
	No Opinion	3	3.0	3.3	96.7
	Disagree	1	1.0	1.1	97.8
	Strongly Disagree	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	4.0	4.4	4.4
	No Opinion	13	13.0	14.4	18.9
	Disagree	27	27.0	30.0	48.9
	Strongly Disagree	46	46.0	51.1	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	36	36.0	40.0	40.0
	Agree	38	38.0	42.2	82.2
	No Opinion	10	10.0	11.1	93.3
	Disagree	5	5.0	5.6	98.9
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.0	1.1	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	1.0	1.1	1.1
	No Opinion	11	11.0	12.2	13.3
	Disagree	33	33.0	36.7	50.0
	Strongly Disagree	45	45.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Are you male or female?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	31	31.0	34.1	34.1
	Female	56	56.0	61.5	95.6
	Prefer not to say	4	4.0	4.4	100.0
	Total	91	91.0	100.0	
Missing	System	9	9.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Did you attend the program "Sex Signals" when it was performed on January 17th?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	35	35.0	38.9	38.9
	No	45	45.0	50.0	88.9
	I don't remember	6	6.0	6.7	95.6
	Prefer not to say	4	4.0	4.4	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Do you play a varsity sport?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	23.0	25.3	25.3
	No	65	65.0	71.4	96.7
	Prefer not to say	3	3.0	3.3	100.0
	Total	91	91.0	100.0	
Missing	System	9	9.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**State:**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	11	11.0	11.0	11.0
AK	1	1.0	1.0	12.0
AL	2	2.0	2.0	14.0
CA	1	1.0	1.0	15.0
CO	2	2.0	2.0	17.0
CT	1	1.0	1.0	18.0
DC	1	1.0	1.0	19.0
FL	4	4.0	4.0	23.0
GA	3	3.0	3.0	26.0
HI	1	1.0	1.0	27.0
LA	1	1.0	1.0	28.0
MA	5	5.0	5.0	33.0
MD	4	4.0	4.0	37.0
ME	1	1.0	1.0	38.0
MI	3	3.0	3.0	41.0
MN	3	3.0	3.0	44.0
MO	1	1.0	1.0	45.0
MP	1	1.0	1.0	46.0
MT	1	1.0	1.0	47.0
NC	2	2.0	2.0	49.0
NH	2	2.0	2.0	51.0
NJ	4	4.0	4.0	55.0
NV	1	1.0	1.0	56.0
NY	2	2.0	2.0	58.0
OH	2	2.0	2.0	60.0
OR	2	2.0	2.0	62.0
PA	5	5.0	5.0	67.0
SC	6	6.0	6.0	73.0
TN	2	2.0	2.0	75.0
TX	7	7.0	7.0	82.0
VA	11	11.0	11.0	93.0
WA	3	3.0	3.0	96.0
WI	2	2.0	2.0	98.0

WV	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	47	47.0	47.0	47.0
America	1	1.0	1.0	48.0
Prefer not to say	1	1.0	1.0	49.0
U.S.	1	1.0	1.0	50.0
U.S.A.	1	1.0	1.0	51.0
United Staes	1	1.0	1.0	52.0
united states	1	1.0	1.0	53.0
United States	12	12.0	12.0	65.0
UNITED STATES	1	1.0	1.0	66.0
us	2	2.0	2.0	68.0
US	4	4.0	4.0	72.0
usa	5	5.0	5.0	77.0
USA	23	23.0	23.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	39	39.0	43.3	43.3
No	45	45.0	50.0	93.3
Prefer not to say	6	6.0	6.7	100.0
Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing System	10	10.0		
Total	100	100.0		

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	20.0	22.2	22.2
	No	62	62.0	68.9	91.1
	Prefer not to say	8	8.0	8.9	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	5.0	5.6	5.6
	No	78	78.0	86.7	92.2
	Prefer not to say	7	7.0	7.8	100.0
	Total	90	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	10	10.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**Pretest Survey Instrument**

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about women and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
Women are naturally more sexually modest than men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should do all they can to look attractive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women aren't as interested in sex as men are	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women often use the charge of rape vindictively	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Jim and Allison are undergraduates at a large state university. They have been dating for a month and have been sexually involved. They returned to Allison's apartment after having dinner and seeing a movie. Sitting together on the couch, Allison pulls Jim to her and kisses him. She begins to unbutton his shirt and rub her hand against his chest. Jim whispers playfully into her ear letting her know that he would like to have sex (intercourse). She doesn't respond. He begins to slowly undress Allison, but she pulls his hand back up to her face and kisses it. Again Jim tells her he would like to have sex; Allison says she doesn't want to. Jim pauses while Allison continues to caress him. Then he leans over and unbuttons her blouse. Allison doesn't stop him. He puts his hand on her jeans and begins to unzip them. Allison stops caressing him and zips her jeans up. Jim gets angry and tells her that the past several times that they have been together, she has initiated being sexual but doesn't go all the way. Jim asks her if she is afraid. Allison says she is not afraid. Jim tells her to prove it. She says nothing. Jim tells her that he has been thinking about dating other women or just breaking it off with her since she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree



**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about men and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
In general, men are more aggressive than women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aggression in sexual relations is natural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women often fantasize about being raped	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most men accused of rape are really innocent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The following questions ask you to respond to a series of sexual assault allegations. Please indicate how likely you are to believe the woman in each situation.

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?**

Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Mai and Kirk are new students at a small college. They were friends in high school, but never dated. Tonight, they had their first date. After coming back to Kirk's apartment (which he shares with his brother who is out of town), he mixes some drinks using his brother's stock of alcohol. They have each had several drinks. Mai is clinging to Kirk, laughing and giggling about things that happened while they were in high school. Suddenly, she kisses him on the lips. Kirk is surprised but kisses her back. Mai walks over to a sofa and he joins her. Kirk pushes her down on the couch and begins pulling his clothes off. Mai pushes against him as if attempting to push him away. She says nothing. Kirk gets undressed while kissing Mai. He begins to undress her. Mai freezes for a moment: she is afraid. Then she tries to put her clothes back on, but Kirk grabs them out of her hand and throws them across the room. He pushes her back on the sofa. Mai looks at the clothes and up at Kirk; for a moment she is unsure of what to do. She is afraid of what Kirk will do if she tries to get the clothes. She tries to get up from the couch but has trouble getting her balance. She falls back onto the couch. Kirk begins to kiss Mai and to have sex with her.

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

The following questions ask you to provide non-identifying personal information. Remember that all information is anonymous and confidential.

**Are you male or female?**

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

**Do you play a varsity sport?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**In what state did you spend the most time growing up? If you spent the majority of your time abroad, please proceed to the next question.**

State:

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your responses are invaluable in better understanding the educational needs of students on campus.

Please click "Done" to submit your responses.

If you would like to be entered into the \$50 iTunes gift card drawing, please send a blank email with the subject "Survey Complete" to [galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu](mailto:galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu).



# Post-test 1 Survey Instrument

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about women and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
Women are naturally more sexually modest than men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should do all they can to look attractive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women aren't as interested in sex as men are	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she wants to	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex

Women often use the charge of rape vindictively

In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation

Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Jim and Allison are undergraduates at a large state university. They have been dating for a month and have been sexually involved. They returned to Allison's apartment after having dinner and seeing a movie. Sitting together on the couch, Allison pulls Jim to her and kisses him. She begins to unbutton his shirt and rub her hand against his chest. Jim whispers playfully into her ear letting her know that he would like to have sex (intercourse). She doesn't respond. He begins to slowly undress Allison, but she pulls his hand back up to her face and kisses it. Again Jim tells her he would like to have sex; Allison says she doesn't want to. Jim pauses while Allison continues to caress him. Then he leans over and unbuttons her blouse. Allison doesn't stop him. He puts his hand on her jeans and begins to unzip them. Allison stops caressing him and zips her jeans up. Jim gets angry and tells her that the past several times that they have been together, she has initiated being sexual but doesn't go all the way. Jim asks her if she is afraid. Allison says she is not afraid. Jim tells her to prove it. She says nothing. Jim tells her that he has been thinking about dating other women or just breaking it off with her since she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about men and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
In general, men are more aggressive than women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aggression in sexual relations is natural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women often fantasize about being raped	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most men accused of rape are really innocent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The following questions ask you to respond to a series of sexual assault allegations. Please indicate how likely you are to believe the woman in each situation.

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?**



Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Mai and Kirk are new students at a small college. They were friends in high school, but never dated. Tonight, they had their first date. After coming back to Kirk's apartment (which he shares with his brother who is out of town), he mixes some drinks using his brother's stock of alcohol. They have each had several drinks. Mai is clinging to Kirk, laughing and giggling about things that happened while they were in high school. Suddenly, she kisses him on the lips. Kirk is surprised but kisses her back. Mai walks over to a sofa and he joins her. Kirk pushes her down on the couch and begins pulling his clothes off. Mai pushes against him as if attempting to push him away. She says nothing. Kirk gets undressed while kissing Mai. He begins to undress her. Mai freezes for a moment: she is afraid. Then she tries to put her clothes back on, but Kirk grabs them out of her hand and throws them across the room. He pushes her back on the sofa. Mai looks at the clothes and up at Kirk; for a moment she is unsure of what to do. She is afraid of what Kirk will do if she tries to get the clothes. She tries to get up from the couch but has trouble getting her balance. She falls back onto the couch. Kirk begins to kiss Mai and to have sex with her.

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

The following questions ask you to provide non-identifying personal information. Remember that all information is anonymous and confidential.

**Are you male or female?**

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

**Did you take the previous survey when it was offered before your extended orientation programming on sexual assault (September 25th-October 3rd)?**

- Yes
- No
- I don't remember
- Prefer not to say

**Do you play a varsity sport?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**In what state did you spend the most time growing up? If you spent the majority of your time abroad, please proceed to the next question.**

State:

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your responses are invaluable in better understanding the educational needs of students on campus.

Please click "Done" to submit your responses.

If you would like to be entered into the \$50 iTunes gift card drawing, please send a blank email with the subject "Survey Complete" to [galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu](mailto:galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu).

# Post-test 2 Survey Instrument

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about women and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
Women are naturally more sexually modest than men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should do all they can to look attractive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Many women cause their own rape by the way they act and the clothes they wear around men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A woman will pretend she does not want sex because she does not want to seem promiscuous, but she hopes men will persist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women aren't as interested in sex as men are	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When a woman says she has been raped by a man she knows, it is probably because she changed her mind afterward.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman drinks enough to black out or throw up and has sex, it is rape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Any healthy woman	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

can successfully  
resist a rapist is she  
wants to

A woman who goes to  
the home or apartment  
of a man on their first  
date implies that she  
is willing to have sex

Women often use the  
charge of rape  
vindictively

In the majority of  
rapes, the victim is  
promiscuous or has a  
bad reputation



## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Jim and Allison are undergraduates at a large state university. They have been dating for a month and have been sexually involved. They returned to Allison's apartment after having dinner and seeing a movie. Sitting together on the couch, Allison pulls Jim to her and kisses him. She begins to unbutton his shirt and rub her hand against his chest. Jim whispers playfully into her ear letting her know that he would like to have sex (intercourse). She doesn't respond. He begins to slowly undress Allison, but she pulls his hand back up to her face and kisses it. Again Jim tells her he would like to have sex; Allison says she doesn't want to. Jim pauses while Allison continues to caress him. Then he leans over and unbuttons her blouse. Allison doesn't stop him. He puts his hand on her jeans and begins to unzip them. Allison stops caressing him and zips her jeans up. Jim gets angry and tells her that the past several times that they have been together, she has initiated being sexual but doesn't go all the way. Jim asks her if she is afraid. Allison says she is not afraid. Jim tells her to prove it. She says nothing. Jim tells her that he has been thinking about dating other women or just breaking it off with her since she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.

**If Jim were to tell Allison again that he wanted to have sex, and she didn't say anything, it would be okay for him to assume that she had changed her mind and wanted to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**It is not ok for Jim to challenge Allison to be sexual (i.e., ask her to prove she is not scared of having sex with him) with the hope that this will cause her to have sex with him.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**If Allison changed her "no" to a "yes" (even though she still did not want to have sex with him) because she was afraid that Jim might leave her and then they had intercourse, Jim would be guilty of committing a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**It would be ok for Jim to continue attempting to undress Allison with the expectation that she might change her mind about having sex.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Jim is pressuring Allison to have sex when he first challenges her to prove she is not afraid to have sex with him, and by telling her he has been thinking about dating other women and possibly breaking up with her since he feels that she doesn't care as much about him as he does about her.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**The following question asks you to respond to a series of statements about men and sexual assault. Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, Somewhat Agree, or Strongly Agree with each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree	Prefer Not to Answer
In general, men are more aggressive than women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If people know a man is having sex, it improves his reputation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aggression in sexual relations in natural	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women often fantasize about being raped	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men are expected to have sex often	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a man doesn't have sex with a woman who wants to, his masculinity may be questioned	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most men accused of rape are really innocent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

The following questions ask you to respond to a series of sexual assault allegations. Please indicate how likely you are to believe the woman in each situation.

### **How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a varsity athlete?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

### **How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of an unpopular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

### **How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is independent (not affiliated with a fraternity)?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**How likely are you to believe a woman who claims she was raped by a man that is a member of a popular fraternity?**

- Very Unlikely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Neutral
- Somewhat Likely
- Very Likely
- Prefer not to say

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?**

**What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying to protect their reputation?**

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

Please read the following short scene and answer the statements following it to the best of your ability using the scale provided.

Mai and Kirk are new students at a small college. They were friends in high school, but never dated. Tonight, they had their first date. After coming back to Kirk's apartment (which he shares with his brother who is out of town), he mixes some drinks using his brother's stock of alcohol. They have each had several drinks. Mai is clinging to Kirk, laughing and giggling about things that happened while they were in high school. Suddenly, she kisses him on the lips. Kirk is surprised but kisses her back. Mai walks over to a sofa and he joins her. Kirk pushes her down on the couch and begins pulling his clothes off. Mai pushes against him as if attempting to push him away. She says nothing. Kirk gets undressed while kissing Mai. He begins to undress her. Mai freezes for a moment: she is afraid. Then she tries to put her clothes back on, but Kirk grabs them out of her hand and throws them across the room. He pushes her back on the sofa. Mai looks at the clothes and up at Kirk; for a moment she is unsure of what to do. She is afraid of what Kirk will do if she tries to get the clothes. She tries to get up from the couch but has trouble getting her balance. She falls back onto the couch. Kirk begins to kiss Mai and to have sex with her.

**It was ok for Kirk to assume that Mai's kiss and her moving to the couch meant that she wanted to have sex with him**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk's actions (pushing her down and grabbing and throwing the clothes) scare Mai because she is not sure what will happen if she attempts to resist Kirk. It would be wrong for Kirk to have sex with Mai in this situation.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**Kirk mixed a number of really strong drinks for the two of them. He thought that this might make them more relaxed and might lead to something happening. It was ok for Kirk to have sex with Mai after doing this.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk should know that Mai doesn't want to have sex because she tried to push away from him even though she didn't say anything.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

**Kirk has not committed a sexual assault.**

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- No Opinion
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

The following questions ask you to provide non-identifying personal information. Remember that all information is anonymous and confidential.

### Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

### Did you attend the program "Sex Signals" when it was performed on January 17th?

- Yes
- No
- I don't remember
- Prefer not to say

### Do you play a varsity sport?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**In what state did you spend the most time growing up? If you spent the majority of your time abroad, please proceed to the next question.**

State:

**In what country did you spend the most time growing up?**

**Have you personally known someone who was raped or sexually assaulted?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

**Have you ever been sexually touched against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say



## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

**Have you ever been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex against your will?**

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

## Peer Education Efficacy Survey Post Test 2

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your responses are invaluable in better understanding the educational needs of students on campus.

Please click "Done" to submit your responses.

If you would like to be entered into the \$50 iTunes gift card drawing, please send a blank email with the subject "Survey Complete" to [galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu](mailto:galvinm12@mail.wlu.edu).