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"Good Guys Do Rape": An Examination of College Student Perceptions of Sexual Assault Perpetrators

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"Good Guys Do Rape":
An Examination of College Student Perceptions of Sexual Assault Perpetrators

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by

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Abstract

 When people think of a typical sexual assault, they rely heavily on preconceived notions of sexual violence, which often represents stereotypical rape scenarios. Many stereotypical depictions of perpetrators tend to be centered around individuals who are strangers, mentally ill, lonely, with poor or impoverished upbringing. How perpetrators and victims are depicted impact the likelihood of others believing victims and attributing guilt to perpetrators. This may contribute to societal endorsement of acquaintance rape as not real compared to stereotypical rape scenarios. The current study examines how college students, and in particular fraternity men and sorority women, view perpetrators of sexual assault. We focused on fraternity men and sorority women given Greek affiliated students' high risk for sexual assault perpetration and victimization. Affiliated Greek men are overrepresented among sexual assault perpetrators, and one-third of rapes occur in fraternity. Additionally, sorority women are also at elevated risk for victimization of sexual assault.

Using Social Identity Theory, this study measured perpetrator perceptions of those in the in group (Greek affiliated) versus the out group (Non-affiliated) among 943 college students, in which 55% of which were Greek affiliated. Men had more stereotypes than women regarding rape myths, hostility toward women, and more stereotypical perceptions of perpetrators. There was no difference in perpetrator perceptions among sorority women and non-affiliated women. Fraternity men have higher stereotypical perceptions compared to all women, and non-Greek men. The current study demonstrates a relationship between perpetrator perceptions, rape myth acceptance, and hostility toward women, as well as more stereotypical perceptions especially for Greek men. Such findings have important implications for societal perceptions of sexual assault;

the way individuals perceive perpetrators could effect the punishment on college campuses, in

the criminal justice system, as well as society.

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Dedication

This Master's Thesis is dedicated to victims of sexual violence; may we believe you and may we

support you.

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Introduction

Sexual assault continues to be a danger for women on college campuses, with approximately one in five college women experiencing completed or attempted rape (e.g. Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2000). Currently, the U.S. Department of Education has 318 active sexual assault investigations at 213 colleges (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2017). The number of cases continues to change based on new cases that are filed with the Office of Civil Right s. Sexual assault is an underreported crime both to police and university officials (Department of Justice, 2015; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). High rates of self-reported sexual assault among university women, combined with the high volume of investigations by the Department of Education could be representative that universities, not just victims, are underreporting sexual assault. As Yung (2015) argues, it is reasonable to believe that the actual rates of sexual assault that occur are approximately 44% higher than what universities are reporting through federal mandates, such as the Clery Act. The Campus Clery Act aims to provide university transparency through reporting of campus crime (Clery Act, n.d.). One reason why universities may be underreporting sexual assaults on campus may stem from Title IX cases and the process by which cases are resolved. Title IX is an Education Amendment ensuring equal access to education with the aim to combat gender-based violence on campus (Bogler, n.d.). Through Title IX, universities are required to respond to reports of sexual violence, at the risk of losing federal funding (Bogler, n.d.). The process to respond varies from campus to campus, with university administration making decisions of responsibility, and determining consequences perpetrators face when, or if, they are found responsible (Bolger, n.d).

Literature Review

There is substantial research that show how perceptions of perpetrators play a large role in peoples' beliefs about the legitimacy of sexual assault and the manner in which guilt is attributed (Barnett, 2008; Burt, 1980; Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006; Franiuk, Seefelt, Cepress & Vandello, 2008; O'Hara, 2012). One potential issue that could play a role in campus sexual assault cases is how those involved in Title IX may be biased in their decision-making regarding both victims and perpetrators. Based on Social Identity Theory, a person's sense of who they are is based on their group membership (Tajfel, 1979). If someone is a part of the same group (i.e., same social class, family, club), they are considered to be a part of the *in-group*, and those who do not belong to the same group are seen as members of the *out-group*. For example, when people perceive a perpetrator as similar to themselves (based on in-group membership), they are more likely to believe the perpetrator and find the victim not credible (due to out-group membership; Bal & van den Bos, 2010; McKimmie, Masser, & Bongiorno, 2014). Similarly, people disassociate themselves from victims who may be representative of their in-group (Correia, Vala & Aguiar, 2007). Ultimately, those similar to one's group are inherently good (i.e., not perpetrators) and safe from harm without cause (i.e., not victims; Correia et al., 2007; Lerner, 1980). Furthermore, on the college campus, Greek life shows in- and out-group mentality in a context heavily influenced by the party culture and hooking up (DeSantis, 2007; Sanday, 1990). Thus, the current study aims to examine how college students, and in particular fraternity men and sorority women, view perpetrators of sexual assault, given their high risk for sexual assault perpetration and victimization, and their in-group status on college campuses.

Perception of perpetrators

One high profile case which received public attention regarding perceptions of perpetrators is the Stanford Rape Case with Brock Turner (Koren, 2016). In this case, Turner was convicted of three felony counts: assault with intent to commit rape of an intoxicated woman, sexually penetrating an intoxicated person with a foreign object and sexually penetrating an unconscious person with a foreign object. Facing up to fourteen years in a state prison, California Judge Persky sentenced Turner to six months in a county jail and a three-year probation (Siemaszko, 2016). In response to the incident, Stanford University banned hard liquor on campus, attempting to limit undergraduates' consumption to only wine and beer at on-campus undergraduate parties (Ray, 2016). Many believe the lenient sentencing of Brock Turner and the response of Stanford University's ban on alcohol is a recent example of a university and the criminal system inadequately handling a rape case.

Although many have been outraged in the leniency displayed in this case, the reality is that Turner served more jail time than many other perpetrators of sexual assault, where only one out of 1000 suspected rape perpetrators are ever even referred to prosecutors (Department of Justice, 2013). Jail time is rare in most sexual assault cases; however, leniency for men who do not represent a *typical* rapist (i.e., those who do not commit stranger rape) often occurs. The incident at Stanford University is certainly not in isolation as there are myriad sexual assault cases making national news as of late that involve men whom we would otherwise conceptualize as "good guys" because they do not fit the typical rapist profile, such as a stranger who is male, uses force and attacks at night (Anderson, 2007; O'Neil & Morgan, 2010).

Shortly after the Turner case, a jury convicted Austin James Wilkerson, a former University of Colorado student, of sexually assaulting a woman and for unlawful sexual conduct,

receiving two years in a county jail, with a caveat of the ability to leave for work and school, and twenty years of probation (Byars, 2016). The sentence handed down is in contrast to the recommended prison sentence of four years to life; instead Wilkerson is participating in a program at the county jail that allows him to leave during the day for work and school (Byars, 2016). According to Colorado law, Wilkerson's sexual assault charge was a Class 3 felony subject to indeterminate sentencing, meaning the judge could have chosen to not release Wilkerson from prison until he was "deemed fit" (Byars, 2016). Furthermore, another example is David Becker who was a star athlete at East Longmeadow High School in Massachusetts and heavily involved in community service; he was charged on grounds of sexual assault his senior year of high school (Teehan, 2016). After a party, Becker stayed with two female friends to help clean up and assaulted the victims after they had fallen asleep. As a minor, he was convicted of two counts of rape and one count of indecent assault and battery (Teehan, 2106). Becker was given two years of probation and mandatory attendance of sex offender treatment, with no requirement to register as a sex offender. Becker's attorney was pleased with the decision, as it would not impede him from "the next step of his life, which is a college experience." Becker is currently serving his probation in Ohio, where he is thought to be attending college (Teehan, 2016).

Similar to Becker's light sentencing, the judge in the Stanford Brock Turner case stated "his [Brock's] positive character references given by his father had factored into his decision, as well as his age, his lack of a criminal history, and the role that alcohol played in the assault…A prison sentence would have [too] a severe impact on him" (Hunt, 2016). A similar statement was made by the judge in the Wilkerson case, "I've struggled, to be quite frank, with the idea of, 'Do I put him in prison?' … "I don't know if there is any great result for anybody… I think we all need

to find out whether he truly can or cannot be rehabilitated" (Jackson, 2016). In these cases, as well as many others, the failure of accountability and lack of punishment create opportunities for further perpetration (Bott, Morrison & Ellsberg, 2005), so it stands to reason, we need to know why judges and universities would allow perpetrators, found guilty of rape, to have their crimes reasoned away with caveats of youth, good character, and future plans.

In a system where perpetrators go unpunished, it is no wonder that women do not report their sexual assault. Sexual assault victims shy away from reporting to police for various reasons, for example, concern they would be blamed, concern that family or others would find out about the incident, fear of retaliation from the offender, and fear of treatment of police or the justice system (Wolitzky-Taylor, Resnick, McCauley, Amstadter, Kilpatrick & Ruggiero, 2010). It is estimated that two out of every three sexual assaults are unreported to police, most likely due to the reasons listed above (Justice Department, 2015). That means that only 32 out of 100 rapes that occur will be reported. Of those rapes that are reported, approximately seven will result in an arrest and only two will result in a conviction leading to jail time of approximately 48 months, on average (Justice Department, 2015). In a strict criminal justice system, lesser crimes such as possession of marijuana, men serve 1-2 years in jail. And according to the US Sentencing Commission, the average length of serving time for those found guilty of firearm offenses is 171 months, and 238 months for sexual abuse offenders, 66 months for identity theft, and 127 months for drug-related crimes. Thus, for those men who are found guilty of sexual assault/rape, only end up serving approximately 48 months. These comparisons are alarming because it indicates that we as a society do not hold men who rape accountable for their actions.

In addition to these cases, it seems that jury decisions and the likelihood of case prosecution are also based on perceptions of perpetrators. For example, community perceptions

may impact juries and prosecuting cases when dealing with *stereotypical* sexual assault cases, meaning people rely on schemas to allow them to determine truth in these cases. These schemas tend to align with the prototypical offense, a stereotypical victim, or is heavily influenced by gender-related stereotypes (McKimmie et al., 2014). For example, a prototypical offense is seen as a classic stranger rape scenario where a male uses force, and attacks a stranger at night (Anderson, 2007; O'Neil & Morgan, 2010). Lievore (2004) found that prosecutors were more likely to pursue sexual assault cases when the victim was physically injured, when threat, force or a weapon was used, non-consent was physically or verbally expressed (i.e., saying no or trying to push the individual away), additional evidence linked the defendant to the assault, or when the defendant was a stranger.

Even victims have a difficult time distinguishing their sexual assaults as legitimate. When an encounter represents a *stereotypical* sexual assault (i.e., stranger rape or use of force), victims are more likely to report to police because they perceive themselves as believable victims, thinking others would as well (Fisher et al., 2003). Labeling a nonconsensual encounter relies on whether their experience matched their preconceived rape script, and if the consequences of labeling an encounter, as rape would be helpful or harmful (e.g., self-blame, feelings of trauma; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2011). For the women whose cases represent acquaintance rape (where a victim knows their perpetrator), and choose to report, it is less likely their cases will be pursued by a prosecutor (Lievore, 2004) or result in conviction (Estrich, 1987). Indeed, as stated earlier, only one out of 1000 suspected rape perpetrators are referred to prosecutors (Department of Justice, 2013).

Public perceptions and expectations of rape and the context in which it takes place is different from reality (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). Oftentimes the

media focuses on sexual assault cases that do *not* reflect the norm (i.e., which then upholds rape myths), and instead focus on sexual assault cases where the perceived idea of perpetrators fit a typology of a *creepy man in the bushes* (Burt, 1980; Jozkowski, 2016; O'Hara, 2012). Research has shown the framing the sexual assault through the media directly affects attitudes about rape (see Franiuk et al., 2008; Gavey & Gow 2001; Howitt, 1998). This allows for the public to recall these situations or schema and believe them as more common than they truly are (Edwards et al., 2011; Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). For example, stranger rape and false accusations that are given large amounts of media attention are seen as more legitimate and offer a frame of reference when determining the legitimacy of other cases (Barnett, 2008; O'Hara, 2012). However, the majority of sexual assaults on college campus are acquaintance rapes (up to 90% where a victim knows their perpetrator), occurring between two people who know each other and where alcohol is involved (Fisher et al., 2000). Thus, the current study investigated how perpetrators of sexual assault are perceived among a young adult college sample. It was hypothesized that students would perceive perpetrators of sexual assault as more in line with the *stereotypical* sexual assault, and not what research deems as acquaintance sexual assault.

Social Identity Theory

The way that sexual assault, victims, and perpetrators are viewed are directly influenced by one's view of themselves and the groups they belong to, which is shown through Social Identity Theory. With intergroup differentiation, there is an attempt to distinguish the group we belong in (i.e., in-group) from the out-group or the groups we do not belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social Identity Theory details how intergroup relations influence one's differentiation from others. Furthermore, knowledge and emotional attachment to the group we hold membership to has direct implications on behavior (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Research has shown

individuals feel differently, in terms of guilt and punishment toward perpetrators and victims who were similar or dissimilar to them (Bal & van den Bos, 2010; Correia et al., 2007; McKimmie, Masser, & Bongoirno, 2014). For example, Bal and van den Bos (2010) used simulated sexual assault cases and found that when participants were similar to the perpetrator of the case, more blame was placed on victims and an increase in the likelihood of discrediting victims. Another study (McKimmie, Masser, & Bongiorno, 2014) focusing on jurors' perceptions in rape cases demonstrated that perpetrator similarity to jurors' as well as stereotypical victim behavior (i.e., use of force, stranger perpetrator) heavily influences juror decisions. Specifically, in acquaintance-rape scenarios where there was an increase of perpetrator similarity to the mock juror, there was an increase in the mock jurors' willingness to *defend* the perpetrator (McKimmie, Masser, & Bongiorno, 2014).

Although perpetrator similarities impact individual's perceptions, victim similarity can impact perceptions as well. Research shows that people are more threatened by victims in which they share similarities, as opposed to those victims who are dissimilar (Correia et al., 2007). When individuals associate themselves with others who are similar and are victimized, it threatens their belief in a just world (i.e., the idea that people receive morally fair and fitting consequences for their actions) and makes it difficult to find meaning in difficult experiences (Correia et al., 2007; Lerner, 1980). For example, in a just world a woman would not be a victim of sexual assault, unless she did something resulting in such a consequence.

Furthermore, the positive views of our own group are dependent on the comparisons to other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When the in-group is compared to an out-group, the process intrinsically favors the in-group, with the ultimate goal of comparison as higher status and superiority for those in the in-group (Brewer & Campbell, 1976). This research demonstrates

how in-group mentality is directly related to the willingness to attribute *non*-guilt to perpetrators similar to ourselves. If individuals are a part of a *good* group, members from that same group would be considered *good*, and would ultimately not fit the profile of someone who rapes (See Figure 1). Essentially, the idea is that *good guys do not rape, and that only bad guys rape*.

Figure 1: Social Identity Theory
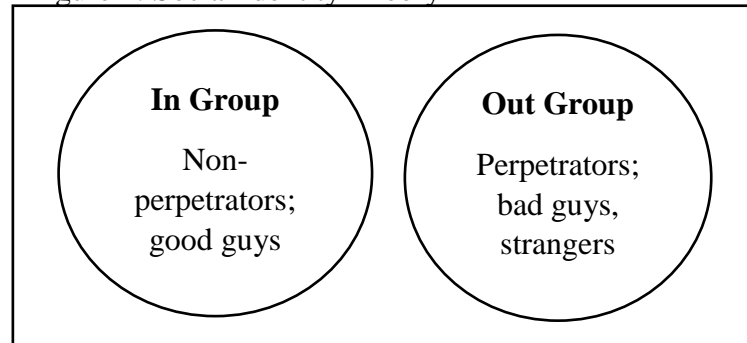
In attitudes towards rape, we may be able to see the in vs. out-group differentiation as well. For example, studies focused on university students show their *typical* rape script involves stranger rape (Bondurant, 2001; Littleton & Axson, 2003). In cases that reflect more common types of acquaintance sexual assault instead of stranger rape, it may be easy for the public to view these types of perpetrators (i.e., acquaintances) in a more tolerant manner because they are more like the in-group. Take, for example, the case of Brock Turner of Stanford: the victim received *more* support than what is usually given to victims in such public cases of sexual assault. It could be argued that her support came from her rape falling in line with a more stereotypical rape script. She was unconscious and assaulted in a dark alley. If she had been sexually assaulted in a more private area (i.e., apartment or dorm), while conscious, and Turner had not been caught in the act by two witnesses, it most likely would not have been perceived as a preconceived idea of a *legitimate rape*, resulting in more inconsistent public support. Thus, the preconceived notion of rape scenarios may have created support for the victim, due to her situations fitting preconceived ideas.

However, these preconceived notions may have also benefited Turner. For example, the judge in this case may have seen Turner as a member of *his* in-group, potentially impacting the sentencing in this case. Turner fit the same profile as a *non-rapist*, arguably fitting the same profile as the judge: White, middle-class, and Stanford athlete alumni (Clery, 2016). Although prosecutors argued for at least a 6-year sentence, the judge's sentence was only six months. According to Social Identity Theory, some people (the judge) may distance themselves from a societal prototype of a rapist (i.e., scary guy in the alley), while seeing themselves in what has been shown to be the more typical rapist (i.e., *good* guys like Brock Turner). Due to this, some men may reconsider the qualities and group status of a typical rapist. In other words, when these men see the rapist as a "good guy" they are less likely to label them as rapists because they themselves essentially fit into this good guy group, too.

Rape Myths

An area of research that is quite established in the field of sexual assault are the misconceptions of sexual assault called rape myths. Rape myths are the stereotypical beliefs regarding sexual assault, victims of sexual assault, and sexual assault perpetrators, as well as the situational variables that distinguish sexual assault from consensual sex (Burt, 1980). These myths include the ideas that women ask for rape, these experiences are not really rape, men did not really mean to rape, women actually want rape, and women lie about being raped (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). Those who more strongly agree with these rape myths are more likely to interpret and explain ambiguous sexual assault situations using these false ideas, and are more likely to rape (Payne et al., 1999).

Research has shown that there are certain characteristics that are closely associated with an acceptance of rape myths. When compared to non-perpetrators, sexual assault perpetrators

have more traditional attitudes concerning gender roles and sexual relationships (Byers, 1996).

Gendered sexual scripts paint a picture of men who are hyper-masculine, and constantly

interested in and ready for sexual activity (Kimmel, 2008), while women are painted as the

responsible party and careful handlers of sexuality (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012; Friedman &

Valenti, 2008). Furthermore, characteristics associated with traditionally feminine attributes

corresponding with positive interpersonal behaviors (i.e., concern for others, empathy, nurturing,

intimacy) are negatively associated with acceptance of rape myths (Quackenbush, 1989).

Keeping Social Identity Theory in mind, traditional feminine ideology can be seen as

representing an out-group for traditional men. One particular group on college campuses,

fraternity men, have been found to adhere to traditional gender roles at a higher rate than non-

Greek men (Boeringer, 1999; Kalof & Cargill, 1991), and fraternity men endorse stronger rape

myth attitudes and beliefs (Bleeker & Murnen, 2005; Boeringer, 1999). Essentially, this is

another reason why Greek affiliated men may be a significant group on college campuses when

understanding perceptions of sexual assault perpetrators.

Hostility Toward Women

Attitudes and beliefs encompassing rape myths create circumstances that are then hostile

to victims, who are usually women (Burt, 1980). College men tend to believe other men will

endorse hostile attitudes at a higher rate than they would themselves (Kilmartin et al., 2008).

Malamuth and colleagues (1991; 1995) identify hostility toward women as a key variable to

predicting sexual assault perpetration, especially when paired with hooking up, which is

frequently seen in the college culture (e.g., Bogle, 2008; Garcia, Reiber, Massery & Merriwether,

2012). Women can also have hostile attitudes towards other women, as these attitudes are

positively associated with blaming female victims and accepting rape myths (Cowan, 2000), thus

blaming the out-group of women who are different from themselves, according to Social Identity Theory. Since hostile attitudes are higher in those who adhere to traditional gender scripts (Byers, 1996) and members of Greek organizations hold more stereotypical beliefs (Kalof & Cargill, 1991), it is important to understand these subgroups (both fraternity and sorority members) on the college campus and specifically their perceptions of perpetrators of sexual assault.

Greek Life

When groups differentiate, the ultimate goal is superiority, with the understanding that not every out-group will be a relevant comparison group and that there must be social situations to allow for intergroup comparison to take place (Tajfe & Turner, 1979). Young men and women, regardless of affiliation, come to college with a chance to express newly found freedom, many without much knowledge of sex (Muehlenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski & Peterson, 2016). While Greek students represent a small minority of students, they have a tendency to create quite an impact on the college campus (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; DeSantis, 2007). Thus, Greek life presents a unique group that may facilitate intergroup differentiation in the in- vs. out-group (DeSantis, 2007). First, Greek life represents students who are generally of a higher social status on campus, which manifests itself in power and privilege on campus (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Jozkowski & Mosley, 2017). Second, this subgroup of students is heavily centered around hetero-normative behavior, party culture, and popularity in the form of social hierarchy (Armstrong, Hamilton & Sweeney, 2006; DeSantis, 2007). Those who participate in Greek life, especially fraternity men, have been found to promote more traditional gender roles, are more sexually aggressive, more accepting of rape myths and hostility toward women, consume larger amounts of alcohol and drugs, and place a higher value on social life (Gwartney-Gibbs &

Stockard, 1989; Kalof & Cargill, 1991, Kalof, 1993; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

Gender scripts heavily influence the way men and women navigate the sexual arena on campus. This is especially true for Greek men and women who are typically more gender traditional (Bogle, 2008; DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008). Specifically, Greek men and women have been seen to encourage and promote traditional gender roles (DeSantis, 2007; Schaeffer & Nelson, 1993) where women are the sexual gatekeepers and men are the pursuers or initiators (Wierderman, 2005); women are painted as the responsible party and careful handlers of sexuality (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012; Friedman & Valenti, 2008).

Phillips argues that there are overlapping messages about traditional and accepted womanhood and how those interact with what is perceived as *normal* male sexual behavior (Phillips, 2000). The two ideas depict different actions in a relationship, however, both are taught to young women. The first discourse suggests that healthy and unhealthy relationships are mutually exclusive. The second argues that aggressive male behavior is normal and an inevitable component of their sexualities (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012). Phillips states "Essentially, there are "good guys" and "bad guys" and the two categories do not overlap" (2000, pg. 52). She calls this discourse the Normal/Danger Dichotomy, revealing the implicit assumption that there are two different kinds of men, and more specifically that women should be able to differentiate the two from each other. These ideas align with the thinking that normal heterosexual men are inherently different from those that could be considered dangerous, and that they do not fit the prototype of a rapist. In addition, there is increased comfort between members in Greek life, due to the Greek relationship of *family* (DeSantis, 2007; Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996). For example, sorority

women may not perceive their risk for victimization at a high level if surrounded by *brothers* and *sisters*, compared to any other university group (Norris et al., 1996).

      Fraternity men. When understanding party dynamics and gender roles, an important factor includes the dynamics of those who host parties and those who attend the parties. Traditionally, fraternity men are the hosts, using their venues, houses, and resources, while other students are the party goers (Armstrong et al., 2006). Party culture is used by fraternities to benefit themselves in several ways: it is a way to build peer circles, position themselves and their organization at the top of the social hierarchy, and to meet women (DeSantis, 2007; Kampf & Teske 2013). Harris and Schmalz (2015) argue that fraternities are ideal places for men who seek "high status and power, without order" (pg. 3) and are the *essential in-group*. Fraternity men control the party guest list, usually allowing in first year females and keeping unaffiliated men out, as well as controlling the amount and type of alcohol that guests can consume (Armstrong et al., 2006). Fraternity men are in control of the party spaces, and the availability of alcohol, and by using these resources to their benefit, they use the promise of better and/or more alcohol to lure women into private areas of the house (Armstrong et al., 2006).

      The *primary* reason for discussing fraternity men in this context is because they are overrepresented in perpetration of sexual assault cases and are more likely than other college men and the general population to endorse coercion as an acceptable tactic to get women to engage in sexual behavior (Bleeker & Murnen, 2005; Boeringer, 1999; Canan, Jozkowski, & Crawford, 2016; Foubert et al., 2007; Martin & Hummer, 1989; O'Sullivan, 199l; Sanday, 1990). Fraternity men also tend to be more sexually aggressive, physically aggressive, traditional in sex role beliefs, and more accepting of interpersonal violence (Lackie & de Man, 1997); and more than one-third of campus rapes occur in fraternity housing (Minow & Einolf, 2009). However, it

should be clarified that not all fraternity men are perpetrators of sexual assault, instead

recognizing that affiliated Greek men are overrepresented among sexual assault perpetrators, and

fraternity houses are arguably a dangerous place for women (Boeringer, 1999; Foubert et al.,

2007; Armstrong, Hamilton &Sweeney, 2006; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Harris and Schmalz

(2015) argue that the increased likelihood of aberrant behavior occurs through "the combination

of alcohol, drugs, fraternity loyalty and secrecy in relation to assault, a social environment where

deviant activity can quickly occur" (pg. 5). Thus, Greek men represent the ideal in-group on

college campuses to examine in terms of their perceptions of sexual assault perpetrators,

according to Social Identity Theory (See Figure 2). In theory, fraternity men are the "good guys"

because they are from more affluent families, have higher socioeconomic status, have a lot of

friends, and high grade point average (Chang, 2014; DeSantis, 2007; North-American

Interfraternity Conference, 2016). These men are not the stereotypical rapists that are depicted in

the media, such as the "dark alley stranger." But in reality, fraternity men are more likely to be

perpetrating sexual assault on college campuses. This disconnect could be due to perceptions of

who perpetuates sexual assault.

Figure 2: Social Identity Theory and Greek Life
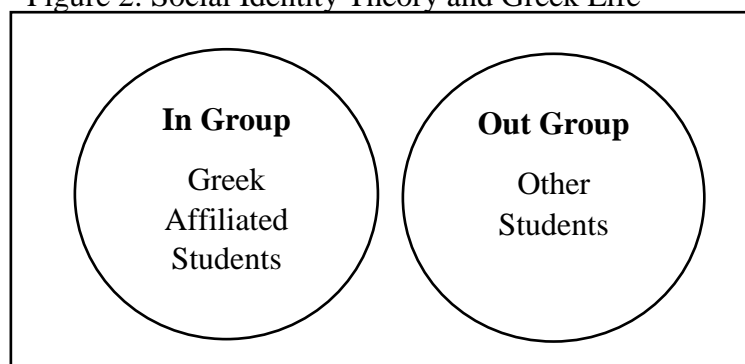
Fraternity initiation and other associated rituals may also be the clearest examples of in-

group loyalty and secrecy. Initiation rituals foster an immense sense of group loyalty, tying

generations together and setting Greek life apart from other school clubs (DeSantis, 2007).

Sanday (1990) recognizes the impact of group loyalty stating that "power and manhood are

conferred on the subject- the pledge- in exchange for lifelong loyalty to the brotherhood" (pg.

171). These rituals also create a strong divide between what is masculine and what is feminine

(Kimmel, 2008). Fraternity rituals are often centered around manhood, establishing a hyper-

masculine social and sexual identity that relies heavily on social power (DeSantis, 2007;

Kimmel, 2008; Sanday, 1990). These rituals may be indicative of the cultural norms surrounding

fraternities that can influence men's behavior. Furthermore, male peer support has been shown to

be a critical aspect in legitimizing sexual assault (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Schwartz &

DeKeseredy, 1997). If fraternity men are perpetuating these norms and have peer support that

aids in legitimizing sexual assault, women who frequently associate with these men may be at

risk.

Sorority women. Research indicates that sorority women are more likely to become

victims of sexual assault than those who are unaffiliated with Greek life (Copenhaver &

Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004). Furthermore, women who reside in

sorority houses, are under twenty-one, drink heavily, are white, and frequently attend fraternity

parties are at a higher risk for sexual assault (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004). There is also research

that suggests freshman women experience higher rates of victimization than any other class (e.g.,

Krebs et al., 2007). Those seen with *minimal* risk for sexual assault include women who have

already monopolized the social "economy", possibly through appearance, a prominent family

name, or a relationship with a fraternity brother (Armstrong et al., 2006; DeSantis, 2007; Harris

& Shmalz, 2015). Due to the hierarchical nature of the Greek system and the emphasis placed on

social status, there is variation for sexual assault risk among sorority women within the system (Boswell & Spade, 1996; DeSantis, 2007).

Harris and Schmalz (2015) proposed an explanation for how fraternity men categorize, and in turn, treat, women on campus. Certain groups, like fraternities, create a social environment where sexual coercion is normalized, and where women are perceived as commodities available to meet men's sexual needs (Armstrong et al., 2006; Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1990). This is recognized as a fraternity "economy" in which women are heavily entwined in and influenced by this economy (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; DeSantis, 2007; Harris & Schmalz, 2015; Kimmel, 2008). How women are seen and treated in this economy is heavily dependent on their social status and the riskiness of the fraternity they are associating with (Harris & Schmalz, 2015).

University women's differentiation between themselves and out-group members is closely related to their status and rank (Armstrong, Hamilton, Armstrong, & Seeley, 2014). For example, the different discourse between high-class and low-class women can result in high-class women who see lower-class women as trashy, while low-class women might see the high-class women as rich, stuck-up "sluts" due to their exclusivity (Armstrong et al., 2014). This typology illustrates social differentiation, the need for social status and the reason why women, especially sorority women, inadvertently aid in their own oppression in the Greek system (Harris & Schmalz, 2015). Those who are new to campus, either newly inducted sorority women or freshman women, are what Harris and Shmalz would conceptualize as Social Climbers (2015). These women are unfamiliar with the party environment and are attempting to reach higher social status (i.e., the in-group status that belong with fraternity men; Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013).

While most women are not the victims of sexual assault, they may, however, participate in victim blaming and "slut shaming" (i.e., criticizing women for any apparent sexual activity) (Deming, Covan, Swan & Billings, 2013; Phillips, 2000; White, 2002). Traditionally, this dialog for women was thought of as evidence of internal oppression (Ringrose & Renold, 2012). However, Armstrong and colleagues (2014) argue that slut shaming is a way for high-status women to assert class advantage over low-status women. The use of sexual belittlement enables sexual experimentation for high-status women (i.e., sorority women), emphasizing and maintaining boundaries between both classes (Armstrong et al., 2014). Negative stigmas that focus on sex regulate gender presentations for women, enabling women to do gender *correctly* (Tanenbaum, 1999). Women see themselves differently from other women they would not like to identify with, specifically those who are slutty or victims of sexual assault. Similar to the normal/danger dichotomy, the virgin/whore dichotomy indicates that there are two separate kinds of women: "those who are 'loose', 'dirty', or 'masochistic', and thus deserving of abuse and exploitation, and those who are 'pure', 'virginal', 'innocent', and thus true victims deserving of sympathy and respect" (Phillips, 2000, pg. 66). Thus, women who perceive other women as 'loose', 'dirty' and 'masochistic' in the out-group allows women to conceptualize that they themselves would not be at risk for victimization of sexual assault (Phillips, 2000). Women are inclined to think they are smart enough to avoid or "not dumb enough" to get into a risky sexual situation (Armstrong et al., 2006; Norris et al., 1996, pg.8). The underlying theme is that women do not think rape will happen to them. Sorority women label their risk for a future encounter of sexual aggression in a dating situation as unlikely, even though they are identified as one of the most at-risk groups (Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004; Norris et al., 1996). Thus, it is important to examine how both fraternity men and sorority women view perpetrators of sexual assault, given

their high risk for sexual assault perpetration and victimization, and their in-group status on college campuses.

Current study

The current study had three goals for understanding college student perceptions of sexual assault on college campuses and specifically, *perpetrators* of sexual assault. First, the study sought to understand perceptions that college students have about sexual assault perpetrators. Due to the gap in the literature concerning perpetrator perceptions, a measure was created that reflects general perceptions of perpetrators, including characteristics and types of perpetrators in regards to stereotypical vs. acquaintance types of sexual assaults (i.e., attractiveness, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and location of rape). The second goal was to compare the measure to other similar constructs, including rape myths and hostility toward women. It was hypothesized that more traditional perceptions of perpetrators (i.e., good guys do not rape) would be positively associated with higher attitudes in rape myths and higher attitudes in hostility towards women. The third goal was to examine in-group vs. out-group perceptions, using Social Identity Theory. It was hypothesized that Greek men and women (in-groups) will report higher agreement about the out-group perpetrators of stereotypical rape (i.e., strangers, low GPA, no friends, not attractive, Black/Hispanic) and less agreement about the in-group perpetrators of acquaintance rape (i.e., good guys do not rape), as compared to non-Greek affiliated students.

Methods

Procedure/ Participants

Data were obtained from a convenience sample collected from a large public university located in the southern United States. Students who were at least 18 years of age and enrolled in classes at the university were recruited via undergraduate health and social science courses, and a

university-wide newswire. Participants completed an anonymous close-ended web-based survey

(see attached Appendix) via Qualtrics. Students were informed that participation was voluntary

and there was no penalty for discontinuation at any time. At the end of the survey participants

had two opportunities for incentives. They could enter their name into a drawing for one of two

$50 gift cards by supplying their email. In addition, professors who agreed gave extra credit for

survey completion. All personal data were downloaded separately from survey data and deleted

after incentive distribution. IRB approval was gained from the university. Before beginning the

survey, all participants reviewed information about the survey, which included the phone

numbers and email addresses of the researchers.

There were 942 students who completed the survey, of which 22% were males (*n*= 211),

77% were female (*n*= 723), and 1% who identified as transgender (*n*=8). Approximately, 57 did

not complete the survey, their data were deleted. The age range for this study was from 18 to 30

with a mean age of 20.65 (*SD*= 3.42). The sample was 79% Caucasian (*n*=744) and 21% non-

Caucasian (*n*= 197). Ninety-six percent of respondents were heterosexual (*n*=900).

Approximately half of the participants (55%, *n*=515) were currently or had previously been

Greek-affiliated. Juniors (32%) and sophomores (31%) comprised the largest classes, followed

by seniors (22%), freshman (12%), graduate students (2%), and other (i.e., non-degree student,

1%). Most respondents were single, not actively dating (36%) or in a committed relationship

(35%).

Measures

Controls. Previous victimization was measured through the Sexual Experiences Survey

(SES). The SES determines an individual's nonconsensual sexual experiences from the past

twelve months, as well as those that occurred since age fourteen. The scale measures

nonconsensual sexual contact involving non-criminalized sexual coercion and aims to identify

previous victimization while avoiding terms such as rape, due to vastly varied definitions from

respondents (Koss, Abbey, Campbell, Cook, Norris, Testa, Ullman, West & White, 2007).

Previous victimization was hypothesized to influence participants' perceptions regarding sexual

assault, making it a necessary control variable. Participants were coded into two categories based

on their responses, victim and non-victim. Victims were identified as having experienced

completed nonconsensual oral, anal, or vaginal penetration (Koss, et al., 2007). There were 122

participants who reported rape victimization (13%; 115 women, 6 men, 1 transgender). A

majority of the victims were sorority women (n=71; non-sorority women: n=44; fraternity men:

n=2; non-fraternity men: n=4; transgender: n=1). If using an expanded definition of

nonconsensual penetration, as provided by Canan et al., (2016) which includes "just doing the

behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior), rape

victimization rates increased to 25% *(n=237)*.

Rape Myth Acceptance was measured based on the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale.

This measure assesses a participants' support for the attitudes and beliefs that align with rape

myths (Payne et al., 1999). The measurement included 24 statements, including: "Rape happens

when a man's sex drive gets out of control," "Many women secretly desire to be raped," "If a

guy is drunk, he might rape someone unintentionally," and "A rape probably didn't happen if the

girl has no bruises or marks." The scale ranged from 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 7= *Strongly Agree*

(*M*=2.36, *SD*= 1.03, alpha = .94).

Hostility Toward Women was measured through The Hostility Toward Women Scale

(Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995). The twenty-question measure assesses individual's feelings

toward women. The measure was based on statements regarding trusting women, including; "I

believe that most women tell the truth," "I am easily angered by women," and "It is generally safer not to trust women too much." The scale ranged from 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 7= *Strongly Agree (M= 3.22, SD= .96, alpha= .87)*

Perpetrator Perceptions was created to better understand the way perpetrators are viewed, in terms of stereotypical rape scenarios. It aimed to assess how people perceive perpetrators. Based on Social Identity Theory, those who are distinguished as similar to a personal in-group, would be viewed more favorably. Likewise, those who are seen as outsiders of the identified in-group are easier to place blame on or view unfavorably. Based on previous research twenty items were created aimed at measuring in and out-group dynamics of those who perpetrate sexual assault. Items were taken from previous research and formulated by recognizing common themes (See Table 1). The 20 item-scale ranged from 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 7= *Strongly Agree (M= 3.22, SD= .96, alpha= .87)*.

Results

Analyses were run using SPSS (Version 23). First, descriptive statistics were run to examine the general characteristics of the sample, means, and standard deviations among all study variables, as discussed in the Methods section. Next, exploratory factor analysis was used as an item-reduction technique to assess the perpetrator perception scale. Cronbach's alpha was used to assess the internal consistency reliability of the scale and their corresponding factors. Exploratory factor analysis utilizing varimax rotation was utilized to assess the scale resulting in two factors. Correlations between the two sub-scales and their factors were assessed. Initially, eigenvalues and the scree plot were utilized to determine the number of factor loadings; factors with an eigenvalue > 1 were considered to be significant (Hair, Anderson, & Tatham, 1987) and were thus retained. This initially resulted in two factors for the Perpetrator Perception Scale. The

final number of factors retained was determined by a combination of theory and statistical results post item-elimination (Hinkin, 1998).

In order for an item to be retained, a factor loading cutoff was established at 0.6 (Comrey & Lee, 1992; DeVillis, 2003; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). It was determined that 9 items (i.e., men who rape, only rape strangers, sexual assault victims often personally know their rapist, guys with a lot of friends will rape, women are more likely to be raped by men that is the same race as them, men from nice middle class homes almost never rape, white people are more likely to rape than racial/ ethnic minorities) did not load at 0.6 or higher on any factor, or loaded at a .6 level in more than one factor. Three items were deleted (i.e., college athletes are less likely to rape because women always want to have sex with them, fraternity men often get accused of rape when women regret consensual sex, women are always looking to have sex with college athletes so there is no need for them to rape) after they were to determined to be too specific, as they referred to athletes and fraternity men. These items loaded with the bad guys scales, and theoretically these items did not accurately portray the stereotypical bad guy found in the research. The final scale retained 11 items with two factors, as shown in Table 2. These subscales were formed from eleven of the items; six measuring the good guy construct and five measuring the bad guy construct.

The *Good Guy Scale* was based on the in-group perspective, with the goal of better understanding perceptions of perpetrators and the idea that those with *good* characteristics in areas of their lives may not be perceived as perpetrators. These items aimed to measure perceptions about perpetrators of sexual assault such as attractiveness, socioeconomic status, and likeability. See Table 2 for all item descriptions. The *Bad Guy Scale* was based on the out-group perspective. These views are measured based on stereotypical perpetrator depictions. These

items centered on ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and location of perpetration. The sub-scales theoretically matched the concepts based on those who are seen as *in-group* (good guys do not rape) and those who are seen as *out-group* (bad guys do rape).

Next, correlations were run to examine the association among Rape Myth Acceptance, Hostility Towards Women, the Good Guy Scale, and the Bad Guy Scale. The Good Guy Scale, measuring the idea that good guys do not rape, was positively correlated with both rape myths (r =.53, $p < .01$) and hostility toward women ($r = .21, p < .01$). The Bad Guy Scale, measuring the idea that only bad guys rape, was positively correlated with both rape myths (r =.61, $p < .01$) and hostility toward women ($r = .29, p < .01$). Students who reported higher rape myth attitudes and hostility toward women also perceived perpetrators as more stereotypical (i.e., bad guys rape, good guys do not rape). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported.

Finally, a MANOVA was used to test Hypothesis 2 which examined an interaction among gender and Greek on both the Good Guys and Bad Guys scales, as well as main effects of gender and Greek. Analyses indicated, above and beyond previous victimization, there was a significant Wilk's effect (Wilk's Lambda = .81, $p < .001$) among gender, Greek status, Good Guys and Bad Guys scales. There were two significant main effects of Greek ($F = 4.62, p < .001$) and gender ($F =30.26, p < .001$). Findings indicated that Greek students reported higher agreement (good guy scale, M= 2.11; bad guy scale, M=2.23) compared to non-Greek students (good guy scale, M=1.95; bad guy scale, M=2.13) on the scales, and that men reported higher agreement (good guy scale, M=2.65; bad guy scale, M=2.73) as compared to women (good guy scale, M=1.86; bad guy scale, M=2.02) on the scales. Lastly, there was a significant gender by Greek interaction ($F = 4.12, p < .001$). Consistent with Canan, Jozkowski and Crawford (2016), we followed up on the interaction; four groups were created based on gender and Greek status:

sorority women, non-affiliated women, fraternity men, and non-affiliated men. We then

compared the four groups on the Good Guys Scale and the Bad Guys Scale using ANOVA (see

Table 3). There were no significant differences between sorority women and non-affiliated

women on both the Good Guys and the Bad Guys scales. However, there were significant

differences among fraternity men and all other subgroups (i.e., non-affiliated men, sorority

women, and non-affiliated women) for both scales. In addition, there were significant differences

between non-affiliated men and both groups of women (i.e., sorority women, non-affiliated

women), indicating that both groups of men reported higher agreement among the scales as

compared to both groups of women; and that fraternity men reported the highest agreement

compared to all groups, including non-affiliated men. Notably, fraternity men did not *strongly*

agree (which would be indicated by an average mean of 7) with the two scales, however, their

answers were significantly higher (means of 3.16 and 3.21) than all other responses. Because

only fraternity men (in-group) reported significantly higher responses compared to non-affiliated

men (out-group), and there was no difference between sorority (in-group) and non-affiliated

women (out-group), Hypothesis 2 was partially supported.

Discussion

The current study sought to better understand college student perceptions regarding

sexual assault perpetrators. The first purpose was to create a new measure that assessed

perpetrator perceptions, and we found that both the sub-scales (good guys, bad guys) were

positively associated with attitudes in rape myths and higher attitudes in hostility toward women.

Participants who held stereotypical perceptions of those who commit sexual violence also

reported higher rape myth attitudes and hostility toward women. Rape myths and hostility toward

women focus mainly on stereotypical views of women as victims of sexual assault, where the

newly created scale (perceptions of perpetrators) focused on stereotypical views of perpetrators, who are primarily men (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen & Stevens, 2011). Conceptually, the association of these scales makes sense as they measure the stereotypical views of those involved in sexual violence; negative attitudes for women (i.e., rape myth attitudes and hostility toward women) and stronger attitudes that good guys (attractive, high GPA, active in student groups) do not rape, while stronger stereotypical attitudes that certain types of men do rape (non-White, bad size of town, stranger).

The study also found that college students in Greek life, specifically fraternity men, held more stereotypical perceptions regarding perpetrators of sexual assault. This is consistent with by previous research where it has been shown that those involved in Greek life hold traditional gender roles and higher rape myth acceptance (Bannon et al., 2013; Schaeffer & Nelson, 1993). Previous research has also shown that fraternity men are overrepresented in sexual assault perpetrators (Boeringer, 1999; Foubert et al., 2007) but none have looked at the in-group vs. out-group perceptions of fraternity men regarding who *they* view as sexual assault perpetrators. The current study found that fraternity men were significantly different from all other students (i.e., sorority women, non-affiliated women, and non-affiliated men) in their perceptions of perpetrators. As predicted, Greek-affiliated men held strong in-group perceptions. Greek men, unlike other student groups, are the ideal in-group on the college campus. Fraternity men control party resources (Armstrong et al., 2006), are positioned at the top of the social hierarchy (DeSantis, 2007; Harris & Schmalz, 2015), and have high levels of group loyalty and secrecy (DeSantis; 2007; Sanday, 1990). Thus, perhaps it is not surprising that Greek men would hold more favorable views about themselves and not perceive themselves, or their in-group, as perpetrators of sexual assault. If they had agreed with the idea that good guys could rape, they

would then be admitting that they themselves are at risk for perpetration. Compared to other men, Greek men also held stronger views of perpetrators. However, those non-affiliated men also had stronger views compared to women. Perhaps rewording the phrases not to focus specifically on men as perpetrators (which may make men more defensive in their responses), and instead future research should depict statements as more general statements (i.e., "someone who rapes").

Contrary to what was hypothesized, there was no difference between Greek affiliated women and non-affiliated women. Previous literature has shown that men have higher rape myth acceptance than women (Edwards et al., 2011; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), thus perhaps it is similar for perpetrator perceptions as well, since both female subgroups were significantly different from the male subgroups. Sorority women are more likely to interact with fraternity men (Nurius et al., 1996), more likely to be victims of sexual assault (Copenhaver & Grauerholz, 1991; Kalof, 1993; Mohler-Kuo et al., 2004), so perhaps they are more aware about their potential risk for sexual assault than researchers realize. In group discussions conducted with Norris and colleagues (1996), sorority women showed a relatively high degree of awareness for the general risk regarding sexual aggression, as well as a possible prevention measure to help other women (i.e., watching out for other women who drank too much, buddy system, hand signals used to signal for help), but sorority women anticipated dangerous contexts and the protection *they* needed for themselves at a much lower rate. Perhaps sorority women perceive perpetrators of sexual assault as both good guys and bad guys, and *not* just the stereotypical bad guys. Due to women's interaction with predatory men on campus (i.e., fraternity men), they may be more aware of the reality of these perpetrators on campuses.

It is not just sorority women who are participating in the party culture and partaking in fraternity parties though, partying is an avenue in which new comers, men and women, can use

to fit in (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013). These parties provide popularity and power to fraternities on campus, with pledges transporting *any* first year women from residence halls to their parties (Armstrong et al., 2014). Thus, all women are at risk for victimization on campuses.

In addition, first-year women far outweigh the number of first-year men interested in participating in Greek life on campus (DeSantis, 2007). These groups are also in high demand of the party resources that fraternities monopolize (Armstrong & Sweeny, 2013). Fraternities have houses on or near campus, and the ability to throw parties with mass amounts of alcohol (Armstrong et al., 2006). For college women, sorority affiliated or not, fraternity men are the hosts of the most accessible parties, where they control the guest list, usually allowing in first year females and keeping unaffiliated men out, as well as controlling the amount and type of alcohol that guests can consume (Armstrong, et al., 2006; Jozkowski & Wiersma-Mosley, 2017). Women will recognize a certain lack of safety in fraternity houses, regardless of their party status with these men (DeSantis, 2007). Thus, women, regardless of Greek affiliation, were reporting that they disagreed that only bad guys raped, or that good guys do not rape. These campus situational factors combined with all women's likelihood for sexual assault may influence women's views regarding perpetrators as more realistic, and not as stereotypical.

The difference between men and women who were affiliated with Greek life could be seen in the differences among sororities and fraternities. While those who participate in Greek life share the same traditional ideals, however, men and women who participate in the party scene have different intentions of doing so (Harris & Shmaltz, 2012). In essence, many women use the Greek system as an avenue to find men to date and/or marry (DeSantis, 2007; Norris et al., 1996), while men use the Greek system as an avenue to hook up with women (DeSantis, 2007). While both exhibit strong in-group loyalty, fraternities have been shown to create rituals

that are centered on manhood, establishing a hyper-masculine social and sexual identity that rely heavily on their social power (DeSantis, 2007; Kimmel, 2008; Sanday, 1990). Fraternity men use group values and traditions as guides for their behavior (Sanday, 1990). They foster beliefs about women and sexuality that are different from those outside the brotherhood (Bleecker & Murnen, 2005). Fraternity rituals are specifically designed for a pledge to transform the group identity and attitudes to personal principles (Sanday, 1990). Fraternity identity and attitudes are hyper-masculine, hyper-sexualized, focused on traditional gender roles, and implement social hierarchy (DeSantis, 2007; Gwartney-Gibbs & Stockard, 1989; Kalof & Cargill, 1991, Kalof, 1993; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Pledges use the group discourse to learn how to negotiate "the academic, social, and sexual contexts of undergraduate life from a position of power and status" (Sanday, 1990; pg. 136). The power and privilege fraternity men have on the college campus is unparalleled to other groups on campus, even sorority women. Fraternity men have power and privilege, when influenced by hyper-masculine and hyper-sexualized group values, create dangerous contexts for women (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Laboratory research has demonstrated that men who feel entitled but denied having someone meet their needs become angry and punitive toward those who do not provide what they believe is rightfully theirs (Baumeister, Catanese, & Wallace, 2002; Bushman, Bonacci, van Dijk, & Baumeister, 2003).

Sororities, unlike fraternities, have moved away from hazing, and instead spoil their new members (DeSantis, 2007). Sororities are often pressured to meet membership "quotas" that are not often applied to their fraternity counterparts (DeSantis, 2007). Sororities also compete with each other to be paired with the best or highest ranked fraternity for Greek events (DeSantis, 2007). The pairing up of sororities and fraternities and other Greek rituals are an important facet

to Greek life. Rituals uphold secrecy, devotion, and are rooted in expectations that women are to service men (DeSantis, 2007). Sororities or individual women are often pitted against each other in hopes of securing the best pairs or higher status on the social hierarchy, in ways that fraternities are not (DeSantis, 2007). DeSantis (2007) argues "what gender differences in cultural scripts do not explain, however, is the source of the cattiness and backstabbing; the attention of men" (pg. 186). However, women choose to actively participate in Greek life, with many acknowledging the sexual inequalities (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; DeSantis, 2007). These innate in-group difference *within* fraternities and sororities could explain why they perceive things differently.

Implications

It is difficult to hold men who perpetrate sexual violence accountable if guilt is difficult to attribute to men who have *good* characteristics in other aspects of their lives, outside of sexual violence. Based on the current study, we must recognize that many of those who make decisions on sexual assault cases (i.e., juries, judges, Title IX coordinators) may hold these deeply rooted perceptions, which may ultimately influence their decisions in responsibility and sentencing. Previous research has shown in situations where people were *similar* to the perpetrator more often placed blame on innocent victims and sided with the perpetrator (Bal and can den Bos, 2010). Thus, Greek alumni men who are making decisions about sexual assault cases (such as in juries, courtrooms, prosecutor offices, or Title IX panels) may be more biased because they associate themselves with the perpetrator, who are likely to be Greek men (Boeringer, 1999; Foubert et al., 2007). McKimmie and colleagues (2014) found that prototypical offenses, based on stereotypical victim portrayals had greater effects on truth judgments on mock jurors. The current study magnifies the idea that perpetrator prototype matters, and not just in the courtroom

but on college campuses. In addition, these ideas call for further research on the particular in-group of fraternity men. Further research should continue to examine how perpetrator perceptions influence criminal trials and decisions on campuses regarding sexual misconduct.

This need for research carries further weight when we recognize that although only 2% of America's population is involved in fraternities, 40 out of 47 U.S. Supreme Court Justices (85%) since 1910 were fraternity men, and all but two U.S. Presidents since 1825 have been fraternity alumni. Additionally, 76% of U.S. senators and congressmen are Greek-alumni (Chang, 2014). Thus, when the majority of those with financial and political power are Greek affiliated, it stands to reason there could be an impact on responses to sexual assault (e.g., Greek alumni involved in legislation, juries and universities). Although the Interfraternity Council (IFC) that oversees Greek-life does not publish statistics on Greeks, we do know that fraternity and sorority alumni represent the "largest sector of lifetime donors to colleges, four times more than non-Greeks, and thus have a firm grip on university politics" (see Chang, 2014). Thus, it seems that fraternity men hold a lot of power on college campuses, are largely represented as perpetrators of sexual assault (Boeringer, 1999; Foubert et al., 2007), and yet few people think that they, the good guys, could be a potential rapist. As a society, we need to start addressing rape culture and educating citizens of all ages about the reality of rape on college campuses.

Strengths and limitations

The current sample was primarily Caucasian women, thus the greatest limitation to this study was the lack of male participation, particularly when using an in-group/out-group model to examine perpetrator perceptions. Having a larger amount of those in the in-group (Greek affiliated men) would be beneficial. Notably, the sample of fraternity men in this sample was relatively small, yet the significant difference among the other groups held true. The sample was

collected from a campus located in the southern United States, meaning generalizability could be difficult cross-country. This research was focused on the typical social Greek life, where participants are most likely to be Caucasian and upper middle class (Jozkowski & Wiersma-Mosley, 2017). However, future research should expand by using a more diverse sample to further examine the differences with fraternities and sororities across the US, including small and large campuses in different geographic locations. Based on the lack of difference between sorority and non-affiliated women, further research could look at how women navigate the current party-culture, specifically if previous participation in the party-culture has changed their perceptions of perpetrators. Previous research has focused on perceptions of victims (i.e., rape myth acceptance), and to our knowledge, this is the first study that focuses on perceptions of perpetrators. In addition, this study examines perpetrator perceptions outside of the courtroom, by focusing more specifically on college sexual assaults. Thus, future research is needed in order to understand how Greek-alumni who are in high power offices (e.g., prosecutors, judges, Title IX Coordinators) may perceive perpetrators of sexual assault in their decisions. Research has shown the framing of sexual assault as more stereotypical through the media directly affects attitudes about rape (see Franiuk et al., 2008; Gavey & Gow 2001; Howitt, 1998), and so it is possible that this would spill over into the criminal justice system and Title IX on college campuses.

The current study highlights the importance of understanding how perpetrators are viewed. Understanding these views and how they impact the implementation of social and legal justice in our communities and on college campuses is imperative to eradicating sexual violence in these spaces. These in-group ideals are seen beyond the college campus, with the current President of the United States, Donald Trump defending Bill O'Reilly, Fox News host, against

new allegations that he, Fox News and parent company 21st Century Fox had paid a total of $13 million in settlements to five women who accused him of sexual harassment or verbal abuse. Trump's comment regarding O'Reilly: "I think he's a person I know well — he is a good person," is a statement that many people seem to resolve to when looking at potential perpetrators of sexual misconduct who cross stereotypical perceptions. By looking at college students like Brock Turner, Austin James Wilkerson, and David Becker, or high-ranking journalist like Bill O'Reilly we can see that those who exhibit *good* characteristics outside of their acquaintance rapes are still just as responsible for their actions as those who commit stereotypical stranger rape.

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Appendix

Table 1. Perceptions of Perpetrators Scale Development Items

Perception	Previous Research	Scale Item
Stranger Rape occurs most often	Anderson, 2007	Men who rape, only rape strangers.
	Fuselier, Durham & Wurtele, 2002	Sexual assault victims often personally know their rapist.
		Rape rarely happens in the victim's own home/dorm/apartment.
		Rape does not happen at a party with other friends around.
Rapists are not in my (good) group.	Social Identity Theory	Good guys do not rape.
Rapists are not smart (mentally ill or disturbed)	O'Neil & Morgan, 2010	Men with high GPAs do not rape.
Rapists are social misfits	Fuselier, Durham & Wurtele, 2002	Guys with a lot of friends will rape.
		Men who are actively involved in student clubs do not rape.
		Guys who are well-liked by others will not rape.
		Good looking guys do not rape.
		College athletes are less likely to rape because women always want to have sex with them.
		Women are always looking to have sex with college athletes, so there is no need for them to rape.
		Fraternity men often get accused of rape when women regret consensual sex.
Rapists have poor upbringing.	O'Neil & Morgan, 2010	Men from good families do not rape.

Men of Color are more likely to be rapists.	Estrich, 1987	Women are more likely to be raped by men that is the same race as them.
	George & Martinez, 2006	
	Donovan, 2007	A rapist is more likely to be Black or Hispanic than White.
		White people are more likely to rape than racial/ethnic minorities.
Rapists are viewed as coming from poor, urban neighborhoods.	O'Neil & Morgan, 2010	Men who are in lower socioeconomic status or social class are more likely to rape.
		Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.
		Men from nice middle class homes almost never rape.

Table 2. Factor Analysis on Perpetrator Perception Items

Factors	Mean	SD	Factor 1	Factor 2
Perpetrator Perception Scale				
Factor 1: Good Guys	2.30	1.1	Factor 1 α=.91	
Good guys do not rape.			**.65**	-.03
Men with high GPAs do not rape.			**.81**	.37
Men who are actively involved in student clubs do not rape.			**.80**	.39
Good looking guys do not rape.			**.78**	.46
Guys who are well liked by others will not rape.			**.81**	.44
Men from good families do not rape.			**.77**	.39
Factor 2: Bad Guys	2.18	1.12	Factor 2 α=.88	
A rapist is more likely to be Black or Hispanic than White.			.23	**.72**
Men who are in lower socioeconomic status or social class are more likely to rape.			.25	**.65**
Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.			.36	**.69**
Rape rarely happens in the victim's own home/dorm/apartment.			.43	**.70**
Rape does not happen at a party with other friends around.			.59	**.61**

Table 3. Outcomes as a Function of Gender and Greek Affiliation

	Greek Affiliation and Gender					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**		
	Sorority Women	**Non-Affiliated Women**	**Fraternity Men**	**Non-Affiliated Men**	*F*	$\acute{\eta}^2$
Good Guys Scale	1.96[bd]	1.77[ce]	3.16[abc]	2.37[ade]	42.46*	.12
Bad Guys Scale	2.05[bd]	1.97[ce]	3.21[abc]	2.47[ade]	31.94*	.09

Note: Matching letters indicate significant differences.

* $p < .001$

Appendix A

UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPUS SAFETY

DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section of the survey we would like to ask some general background information about you.

1. What year are you in college?

    Freshman   Sophomore Junior Senior   Graduate Student   Non-degree Student Other

2. Are you an international student?   YES   NO
        2A. If Yes, then what country do you originate from? _____

3. What gender do you identify with? Male   Female   Transsexual/Transgender

4. How do you describe your sexual orientation:
    ____ Straight/Heterosexual   ____ Gay/Lesbian
    ____ Bisexual   ____ Other
    ____ Not sure/Questioning

5. How old are you? _____years old

6. While at school, where do you live?
    ____ College Residence Hall   ____ Off Campus room, apartment, or house
    ____ Home of relatives   ____ Own Home
    ____ Sorority/Fraternity   ____ Your parents' home
    ____ Other

7. While at school, with whom do you currently live (check all that apply)
    ____ Alone   ____ Parent(s)/Guardian(s)
    ____ Spouse/domestic partner   ____ Children
    ____ Roommate(s)/Friend(s) of   ____ Intimate partner (other than a spouse)
        the same gender   ____ Other relatives
    ____ Roommate(s)/Friend(s) of a   ____ Other
        different gender

8. How would you describe your race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)
    ____ Black or African American   ____ Hispanic or Latino
    ____ American Indian or Native   ____ White or Caucasian
        American
    ____ Asian or Pacific Islander   ____ Arab American
    ____ Other (please list)_____

9.   Please mark ALL the organizations you belong to:

       ____ Band or musical group   ____ Student Athlete

       ____ Student Government   ____ Member recreational sports club/groups

       ____ Member of a student group   ____ Social Service or Special Interest club

       ____ School Newspaper   ____ Theatre

       ____ Fraternity/ Sorority   ____ Resident Assistant/Peer Educator

       ____ NPHC Fraternity/Sorority   Other, please specify; _____

10.   Please mark ALL the organizations you are considering joining:

       ____ Band or musical group   ____ Student Athlete

       ____ Student Government   ____ Member recreational sports club/groups

       ____ Member of a student group   ____ Social Service or Special Interest club

       ____ School Newspaper   ____ Theatre

       ____ Fraternity/ Sorority   ____ Resident Assistant/Peer Educator

       ____ NPHC Fraternity/Sorority   Other, please specify; _____

11.   What is your current relationship status? (circle the most appropriate)

1. Single, not actively dating
2. Single and dating, but not in an exclusive relationship
3. Single and hooking up with acquaintances/friends
4. In a committed relationship
5. Engaged
6. Living together
7. Married
8. Divorced/Separated
9. Other: _____

12. How would you describe the area where you spent most of your childhood?

1. Rural (small towns or cities isolated from larger areas or farming communities)
2. Suburban (community near a bigger city, often part of a metropolitan region)
3. Urban (big city – i.e., Austin, Little Rock, Memphis, Tulsa)
4. Megalopolis (extra-large city with an especially diverse population – i.e., New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles)

13.   Which best describes your parents' household income?

    ____ $200,000 or more

    ____ $150,000 to $199,999

    ____ $100,000 to $149,999

    ____ $75,000 to $99,999

    ____ $50,000 to $74,999

    ____ $25,000 to $49,999

____ $15,000 to $24,999
____ $10,000 to $14,999
____ Less than $10,000
____ Don't know

Not at all	Somewhat	Moderately	Mostly	Totally
1	2	3	4	5

14. I often read books and magazines about my faith. ____
15. I make financial contributions to my religious organization. ____
16. I spend time trying to grow in understanding of my faith. ____
17. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life. ____
18. My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life. ____
19. I enjoy spending time with others of my religious affiliation. ____
20. Religious beliefs influence all my dealings in life. ____
21. It is important to me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and reflection. ____
22. I enjoy working in the activities of my religious affiliation. ____
23. I keep well informed about my local religious group and have some influence in its decisions. ____

24. Are you currently a member of a Greek organization (i.e. sorority, fraternity)?
        Yes (1)
        No (2)
        I used to be a member, but no longer am (3)
        I plan on joining a Greek organization in the future (4)

25. How would you rate your involvement in Greek activities?
        0   – Inactive
        1   – Moderately active
        2 – Very active

 The following set of questions asks about your *opinions* of men and women. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best represents your response to the statements.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I feel that many times **women** flirt with men just to tease or hurt them.   1 2 3 4 5

2. I believe that most women tell the truth.   1 2 3 4 5

3. I usually find myself agreeing with (other) women.   1 2 3 4 5

4. I think that most women would lie just to get ahead.   1 2 3 4 5

5. It is generally safer not to trust women too much.   1 2 3 4 5

6. When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful.   1 2 3 4 5

7. I am easily angered by (other) women.   1 2 3 4 5

8. I am sure I get a raw deal from the (other) women in my life.   1 2 3 4 5

9. Sometimes (other) women bother me by just being around.   1 2 3 4 5

10. (Other) Women are responsible for most of my troubles.   1 2 3 4 5

11. I feel that many times *men* flirt with women just to tease or hurt them.   1 2 3 4 5

12. I believe that most men tell the truth.   1 2 3 4 5

13. I usually find myself agreeing with (other) men.   1 2 3 4 5

14. I think that most men would lie just to get ahead.   1 2 3 4 5

15. It is generally safer not to trust men too much.   1 2 3 4 5

16. When it really comes down to it, a lot of men are deceitful.   1 2 3 4 5

17. I am easily angered by (other) men.   1 2 3 4 5

18. I am sure I get a raw deal from the (other) men in my life.   1 2 3 4 5

19. Sometimes (other) men bother me by just being around.   1 2 3 4 5

20. (Other) Men are responsible for most of my troubles.   1 2 3 4 5

Now we want to shift your attention to beliefs individuals may have regarding relationships and issues that may come in relationships. Please remember that your answers are kept strictly confidential.

Please read the following statements and indicate your agreement using the following scale:

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. If a girl initiates kissing or hooking up, she should not be surprised if a guy assumes she

wants to have sex. _____

2. When girls go to parties wearing slutty clothes, they are asking for trouble. _____
3. If a girl is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of
control. _____

4. If a girl goes to a room alone with a guy at a party, it is her own fault if she is raped.
_____
5. If a girl acts like a slut, eventually she is going to get into trouble. _____
6. When girls are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was unclear. _____
7. If a girl doesn't say "no" she can't claim rape. _____
8. If a girl doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. _____
9. If a girl doesn't physically resist sex- even when protesting verbally- it really can't be considered rape. _____
10. If the accused "rapist" doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it rape. _____
11. A rape probably didn't happen if the girl has no bruises or marks. _____
12. Guys don't usually intend to force sex on a girl, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away. _____
13. When guys rape, it is usually because of their strong desire for sex. _____
14. Rape happens when a guy's sex drive gets out of control. _____
15. If a guy is drunk, he might rape someone unintentionally. _____
16. If both people are drunk, it can't be rape. _____
17. It shouldn't be considered rape if a guy is drunk and didn't realize what he was doing.
_____
18. Girls who say they were raped often led the guy on and then had regrets. _____
19. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at guys. _____
20. A lot of times, girls who say they were raped agreed to have sex and then regret it.
_____
21. Girls who are caught cheating on their boyfriends sometimes claim that it was rape.
_____
22. A lot of times, girls who claim they were raped just have emotional problems. _____

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

1. Men who rape, only rape strangers.   1 2 3 4 5

2. Sexual assault victims often personally know their rapist.   1 2 3 4 5

3. Good guys do not rape.   1 2 3 4 5

4. Men with high GPAs do not rape.   1 2 3 4 5

5. Guys with a lot of friends will rape.   1 2 3 4 5

6. Men who are actively involved in student clubs do not rape. 1 2 3 4 5

7. Good looking guys do not rape.   1 2 3 4 5

8. Guys who are well-liked by others will not rape.   1 2 3 4 5

9. Men from good families do not rape.   1 2 3 4 5

10. Women are more likely to be raped by men that are the same race

    as them.   1 2 3 4 5

11. A rapist is more likely to be Black or Hispanic than White.   1 2 3 4 5

12. Men who are in a lower socioeconomic status or social class are

    more likely to rape.   1 2 3 4 5

13. Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.   1 2 3 4 5

14. Men from nice middleclass homes almost never rape.   1 2 3 4 5

15. Rape rarely happens in the victim's own home/dorm/apartment. 1 2 3 4 5

16. Rape does not happen at a party with other friends around.   1 2 3 4 5

17. College athletes are less likely to rape because women always want to

    have sex with them.   1 2 3 4 5

18. Women are always looking to have sex with college athletes,

    so there is no need for them to rape.   1 2 3 4 5

19. Fraternity men often get accused of rape when women regret

    consensual sex.   1 2 3 4 5

20. White people are more likely to rape than racial/ethnic minorities. 1 2 3 4 5

21. What percentage of women on campus experience sexual assault? _____

22. What percentage of women lie about experiencing sexual assault? _____

Does your University have a policy on cheating or on academic integrity?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ Not sure-- but probably yes (2)
❍ Not sure-- but probably no (3)
❍ No (4)

Do you think your University should have a policy on cheating or academic integrity?

Do you think your University should have a policy on academic integrity?

○ Definitely yes (1)
○ Probably yes (2)
○ Probably not (3)
○ Definitely not (4)

Does your University have a policy on sexual assault or rape?
○ Yes (1)
○ Not Sure-- but probably yes (2)
○ Not Sure-- but probably no (3)
○ No (4)

Do you think your University should have a policy on sexual assault or rape?

○ Definitely yes (1)
○ Probably yes (2)
○ Probably not (3)
○ Definitely not (4)

Does your University have a policy on physical violence?

○ Yes (1)
○ Not Sure-- but probably yes (2)
○ Not Sure-- but probably no (3)
○ No (4)

Do you think your University should have a policy on physical violence?
○ Definitely yes (1)
○ Probably yes (2)
○ Probably not (3)
○ Definitely not (4)

Does your University have a policy on sexual harassment?

○ Yes (1)
○ Not Sure-- but probably yes (2)
○ Not Sure-- but probably no (3)
○ No (4)

Do you think your University should have a policy on sexual harassment?

❍ Definitely yes (1)
❍ Probably yes (2)
❍ Probably not (3)
❍ Definitely not (4)

Does your University have a policy on alcohol?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ Not Sure-- but probably yes (2)
❍ Not Sure-- but probably no (3)
❍ No (4)

Do you think your University should have a policy on alcohol?

❍ Definitely yes (1)
❍ Probably yes (2)
❍ Probably not (3)
❍ Definitely not (4)

Does your University have a policy or programming regarding Title IX?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ Not Sure-- but probably yes (2)
❍ Not sure-- but probably no (3)
❍ No (4)

What is Title IX? If you do not know, simply write "I do not know what Title IX is".

Do you think your University should have a policy on Title IX?

❍ Definitely Yes (1)
❍ Probably Yes (2)
❍ Probably No (3)
❍ Definitely No (4)

Do you know how Title IX is related to women's and men's rights regarding violence on campus?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Describe in more detail what Title IX does for women's and men's rights regarding violence on campus: _____

_____

The following questions address your feelings of safety on campus or on your way to school and home. For each situation please use the table below in choosing your response. How safe do you feel…

Very Unsafe	Somewhat UnSafe	Neither Safe Nor Unsafe	Reasonably Safe	Very Safe	Not Applicable
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. _____ Walking alone on campus during daylight hours?

2. _____ Walking alone to your on-campus apartment or dorm during daylight hours?

3. _____ Walking to your off-campus home or apartment during daylight hours?

4. _____ Walking alone on campus after dark?

5. _____ Walking alone to your on-campus apartment or dorm after dark?

6. _____ Walking to your off-campus home or apartment after dark?

7. _____ Working in the library at night?

8. _____ Hanging out at bars or clubs frequented by college students?

9. _____ Hanging out at a party held at a Fraternity house?

10. _____ Hanging out at a party held at an off-campus house?

11. _____ Hanging out at a party held on-campus?

12. _____ Being alone in a room with someone of the other gender?

Please indicate your level of agreement to the following statements: Please read the following statements and circle the number that indicates how true each is of you.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Somewhat Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
I don't think sexual violence is a problem on this campus. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I don't think there is much I can do about sexual violence on campus. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
There isn't much need for me to think about sexual violence on campus. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sometimes I think I should learn more about sexual violence. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I have recently attended a program or volunteered my time on projects focused on ending sexual violence on campus. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

I have confidence that [University] administrators have formal procedures to address complaints of sexual assault fairly. (6)	○	○	○	○	○
The university would take the report seriously by taking the appropriate steps to correct the situation. (7)	○	○	○	○	○
The university would support the person making the report of experiencing sexual assault. (8)	○	○	○	○	○
The university would take steps to protect the individual who was accused of sexual	○	○	○	○	○

assault. (9)					
The university would take corrective action against the person who was accused of committing sexual assault. (10)	○	○	○	○	○

If <u>someone you know</u> were to be sexually assaulted, physically assaulted, or stalked, how likely would *you* be to go to the following for help?

	Very Unlikely (1)	Somewhat Unlikely (2)	Neither (3)	Somewhat Likely (4)	Very Likely (5)
Campus Police (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Pat Walker Health Center (3)	○	○	○	○	○
Student Support Services (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Residence Life/ Resident Advisors (5)	○	○	○	○	○

Title IX Coordinator (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Fayetteville Police Department (7)	○	○	○	○	○

Q71 Someone fondled, kissed, or rubbed up against the private areas of my body (lips, breast/chest, crotch or butt) or removed some of my clothes without my consent but did not attempt sexual penetration by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)								
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

72 Someone had oral sex with me or made me have oral sex with them without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening.	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

(3) Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q73 A man put his penis into my vagina, or someone inserted fingers or objects without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)

Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

close to me. (4)							
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q74 A man put his penis into my butt, or someone inserted fingers or objects without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)								
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)								
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q75 Even though it didn't happen, someone TRIED to have oral sex with me, or make me have oral sex with them without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)								
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

weapon. (5)								
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q76 Even though it didn't happen, a man TRIED to put his penis into my vagina, or someone tried to stick in fingers or objects without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

| Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me with the behavior). (7) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q77 Even though it didn't happen, a man TRIED to put his penis into my butt, or someone tried to stick in objects or fingers without my consent by:

	How many times in the past 12 months?				How many times since age 14?			
	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)	0 (1)	1 (2)	2 (3)	3+ (4)
Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about me, making promises I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring me after I said I didn't want to. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Showing displeasure, criticizing my sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

physical force, after I said I didn't want to. (2)								
Taking advantage of me when I was too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Threatening to physically harm me or someone close to me. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Using force, for example holding me down with their body weight, pinning my arms or having a weapon. (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Making me feel as though refusing was useless. (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Just doing the behavior without giving me a chance to say "no" (e.g., surprising me	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

with the behavior). (7)								

Q59 Was there more than one person doing the action that you did not consent to?

○ No, only one person (1)
○ Yes, two people (2)
○ Yes, three or more (3)
○ I am not sure (4)
○ I reported no experiences (5)

Q60 What was the sex of the person or persons who did them to you?

○ Female only (1)
○ Male only (2)
○ Both females and males (3)
○ I reported no experiences (4)

Q61 What was your relationship to the person or persons? (Check all that apply)

❑ Stranger (1)
❑ Family Member (2)
❑ Acquaintance I just met (3)
❑ Acquaintance I knew well (4)
❑ Coworker (5)
❑ Employer/Supervisor (6)
❑ College professor/ instructor (7)
❑ College Staff (8)
❑ Non-romantic friend (9)
❑ Casual or first date (10)
❑ Current romantic partner (11)
❑ Ex-romantic partner (12)
❑ Other: (13) _____
❑ No experience (14)

Q62 Have you ever been raped?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)

If <u>you</u> were sexually assaulted, physically assaulted, or stalked, how likely would you be to go to the following for help?

Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

1	Campus Police	1	2	3	4	5	NA
2	Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS)	1	2	3	4	5	NA
3	Pat Walker Health Center	1	2	3	4	5	NA
4	Student Support Services	1	2	3	4	5	NA
5	Residence Life/Resident Advisors	1	2	3	4	5	NA
6	Title IX Coordinator	1	2	3	4	5	NA
7	Fayetteville Police Department	1	2	3	4	5	NA

OPEN ENDED RESPONSES: We are interested in examples of how people describe a variety of events. In the spaces below, with as much detail as possible, please answer the following statements. While we realize each situation is different, please describe what comes to mind after reading the following statements. Again, your responses will be anonymous.

1. Describe what comes to mind when you hear the word rape.
2. Describe what happens before, during, and after a typical rape.
3. Describe characteristics of a typical person who commits rape.
4. Describe characteristics of a typical person who has been raped.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME! YOUR INPUT IS GREATLY APPRECIATED!

UNIVERSITY OF
ARKANSAS

Office of Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board

May 19, 2016

MEMORANDUM

TO:	Jacquelyn Mosley Kristen Jozkowski Taylor Martinez
FROM:	Ro Windwalker IRB Coordinator
RE:	New Protocol Approval
IRB Protocol #:	16-05-747
Protocol Title:	*Perceptions of Campus Safety*
Review Type:	☒ EXEMPT ☐ EXPEDITED ☐ FULL IRB
Approved Project Period:	Start Date: 05/17/2016 Expiration Date: 05/16/2017

Your protocol has been approved by the IRB. Protocols are approved for a maximum period of one year. If you wish to continue the project past the approved project period (see above), you must submit a request, using the form *Continuing Review for IRB Approved Projects*, prior to the expiration date. This form is available from the IRB Coordinator or on the Research Compliance website (https://vpred.uark.edu/units/rscp/index.php). As a courtesy, you will be sent a reminder two months in advance of that date. However, failure to receive a reminder does not negate your obligation to make the request in sufficient time for review and approval. Federal regulations prohibit retroactive approval of continuation. Failure to receive approval to continue the project prior to the expiration date will result in Termination of the protocol approval. The IRB Coordinator can give you guidance on submission times.

This protocol has been approved for 700 participants. If you wish to make *any* modifications in the approved protocol, including enrolling more than this number, you must seek approval *prior to* implementing those changes. All modifications should be requested in writing (email is acceptable) and must provide sufficient detail to assess the impact of the change.

If you have questions or need any assistance from the IRB, please contact me at 109 MLKG Building, 5-2208, or irb@uark.edu.