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**EXPLORING SEXUAL SCRIPTS:
COLLEGE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SEDUCTION AND RAPE**

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Nicole Corsaro Cravens

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, Wayne, Mary Grace and Harris Cravens, for inspiring me, for believing in me, and for reminding me each day what life is all about.

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ABSTRACT

Previous research has utilized script theory as an important tool for social scientists in understanding people's attitudes and beliefs regarding problematic events, e.g., rape and violence. A study conducted by Ryan (1988) has shown the different scripts for rape and seduction scenarios perceived by introductory level college students. The present study is an extension of Ryan's research on rape and seduction perceptions. Data will be collected from students currently enrolled at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, instructing them to describe a "typical" rape and "typical" seduction scenario. These will be analyzed to: identify common stories of rape and seduction among college students; 2) compare freshmen-sophomore and junior-senior stories; and 3) compare males and females stories on rape and seduction. Data will include a detailed descriptive overview of elements presented in students' stories; comparisons of stories with elements from current typologies; and excerpts from stories suggesting a new script, that is, scripts with new sequencing patterns and elements.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Rape is a crime that harms large numbers of college females each year. Such activity often goes unreported because the perpetrators and victims are acquainted. The interpersonal relationship between victims and offenders creates confusion and ambiguity for them and the public. Was it a rape, date rape, sexual assault, coercive seduction, or simply unwanted or unacceptable sexual activity? Those who force unwanted/unacceptable sexual activities on friends and acquaintances leave those they exploit with questions of whether a crime occurred, who is to blame, and what they should do.

Previous research insufficiently addressed a key question: Why do people (perpetrators, victims, and the general public) not define various acts of sexual victimization as rape? Partial answers were obtained from the study of older, more traditional sexual scripts and the contribution to acts of unwanted sex (Littleton & Axsom 2003).

Traditional Sexual Scripts

Littleton and Axsom (2003) proposed "traditional" sexual scripts contribute to the conflicting interpretations of the nature of sexual encounters, as well as the enactment of sexual behavior.

In traditional sexual scripts, men initiate sexual activity. They are prepared to overcome women's reluctance through social deafness, verbal coercion, and physical force. A woman's verbal and physical resistance is not seen as sincere, but rather a "token response," a scripted obstacle to overcome (Byer 1996; Byers and Lewis 1988; La Plante, McCormick, and Brannigan 1980; Lottes 1988; Metts and Spitzberg 1996).

Littleton and Axsom state scripts "influence attention, organization, interpretation, and recall of information" (2003:465). In addition to the two elements noted above (the male as the instigator, the female as the gatekeeper of sexual activity), they include the belief that males have a stronger sexual drive than females, and that having multiple partners is desirable for the males and negative for females. Their research findings suggest aspects of traditional sexual scripts

contribute to the victimization of women. Littleton and Axsom note other research has shown instances in which forced sex is not viewed as rape if episodes contain elements from traditional scripts (2003).

Sexual Victimization on Campus:

The Ambiguity of Unacceptable Sex

Literature on rape supports three points about sexual victimization: 1) Female college students are often rape victims; 2) victims and offenders are more likely to be acquaintances; and 3) the numbers of acquaintance rapes in victimization studies are higher than the numbers officially reported. Rape on college and university campuses, as well as in society at large, is underreported. The problem of underreporting often obscures the persistent issues regarding gender differences and experiences unique to campus settings.

According to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the average number of rapes and assaults between 2002 and 2003 was 223,290: there were 81,310 rapes; 61,060 attempted rapes; and 8,910 sexual assaults. Non-stranger offenders committed 74 percent of rape/sexual

assaults. Rape/sexual assault was found to be a violent crime where the victim was victimized by a person they knew. Rape/sexual assaults committed against a college student by a known offender accounted for 4 percent of all violent victimizations (2003:3). The U.S. Bureau of Justice (1997) also reported 61 percent of completed rapes and 71 percent of attempted rapes were not reported when offenders and victims had a previous relationship. This report identified rape as one of the most underreported violent crimes in our nation.

Numerous studies document the occurrence of unwanted sexual activity among college students (Abbey 1991; Hingson et al., 2002; Scully 1990; Ward et al., 1991; Wechsler et al., 2002). Based on males' self-reports, the Bureau of Justice statistics (1995) reported half of college males engaged in some form of sexual aggression on a date. Rapaport and Burkhart (1984) found 5 percent of college males' self-reported forcing sexual intercourse on a woman at least once. Other researchers considered the interrelation of alcohol abuse and sexual abuse. Ward, Chapman, Cohn, White, and Williams (1991) suggested unwanted sexual experiences, combined with alcohol consumption, were an integral part of the college

lifestyle and often "normalized." Schwartz and Nogrady (1996) concurred:

If physical force is not used, the men are told and learn this is a legitimate seduction and not *real rape*. If it is a seduction, it follows (the teaching goes) that women really wanted to engage in sex. Thus, the behavior is conceptualized by the men as fully appropriate. (P.3)

Abbey (1991) researched how alcohol furthers males' misconceptions regarding females' expectations and its effects on sexual behavior. Alcohol consumption provides males with a justification for sexual assaults. Others report males feeling "more powerful, sexual and aggressive" while under the influence of alcohol, leading to "misconceptions of sexual intent to the point of forced sex" (Meichum Mohler-Kuo et al. 2004:38).

Mary Koss (1988) amassed data from 6,000 students on thirty-two campuses across the United States. Over half of the women reported experiencing some type of unwanted sexual contact, with 15 percent victims of either completed or attempted rapes. Of the completed rapes, the majority of women knew their attacker (83 percent), they typically occurred while on dates (57 percent), and

rarely were the crimes reported to the police or a rape crisis center (10 percent).

Koss' research has been criticized on a number of grounds: 1) Using a loose and broad definition of rape; 2) inflating figures by including drug and alcohol; and 3) classifying women as rape victims when they did not view themselves as such. Regardless, Koss' findings are consistent with other surveys reporting comparable percentages of rapes on campuses and echoing similar points in regards to underreporting. Some women do not associate unwanted sexual experiences with "real" rapes largely because they happen between non-strangers (Laumann et al. 1994; McDonald & Kline 2004).

Is Simple Rape Real Rape

Changes have occurred over time in definitions of rape, such as elimination of the requirement of penetration and the gender of perpetrators and victims. Furthermore, researchers have identified types of rape: the blitz or "stranger" rape where a man, usually of color, jumps out of the bushes with a weapon and "simple" rape, involving an unarmed man who is a neighbor, an acquaintance, or a date acting alone (Estrich 1987:8-10).

Adler, Mueller, and Laufer (2001) developed a three-category typology in response to social awareness that consists of: *stranger rape*, when the victim has little or no prior contact with the offender; *predatory rape*, when a man, who, using deception or force, plans to rape his victims by pretending to engage in legitimate dating behavior; and *date rape*, when a date is transformed into a rape with force used to gain sex from a woman who is an unwilling participant.

Harry Kalven and Hans Zeisel (1966) distinguished "aggravated" and "simple" rape. Previously, the distinction was only applied to crimes of assault. Kalven and Zeisel defined aggravated rape as "one with extrinsic violence (guns, knives, or beatings) or multiple assailants or no prior relationship between the victim and the defendant" (pp. 252-255). A simple rape is defined by the absence of any aggravating circumstances, a single defendant, a prior-relationship between victim and defendant, and no evidence of beating and/or threatening with a weapon.

Susan Estrich (1987) found "simple" rape cases were perceived as different from traditional rape cases. "Simple rape" is generally recognized as a difficult

crime to successfully prosecute (Estrich 1987). The traditional legal definitions of rape, derived from common law, was any carnal knowledge by a man with a woman not his wife; by force or threat of force; against her will and without her consent. After examining the historical context of rape in our criminal justice system, Estrich concluded that women who were not "physically forced" to have sexual intercourse did not always recognize the event as rape.

In "simple" cases of rape Estrich argued some victims did not perceive their experience as legitimate victimization, because the people were acquainted or minimal to no violence transpired. For many people "Forced sex does not amount to criminal victimization 'unless it occurs outside a dating situation or becomes especially violent'" (1987:12-13).

Research on Rape and Seduction Scripts

Ryan's (1988) research addressed rape and seduction scripts. She asked introductory level psychology students to describe a typical rape and a typical seduction scenario in as much detail as possible. Half the students

reported on rape scenarios first and the other half seduction scenarios. Most students described rape scenarios that were "blitz" rapes, incorporating women outdoors being attacked by males strangers described as "socially or mentally unfit." The attackers most often were characterized as angry and aggressive, while the victims were afraid. The seduction scripts frequently differed from the rape ones by: 1) Occurring indoors; 2) being consensual; 3) displaying both sexes initiating the act; and 4) involving alcohol consumption.

Ryan's methodological limitations include small sample size (20 scripts) and using a within subject sample (Psychology Majors). By countering these limitations and improving the methodology, I explored, in greater depth, sexual scripts among college students at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville campus to identify commonalities in scripts of rape and seduction. With these common elements I am extracting from students' stories, what I argue is a script different than previous research found. One reason for this is the hook-up culture on campuses today.

The Hook-Up Culture on Campus

For years, the media have proclaimed the existence of an adolescent hook-up culture. Hook-ups are described as "one-time sexual encounters, anything from kissing to intercourse-between acquaintances who've no plans to ever talk afterwards, let alone repeat the experience" (McGinn 2005:1). Research confirmed this behavior among college students (Paul 2000). Notably, Paul's survey of 555 undergrads indicated that 78 percent of students experienced a hook-up after consuming alcohol. The average number of hook-ups for a college student was 10.8 (2000).

Studies at Duke University, James Madison University, and University of Michigan produced similar findings regarding the number of hook-ups between students (2005), although defining the phenomenon is an entirely different story. Definitions of hook-up can range from "petting below the waist, or sex or intercourse," "genital touching," to "kissing." Paul reported one student defined a "good" hook-up "when no one finds out about it or talks about it later" (2005:2).

Glen and Marquardt (2001) propose students lack guidance during their college years and ultimately are left to "negotiate a complex time in their lives--full of feelings conflicting needs, feelings, and demands--almost entirely on their own" (p.31). When it comes to sex, men and women play the "game" differently. Glen and Marquardt argue that women make the rules up as they go along. In other words, the more they play the game, the better they become at negotiations. In essence, students' experience, exposure, and length of time in college will change their perceptions of dating and sexuality. College freshmen and sophomores are potentially more likely to have different perceptions because of less exposure to the hook-up culture than juniors and seniors.

Researchers ask why hook-ups are so prevalent among college students, as well as what the emotional after effects of hook-ups may be (Glen & Marquart 2001; Koepke 2003; Paul 2000). When asked, one undergraduate at suggested "...it's the campus norm...If you're a normal college student, you do it (2005:1) Paul continues (2005):

While it is impossible to say exactly why students would rather hook-up than seek traditional

boyfriends or girlfriends, students say that greater competitive pressures--to build a resume, position themselves for grad school and chart a career trajectory--leaves them little time for romance. (P.1)

Some researchers propose societal changes, like the increased acceptance of pre-marital sex, non-marital cohabitation and out-of-wedlock children may contribute to this culture (Glen and Marquart 2001). Whatever the reasons, the traditional dating scene is no longer the norm on campuses of higher learning. Palmer, a Duke undergraduate and recently named "Peer Educator of the Year" articulated (Koepke 2003):

I know a lot of people who have never had a typical 'date' where you have dinner or go to a movie with someone...Rather students meet out at a party and later 'hook-up,' but never develop a genuine relationship. I know some seniors who have never been out on a single date. (P. 1)

The Relevance of Rape Research

Despite decades of rape awareness programs, legal reforms and research, social scientists continue to

report high levels of sexual victimization (Ageton 1983; Canterbury et al. 1993; Giarrusso et al. 1976 Kalof 1993; Koss 1981; Jackson and Oates 1998; Lauman et. al, 1994; Miethe and McCorkle 1998; Miller and Marshall 1987; Warshaw 1988). With the elimination of *in loco parentis*, or the limited amount of responsibility exercised by colleges and universities over students, students are no longer required to live on campus or in institutional supported off-campus housing. Glen and Marquardt (2001) note, "The most noticeable features of *in loco parentis* included separate dorms for women and men, sometimes on opposite sides of the campus, and rules and curfews for women and men, that were stricter than those for men. When these policies began to fade away, campus life began to be organized quite differently..." (p. 11)

Today, most campuses have no rules limiting visitation by the opposite sex, indeed they may have co-ed dorms, floors, and bathrooms. Males and females enter college and suddenly have access twenty-four hours seven days a week. Without the restrictions imposed by parents they must respond to cultural pressures and campus norms.

The statistics on the prevalence of rape and the persistence of stereotypical views of male sexuality and

female sexual responsibility warrant continued research on this topic. Estrich (1987) believes societal perceptions and understandings of rape need to change by recognizing that: 1) Simple rape is real rape; 2) the old "no means yes" philosophy is outdated; and 3) "older sex manuals" of forced, aggressive behavior are undesirable. To change how society understands what constitutes unwanted and unacceptable exploration into the variation of sexual scripts is needed.

The hook-up culture both reflects and modifies the dynamics of college "dating" and the sexual scripts students use. My research focuses on understanding current college students' sexual scripts of rape and seduction. The specific objectives of my research are: 1) to identify common scripts of rape and seduction among college students; 2) to compare freshmen-sophomore and junior-senior scripts; and 3) to compare males and females scripts on rape and seduction.

Research on rape has utilized diverse theoretical vantage points (e.g., legal, feminist). One promising perspective is script theory. In the following section the utility of script theory is explained further.

CHAPTER TWO

SEXUAL SCRIPTS AND SCRIPT THEORY

Social scientists have applied script theory to analyze sexuality (Gagnon & Simon 1973; Kurth, Spiller and Travis 2000; Laws & Schwartz 1977; Jemail and Geer 1977; McCormick, 1987; Reed & Weinberg 1984). Although scripts may be viewed as part of a more generalized framework of gender schemas (Bem 1981), my focus is on scripts. According to Abelson (1981), a script is a hypothesized cognitive structure that when activated organizes comprehension of event based situations. In other words, scripts enable us to perceive events to give us a more or less structured sense of how to behave in them.

In the area of crime, for example, Cornish emphasizes "the step-by-step procedures of committing crime that are learned, stored in memory, and enacted when situational cues are present" (1996:53). Tedeschi and Felson argue for the use of scripts to explain "behavior that is seemingly impulsive (non-rational) as habitual learned responses to situational cues, which involve a limited number of

decisions over which script is most cost effective in a given situation" (1994:53).

In the present study, scripts refer to the structured expectations of individuals about the characteristic features of events (Shank and Abelson 1977). This definition of scripts provides a rationale for extracting from college students' stories about rape and seduction common characteristics. A focus on scripts permits us to inquire about similarities and differences in the perceptions of females and males in regards to sexual activity. Particularly important for rape research are the differences and similarities in the scripting of seduction and rape.

Furthermore, we can examine the extent to which the scripting of unacceptable and potentially threatening sexual situations may reflect experience, in this case with college culture. Students entering college with one set of sexual scripts reflective of high school experiences could be expected to acquire new ones as they become immersed in college life (Rose and Frieze 1989).

First date scripts, traditional sex scripts, even crime and restaurant scripts help us understand how events transpire. Scripts serve as "prototypes for how events

normally proceed" (Abelson 1981; Schank and Abelson 1977; Ryan 1988). These prototypes or scripts can be "strong" or "weak" (Abelson 1981). For example, a "strong" script would involve expectations about the order and occurrence of events, while a "weak" script is unclear about the connection between prior and subsequent events (1981:717).

Rose and Frieze (1989), following Simon and Gagnon, argue that there are different levels of sexual scripting (cultural scenarios, interpersonal scripts, and intrapsychic scripts). Cultural scenarios are collectively developed scripts (e.g., laws), while interpersonal scripts utilize individual-specific cultural scripts (e.g., dating). Lastly, intrapsychic scripts consist of personal wishes and desires (e.g., private thoughts) (Simon and Gagnon 1986). To the extent that such distinctions are relevant to the present investigation, I am focusing on interpersonal scripts.

In addition to having several identifiable levels, scripts contain recognizable sequences or stages of development. Abelson (1981) identified several distinct stages that scripted behavior follow, beginning with individuals' cognitive representations of an event or activity. These lead to several possible "tracks" or

schemes designed to elicit the involvement of others' participatory schemes, each with its own "path" of involvement. Different "priming scripts" are associated with different paths and tracks designated to manipulate, coerce, or otherwise gain the participation of others in scripts. Highly developed scripts have elements of "action rules/policies" to guide the movement of participants through the scripted behavior. They also provide strategies for exiting the scripts.

In the next chapter, findings are presented from a pilot study. Many of my theoretical and methodological decisions for this project were based on this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PILOT STUDY: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The purpose of the pilot study (Cravens and Black, 2000) was to examine introductory and upper level college students' perceptions of rape and seduction scenarios. The pilot study addressed two questions: 1) Whether college students use the same scripts for rape and seduction as in Ryan's study (1988) or did their scripts contain different elements; and 2) Whether introductory students use the same scripts for rape and seduction as upper level students.

Data were collected from students enrolled in an introductory sociology class and an upper division sociology class. Of the students enrolled in the introductory class, 29 wrote stories (3 males and 26 females) and 39 students in an upper division class (12 males and 27 females). Of the students in the classes 18 percent (15) chose not to participate in the study and completed a task that was discussed. Of the 68, 28 wrote stories about only one of the two requested scenarios.

The pilot study's findings departed from Ryan's in terms of the characteristics of non-stranger assailants,

the presence of alcohol consumption, location (indoor), and incorporating elements of a date rape versus a blitz rape. The introductory level students' stories had some elements of Ryan's "blitz rape" of a woman, e.g., "the rape occurred at night when an individual female is walking by herself in an area that could be fairly secluded." The majority of the stories resembled characteristics of date rape scenarios, e.g., "perceived a rape scenario as an evening beginning with a date" or "on a date with a guy" or at a "party with a guy." The male ranged from an acquaintance to good friend to boyfriend. Most of the rapes included the presence of alcohol. The majority of the rape stories happened inside in the male's room. Stories involved a non-threatening atmosphere until, as students wrote, "in the course of the evening things get out of hand" or "everything is comfortable at first until the guy begins to be more forceful" or " [if she] won't give in to what he wants, it can escalate to rape."

Freshman-Sophomore Scripts

In all the stories about rape one common element emerged, physical force or a struggle. The blitz and date rape stories had different outcomes. With stereotypical (traditional) rape stories like a stranger rape, the victim was comfortable reporting the rape. In the date rape stories, some students wrote that victims could not report the rape "because they were out on a date and both had been drinking" or the victims blamed themselves, or "should have been able to stop it." Both the blitz and date rape stories had victims feeling "ashamed, scared, or shocked." In one case, the story appeared to represent a date rape, but the writer stated the victim never said no, "then for whatever reason they feel bad about it and had to justify their mistake and they call it rape."

Junior-Senior Scripts

The upper division students' stories incorporated a stereotypical(traditional) rape, including elements of Ryan's "blitz" rape with some writing, "A young girl in her 20's is walking alone at night down an abandoned

street" or "a young lady is walking along a dark street." The offender was sometimes depicted as a "masked man" possessing a weapon. In almost all the stories, subjects described the victim as a female and the offender as a male. Other stories had a known offender, either an acquaintance, friend, or a male they were friendly with.

In the remainder of the stories, script elements different from those Ryan found appeared. The rape stories began at a "bar, party, social gathering, or a date." Alcohol or drugs were included in the stories and the rape occurred indoors. Many stories were ones in which the offender "offers her (the victim) a ride home." The stories had victims "saying no" when the situation became physical. Stories included elements of "getting out of control" or "feels things are going a little too fast" or "the events that lead to a rape often involve a male miscommunication of a female's actions or possibly ignoring them." Other stories included justifications, such as "he feels she really wants to whether she admits it or not" or "the girl does not explicitly deny his permission to make further advances and he continues to do so" or "he'll go on thinking he was justified."

A new script element in the rape stories was the presence of a struggle or force. The outcomes vary among stories. In the stereotypical (traditional) rape, victims were more likely to report rape afterwards. The rapist was portrayed as having a "feeling of power and control" or "a power control rush." One story ends with two possible outcomes, i.e., it "ends with the victim killed or emotional scars." In date rape stories, victims were less likely to report the rape and take more responsibility for the act.

Many stories portrayed victims blaming themselves, With comments like "...fault by letting them be manipulated" or "a woman will feel that she led the guy on too much and that it is partly her fault." One subject wrote, "After a rape, typically, the victim does not report the incident due to the stigma attached with being a victim and the potential fall-out."

Some students described victims in their stories as having emotions of being scared, vulnerable, or upset. Others wrote that victims felt violated, dirty or humiliated.

Overall, the majority of rape stories included elements of a date rape beginning with a date or at a

social gathering, involving an acquaintance or friend, and ending indoors. Stereotypes about rape appeared in some stories, but not to the extent Ryan reported. The major difference in introductory and upper level students' stories was the frequency with which blitz rapes appeared; upper division students described more blitz rapes than did introductory level students.

The pilot study demonstrated the usefulness of identifying common elements in stories to uncover sexual scripts and discrepancies between legal and students' definitions of rape. Further, it suggested college students' scripts of rape and seduction had changed since Ryan conducted her research. Notable among the pilot study's findings was the shift toward the blurring of seduction scripts, almost mimicking the date rape scripts identified by Ryan as "not totally aggressive in intent" (1988).

Further research on the scripts of a larger sample of contemporary college students seemed essential. It should explore differences between genders as well as entry level and advanced students. The following chapter presents the methodology used, sample selection, instruments, coding procedures, and categories utilized.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

My research methods paralleled those used by Ryan and in the pilot study. My goal was to identify commonalities in college students' rape and seduction stories utilizing a script framework. Content analysis of stories focused on participant and event characteristics. Participant characteristics included gender, physical attractiveness, emotions, levels of resistance and coercion, interpersonal relationships, and presumed responsibility. Event characteristics included location(s) of story beginning/ending, presence of alcohol, outcome and aftermath of event.

Study Population

As the aim of the study was to identify elements of sexual scripts of college students and to identify differences related to larger exposure to college culture, theoretical sampling was employed in selecting freshman through seniors. Theoretical sampling enhances opportunities to gather data most pertinent to the

categories being scrutinized (Strauss and Corbin 1990). "Guiding theoretical sampling are questions of and comparisons that evolve during analysis that help a researcher to discover and relate relevant categories, their properties, and dimensions" (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 178).

Data Collection

Data were obtained from a population of students enrolled in two sections each of introductory and upper level sociology classes at The University of Tennessee during fall semester 2005. Both levels of classes contained students from diverse majors within the arts and science curriculum. A synopsis of Ryan's study was given in the oral instructions at the beginning of the data collection (see Appendix A). A packet enclosed in an envelope was distributed to each student and included a cover page and two instrument options (see Appendices B and C). Students were informed that participation was voluntary and responses would remain anonymous (see Appendix D for Form A). The following statement was read aloud before the surveys were opened:

Your participation is completely voluntary. For those who do not wish to participate there is an alternative writing project enclosed in the envelope to occupy your time so you don't feel uncomfortable while others are writing. These alternative instruments will be destroyed and not examined.

In Instrument One (see Appendix B), students were asked to write a scene of a "typical" rape and seduction scenario in today's society, providing details and images of what lead up to, what happens during, and what follows the event. Respondents were instructed to describe as many characteristics as possible, incorporating thought, feelings, and physical attributes of participants in the scenario.

Students were also asked to provide demographic information: age, gender, race, years in school, social group affiliation, and whether they have had exposure to campus programs on rape. All personal data were coded and descriptive frequencies computed.

All other characteristics other than age were treated as categorical data. Gender was entered as male or female. Race was white, African American, Latino, Asian, or Native American. School standing was freshman,

sophomore, junior, or senior. Social group affiliation was fraternity/sorority, campus organization, other, or none. Exposure to campus programs on rape/date rape was either yes or no.

Instrument Two (see Appendix C) asked respondents to write about life at The University of Tennessee at Knoxville and to voice opinions on parking, the football team, or any other topic. All of these essays were destroyed and not examined.

Data Analysis and Procedures

Data were collected from introductory sociology classes (Social Justice) on the assumption that they would be new or fairly new to the university, primarily freshmen or sophomores. Junior-senior sociology classes (Law and Society, Social Psychology) were used on the assumption that advanced students might have different views. Respondents' stories were categorized into four groups: freshman-sophomore males and females and junior-senior males and females.

Separate code sheets were developed for rape and seduction stories. The code sheets were created to access

data in a "systematic way" (Fielding and Lee 1998:43) and included a number of possible rape and seduction related elements (see Appendices E and F). Elements from each were recorded on the corresponding rape and seduction code sheet. The coding sheets were developed by initially reading the stories and identifying common elements in each, as well as drawing on categories established by previous research (Littleton & Axsom 2003; Ryan 1988). Following Littleton & Axsom (2003), rarely mentioned elements in stories were removed. Overall, rape code sheets contained 59 elements and seduction code sheets contained 51.

Responses were coded by the researcher. Due to constraints of time and money, no additional coders were utilized.

For analysis of demographic information, cross-tabulations were used to show the relationship between two or more of the categorical variables and to establish frequencies on race, group affiliation, and exposure to rape programs based on gender and school standing. The mean was used to establish a measure of central tendency for the age variable. The sums of the respondents' ages were divided by the total number of respondents. Due to

outliers in age (adult students), the median provided the most accurate measure of age.

Males and females were divided into separate groups. Freshman and sophomores were divided into one group and juniors and seniors into another, as students' class standing was more relevant than the level of course in which they were enrolled.

I considered analyzing my data with computer software such as Ethnograph. As Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) cautioned, I did not in advance completely appreciate the workings of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis packages such as Ethnograph. Lee and Fielding (1995) note some of the limitations, for example, software distances researchers from their data (Liamputtong and Ezzy 2005). I concluded that such software would not advance my analysis.

Sample Characteristics

In the introductory classes, the median age was 19 years old. Nineteen males wrote stories. Of those: 11 were white; five were African American; one was Latino; and one was Asian. Males consisted of seven freshmen, six

sophomore, three juniors, and three seniors. Five were fraternity members; two in a campus organization; five in an "other" category, like athletics and ROTC; and five were not members in an organization. Only four males had previous exposure to campus programs on date rape.

Introductory classes consisted of 36 female respondents. Of those: 29 were white; four were African American; and one was Native American. The majority of the females were sophomores (20), with two freshman, juniors and seniors. Half of the female respondents were members of organizations (sororities, campus organization, or "other") and the other 18 reported no group affiliation. Less than a third (11) had exposure to programs on date rape.

In the junior-senior classes, the median age of respondent was 25. Eighteen stories were written by males (17 white and one African American). The majority were seniors (14), with three juniors, and one sophomore. Eight males were fraternity members, two in a campus organization, and six with non-group affiliation. Only four males had previous exposure to campus rape programs.

Thirty-seven stories were written by females. Of those 24 were white; 12 were African American; and one

was Asian. The majority of females were seniors (N=33) and the rest (N=7) were juniors. Of those, six were sorority members, two in a campus organization, two in an "other," and 29 had no group membership. Sixteen of the females had previous exposure to campus rape programs.

Rape Stories

Respondents' stories were analyzed to identify common elements and also to generally categorize the type of rape. The elements are reported first. Rape stories were examined for commonalities and 22 elements emerged. Ten of the elements were categorical: characters' gender, emotions, resistance, coercion, attractiveness, responsibility, alcohol/drug use, location, outcome, and aftermath of event. Three elements focused on characters and their relationship: gender, nature of relationship, and attributes of the victim and attacker. The gender of characters was recorded as male, female, or gender neutral. Participants' attributes consisted of attractive/unattractive, nice, trust-worthy, and aggressive. Characters were coded as "trust-worthy" if scripts stated as such or if victims freely left with the

attacker. The relationships were coded as stranger, acquaintance, friend, or previous relationship.

Stories were analyzed for elements of emotion, resistance, coercion, alcohol use, and responsibility of participants. Five types of emotions were identified (embarrassment, fear, guilt, remorse and shame). Resistance had four categories: verbal "no," physical struggle, forced against will and/or without consent, and too drunk to resist or fight. Elements of coercion were entered as either verbal/coaxed or use of a weapon. Stories were also analyzed for elements of responsibility among participants. The responsibility for the rape consisted of the following categories: the victim blaming the attacker; the victim partially or fully blaming her- or himself; the attacker blaming her- or himself; or the attacker blaming the victim.

The event location was coded as residential (apartment, dorm room, or home); bar or party, outdoors, or unspecified. The outcome of the event consisted of a rape or unwanted sex, an attempted rape, physical assault or violence, or not specified.

Aftermath consisted of whether the victim made an official report (to the police or campus security), the

victim went to the hospital, the victim told someone about the event, the event went unreported or the victim told no one, and/or the victim received counseling.

Stories were also analyzed in their entirety and classified as a blitz/stranger rape, non-stranger blitz rape, date rape, predatory rape, acquaintance rape, or stranger-hook-up rape.

Seduction Stories

Once the elements of rape stories were identified, seduction stories were analyzed for similar elements (characters' gender, emotions, relationship, coercion, alcohol use, event location, outcome or aftermath). Two additional categories were used for seduction stories, communicated intent and romantic ambiance. As noted below, some of the elements in seduction stories were coded using different categories.

Character participants, instead of being coded as victim and attacker, were instigator and passive. Gender again was coded as male, female, or gender neutral. Five outcomes were differentiated consensual sex/hook-up, non-

mutual sex, forced rape/attempted rape, assault, or none stated. Coercion consisted of verbal, weapon, or alcohol.

Categories added for analysis of seduction stories were mutual instigation, communicated intent, outcomes or aftermaths, and presence of ambiance. Mutual instigation was recorded if initiation of sexual activity was consensual. Communicated intent was coded as yes, no, or mixed signals. Outcome or aftermath was coded as satisfying/pleasing to both, pleasing to one party, and regretted event.

Analyses of rape and seduction stories are presented in separate chapters, organized by the following sections: descriptive overview of stories (by gender/class division), representation of various stories, and whether a "new" script was presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

RAPE STORY FINDINGS

In presenting the findings from the study, I begin with an overview of the number and length of rape scripts for each group of subjects in the study population. Then, I provide a detailed descriptive overview of the elements presented in the stories of each group, beginning with lower and upper level males, then lower and upper level females. Next, I present excerpts from various rape stories containing elements consistent with current typologies. That is followed by a section containing excerpts from stories that suggest new scripts, that is, scripts with new sequencing patterns and new elements.

A total of 115 stories were completed from freshman-sophomore students (57) and junior-senior students (58). Seventeen percent of the students in the classes chose not write stories by selecting Instrument Two, leaving Instrument One blank or only providing demographic information. In some instances, one of the two scenarios was left blank (1 rape and 23 seductions).

The number of words employed in the stories varied. Stories of rape written by female juniors and seniors

(176 words) were longer than the stories by male juniors-seniors (125 words). Female freshman and sophomore stories (99 words) were longer on average than males with similar school standing (71 words). That is, they demonstrated more detailed information about sequencing and provided richer, more in-depth descriptions of characters.

Stories of Rape: Freshman-Sophomore Males

Seventeen freshman and sophomore stories were analyzed (see Appendix G, Table I and III). Seventy percent of the stories specified the attacker as male and over 80 percent characterized the victim as female. Some stories specified no gender for either attackers or victims. Over half the stories had both attacker and victim as drinking or under the influence of drugs and 18 percent of stories involved a date-rape drug. Almost half of the stories began at a bar, party, fraternity house or some social gathering and most ended at an apartment, dorm room, or house.

Over half of the male freshman-sophomore characters were strangers. Two stories had the characters as acquaintances and one as friends or former date partners.

Over 40 percent of the stories contained elements of force against the victim's will without consent or victims were too impaired to resist. Thirty-five percent of males had the story's outcome as a rape.

Freshman and sophomore males in general did not include elements of emotion, coercion, responsibility, or any aftermath components in their stories. Two of stories had the male perceiving the act of rape as consensual. Eighteen percent had the male escalating sexual "petting" without the woman's consent.

Types of Rape Stories

Freshman-sophomore males wrote different types of rape stories such as date rape, date rape drug, and stalker rape. The following are examples of each of these types:

Stalker Rape, Age 20

A man stalks a woman through a dark area, possibly a parking lot at night or some other low-populated area, threatens her at her car, and then commits the rape either there or later down the road. The woman is probably very well dressed, most likely in a skirt due to the ease of removal; the man probably has on dark clothes with a baseball hat on for secrecy. The two people probably work in the same office building, or are acquainted in some way, but there is no real knowledge about the man. The woman is left in her car, no words spoken afterwards, the man just flees.

Date Rape, Age 18

A boy and girl go out on a date to dinner and a movie. Afterwards, the guy takes the girl back to his place. They began to talk, cuddle, and eventually end up kissing. As they are kissing the man begins to let his hand move to different body parts. At this time the girl is completely comfortable with what is going on. Nat, the guy starts to undo her pants and slides his hand in her panties. At this time she tells him to stop because she does not want to have sex. He now starts to feel like he was mislead and he forces her to have sex.

Date Rape Drug, Age 19

Girl goes to a bar or party and either gets really drunk, high, or has something put in her drink. May be really flirtatious with every guy there. She talks to a guy that really wants to sleep with her. She may kinda lead him on but have no intentions of having sex with him or when the time comes she decides she doesn't want to. They go off alone somewhere. The girl gets raped. She may even be the one that makes the 1st move but then wants to stop and the guy doesn't want to stop.

A "New" Script

Thirty-five percent of freshman-sophomore males presented a new script in their stories. Twenty-eight percent wrote about males taking advantage of drunk or inebriated females. These males' stories presented the females as in no condition to consent to sex. The following excerpts are examples of this "new" script written by males:

Age 18

A person picks a person at a party or event...Try showing the person a good time and getting them to trust you and feel comfortable with you and get them to keep drinking so they don't know what's going on.

Age 20

Alcohol and the "date rape" drug are really big factors affecting whether or not it will happen. Guys think that a "drunk" girl or "drugged" girl is easier to seduce, when in most cases, there still no consent on the female's part.

Age 19

The guy approaches her and then strikes up a conversation and later volunteers to walk her back to her dorm. She takes him up on his offer unaware of his intentions. He takes her to his room and then gets what he wants. In the morning, he makes it seem like she agreed but really he took advantage of her.

Age 18

Try showing the person a good time and getting them to trust you and feel comfortable with you and get them to keep drinking so they don't know what going on. The subject gets the victim alone in a place and starts taking advantage of the situation (touching/grouping/kissing). At this point the victim would probably start to feel of the situation.

Stories of Rape: Junior-Senior Males

Twenty-four stories of rape were written by junior-senior males (see Appendix G, Tables I and III). Over 80

percent of the stories had male attackers and over 90 percent had female victims. Both frequently drank or were under the influence of drugs and some involved a date rape drug. Over half of the stories began at a bar, party, fraternity house or some social gathering and ended at an apartment, dorm room, or house. Other stories began at an apartment, dorm room or outdoors and ended at a bar, party, or outdoors.

In the stories, one-third of characters were strangers. Although the relationship was entered as stranger characters had spent time together before the rape and engaged in some form of "kissing, fondling, or fooling around." Other stories had characters as acquaintances, friends, or former date partners. Only a few stories had the characters on an actual date.

Stories by junior-senior males exhibited elements of resistance and ended with a rape. Over one-third of the stories had a female either verbally saying no, physically resisting, not giving consent for sex, too impaired to resist, or passed out. In over half of the stories the outcome was rape. Less than 30 percent of junior-senior males addressed the aftermath of the event, like reporting rape to the police, telling someone, or

seeking counseling. Additionally, junior-senior males did not include many emotions into their stories, although several alluded to males not being remorseful after the rape. Several stories had males thinking the sex was consensual and nothing was wrong with the outcome of events.

Types of Rape Stories

Junior-senior males had variations in their written stories such as date rape, drugged rape, and Ryan's blitz rape. The following are examples of each type of rape:

Blitz Rape, Age 22

Typical rape scenario to me is when a woman allows herself to be surrounded in a night club exiting by herself or being around a group of people that are intoxicated. The woman knows it's not safe but she continues to go ahead with her kindness. Then those guys or at least one of them have thoughts in there head they have to do this. That is when it goes bad.

Date Rape, Age 22

Male and female are friends. Possibly begin dating. One party is overly aggressive in a physical manner with the other, who is apprehensive about the situation and may or may not vocalize their disapproval.

Date Rape Drug, Age 21

Girl goes to a party at some body's house and there is a lot of drinking going on. Somebody fixes the girl a drink and places a date rape

drug in her drink and she drinks it unaware that there is nothing in her drink. She passes out and wakes up the next morning not able to remember anything that happened from the previous night, but just doesn't feel the same because she realizes she didn't drink enough to just pass out like she did.

Stalker Rape, Age 21

A lonely troubled man becomes obsessed with a woman he previously dated. She previously broke up with him and he has been stalking her ever since. He feels that the woman treated him unfairly and believes he still has a chance with her. She no longer wants to be with him and tries to avoid him. One night the man arrives at the woman's apartment as she arrives home. Through weeks of careful study, he knows when she will be home and when her roommate will be out of town. He forces his way in and wants to talk to her. When she refuses he gets angry and rapes her. He then leaves feeling guilty and no longer pursues the woman.

A "New" Script

There was a new script, that is, one with different sequencing of events. Over 40 percent wrote a story about a male and female who met at a social gathering; drank and spent time together; left for a more intimate setting; started to kiss, fondle, or fool-around; females would want to stop and males ignored them; males continued to engage in sexual activity and ultimately, the female is forced against her will. The following

excerpts are examples of the sequencing in the "new" male script:

Age 20

...was the beginning of the school year and everyone was excited. It was this one girl and she wanted to drink with the guys since that many girls weren't drinking that evening. So she went ahead and started drinking with the guys and became pretty intoxicated. She started talking about sex..They eventually got together and left the party together. They got to her house and he asks to come in and she was like "sure." After a while the guy was [unclear] started some touching and things of that sort. Then the girl said this is not what she wanted him to leave. It then mentions that is not what she said at the party. He then begins forcing himself on her and later raped her.

Age 23

...After a few drinks she loosens up. She is approached by guys at the party and asked to dance. The guy then offers her to go to an after party at his place. She agrees. When they arrive, he fixes her another drink. They sit and talk a bit. He leans in and kisses her. She likes it and kisses back. He fondles her. She now is a bit uncomfortable but doesn't see any real harm. He then starts to undress her. The reality of how drunk she is sets in. She tells him to stop... She is forcibly disrobed. Being intoxicated and weaker, she can't stop him.

Age 22

...She drinks for a few hours with her friends and gets a bit drunk than she planned. So she meets a normal guy and talks to him. She decides she likes him,, so she talks to him until the party is over. They go back to her dorm room. At this point she is intoxicated much more than she had hoped. At the apartment, the guy and girl kiss and the guy gets the wrong idea. He has sex with her while she resists only slightly because she is so drunk...

Age missing

... more than likely he knows victim and will ply her with alcohol until she is totally drunk. He will then take her home (if she lives alone) or his place where he rapes her. (Rape doesn't necessarily infer forcibly) She may be in a drunken haze and unable to resist. He may genuinely think she wants to have sex with him and not think he is raping her.

Stories of Rape: Freshman-Sophomore Females

Twenty-eight freshman-sophomore stories of rape by females were analyzed (see Appendix G, Tables II and IV). Over 60 percent of the stories had male attackers and 75 percent had female victims. Several stories had gender neutral attackers and victims. Both attackers and victims were frequently drinking or under the influence of drugs. Twenty-eight percent of the stories characterized the attacker as aggressive and 14 percent characterized him as trustworthy.

Approximately 40 percent of freshman-sophomore stories of rape began at a bar, party, fraternity house or some social gathering. Several stories began at an apartment or dorm room or outdoors. More than a few mentioned ending locations such as outdoors, apartment,

dorm room, or home. Two stories referenced a date. Several involved a date-rape drug.

Overall, there was not a prevalent categorization within the character's relationship in the freshman-sophomore rape stories. Relationships varied as friends, acquaintances or strangers.

Female stories contained elements of resistance and emotion, more so than male stories. Approximately a third of female stories incorporated all levels of resistance, i.e., verbalization, physical struggle, or forced against will/without consent. A multitude of emotions were expressed by freshmen-sophomores like shame, shock, disbelief, embarrassment, or fear.

Over 70 percent of freshman-sophomore females had a rape as the outcome of the stories and several included violence or physical assaults. Elements of responsibility were only mentioned in two stories and both had attackers blaming the victims. Few stories addressed the aftermath of the event through reporting the rape, seeking counseling for the rape, or telling someone about the rape.

Types of Rape Stories

Freshman-sophomore females wrote stories representing a variety of rape types such as date rape, drugged rape, Ryan's blitz rape, or stalker rape. The following are examples of each type:

Date Rape, Age 19

Girl and a guy go out on a date or meet at a common place to socialize together and have a good time. Girl begins to feel comfortable around guy and begins to relax, kinda lets her guard down. In the most cases the girl and guy might have a few drinks and things get out of hand. Girl might become a bit of a tease and then change her mind. Guy doesn't want to stop and everything is done.

Date Rape Drug, Age 18

"Typical" rape scenario where a man forces himself upon a woman without her permission. Jimmy is a 40-year-old guy at Club SoHo on Cumberland. It's a Friday night and there are lots of college girls at the club. His attention is caught by one specific girl sitting in the corner at a table by herself. He orders a drink, drops a pill in it, and heads over to the table and talks to her. He gives her the drink and she sips a bit of it. After about an hour, she feels real sleepy and asks the guy to take her home. He helps her to his car and drives to the Knoxville Place. He helps her out the car and to her room where he helps her to the bedroom. She falls out unconscious on the bed where he rapes her. When she comes to, she feels sick and sees herself/ her body that has been violated. She calls the police and tells them what she can remember. She goes through a rape victim program but is never the same. This can also happen in opposite roles. A girl can rape the guy also.

Blitz Rape, Age 20

The girl is walking alone. She gets attacked in a dark place, probably behind some bushes. She gets beat up. The rapist leaves her to die from her injuries.

Stalker, Age 22

A man watching a woman from a distance. He begins to stalk and learn her every move. He knows what she typically does each day. Then something inside his head snaps. It's not just a fantasy anymore. He feels he should control her and that she is his. So he breaks into her apartment and waits. When she gets home, she starts going through her routine not knowing her life is about to change forever. He waits until she's in bed and drifting off to sleep. He covers her mouth. She starts to struggle and wants to scream. He tells her that he'll kill her so she stops. He binds her hands and rips off her clothes. He stares at her, his prize. His anticipation is what's exciting him and then he penetrates being brutal and rough because he now owns her. Then he leaves.

A "New" Script

Ten of the stories freshman-sophomore female stories appeared to reflect a modified script. The sequence consisted of a male and female, commonly meeting at a social gathering, drinking, and spending time together. At some point in the evening the victims leave with the attackers under the pretense they will help the victims home or take care of them until they sober-up. The following excerpts are examples of this type of sequencing in the scripts:

Age 19

A "typical" rape seduction can most times happen at a college party where people have had a little too much to drink. The guy, usually drunk, will often times find a girl who has had way too much. The guy approaches her and says "would you like me to help you get home." She says "okay" not realizing how drunk he is too. They leave together alone. On the walk they talk about ordinary things, but then he asks her if she would like to go home with him. She refuses, but he won't take no for an answer. Then he forces her down and won't let her go.

Age 19

...Having a great time. Ready to leave, he offers to take you home. May or may not have slipped something in drink at bar/club. Drives around, says just wanted to get to know you. Starts rubbing on shoulders...Starts kissing you and at first feel desired and good, gets out of control and gets scared. You don't have any control due to his physical holds and pressure... All of this could have taken place at his/or your room depending on how comfortable situation started out being.

Age 19

A guy and a girl are at a party. Both have been drinking. They begin talking and flirting. The guy says that the girl can stay with him since she is too intoxicated to drive. She agrees, and goes home with the guy. When they arrive, the guy thinks that since the woman is intoxicated, it will be easy for him to rape her so he holds her down and takes advantage of her, while she is kicking and screaming.

Age 19

A girl goes out with her guy friends or acquaintances...The drinking games start and she gets very drunk. One of her male friends offers to watch out for her. This guy, a friend of hers, either gives her something or waits until she passes out. He then rapes her.

Stories of Rape: Junior-Senior Females

Junior-senior female stories included more elements of emotions, responsibility, and addressed consequences of the aftermath than any other group. Forty-four rape stories were analyzed (see Appendix G, Tables II and IV) with over 80 percent having male attackers and female victims. Several stories had gender neutral attackers and victims. Over 40 percent had both parties drinking or under the influence of drugs.

Forty percent of the rape stories began at a bar, party, fraternity house or some social gathering, others started at apartments, dorm rooms, home, or outdoors. Stories ended in different locations like an apartment or dorm room, outdoors, bars, or party.

Junior-senior stories used many descriptive adjectives about their characters, for example attractive, nice, aggressive, easy, or trusting. Most just spoke to the nature of the relationship. Over a third of the story characters were strangers or acquaintances; several were on a date.

Seventy-seven percent of the junior-senior female stories had an outcome of rape. Others included violence

or physical assault. The aftermath varied in the female stories with mentions of unreported rapes, reported rapes, or trips to the hospital. Several stories had the victim confused, unable to recall events, or not knowing what to do next.

Junior-senior female stories typically contained more elements of resistance and emotions than did the stories written by freshmen-sophomore females. Females incorporated all levels of resistance into their stories with verbal "no", physical struggle, forced against will or without consent, or too impaired to resist. Stories included a range of emotions: shame, feeling dirty, scared or upset, or fear no one would believe them. Several attackers were characterized as "not caring" or thinking they did nothing wrong.

Sixty-three percent of junior-senior females wrote of responsibility in their stories. For example, victims blamed themselves, attacker blamed the victim, or the author blamed the victim.

Types of Rape Stories

Junior-senior females had mixed "typical" rapes such as date rape, drugged rape, stalker rape and Ryan's blitz

rape. Several stories had characteristics of a blitz rape, but the attacker was a non-stranger or acquaintance. The following are examples of each rape type:

Date Rape, 23

A young woman & a young man are attracted to one another. One of them asks the other out on a date. They are enjoying themselves and enjoy each others company. They both feel comfortable with one another. After the date, (usually in a public place) they don't want the date to end so soon. They go to either apt., dorm, or house. Most of the time there would be music playing that one has selected to set the mood. Alcohol may be consumed during the date by both participants. This may relax them while getting to know each other. Typical, I would not think either one would get stumbling drunk. Now that the mood is set, the girl may really like the guy and would like to "fool around" a little. But, most girls don't want to seem like they are easy. So, they probably don't intend to have sex on the first date. With this scene playing out, the guy may believe that the girl may want to have sex. They start "fooling around," at this point the guy gets more aggressive. She pulls back. He gets more aggressive. The girl doesn't like it and gets worried. She tries to be nice and says, "No, I don't really want to do this." The guy gets more aggressive with those words. He eventually forces himself on her. She never believed this would happen to her, especially with this guy that she really like just a few hours before

Date Rape Drug, Age 20

Scene 1: A typical Friday night, the new fraternity is having a keg party at their newly renovated house. Many people show up early to start drinking and have fun. By 11 p.m. the house is completely packed.

Scene 2: Across campus, a group of freshman girls are pondering whether to attend the party or not. Jane, just turned 18, is eager to go but yet still hesitant. She doesn't drink and knows that everyone will be drunk. Her friends convince to go because everyone (all the cool people) will be there. So Jane and 3 roommates (Carol, Kim, and Shawn) all get dressed to head for the party. Before leaving the door, Jane tells the girls that she is not gonna drink & they all agree.

Scene 3: The girls arrive at the frat house. They are amazed at all the people and things that they see. They see couples making out, or what appears to be couples. Girls are dancing crazy & on top of tables. The guys are funneling beer and just have a grand time. After standing in the doorway for about 10 mins Chris, a frat guy in Shawn's Chemistry class walks over to the girls and introduces himself. The girls are all drooling over how cute he is and hardly hearing anything he says. He offers them a drink. Carol, the wild one out of the bunch, says yes to a cup. 1st she encourages Shawn and Kim to join her because she doesn't want to be alone. The girls each grab a cup. Jane slowly becomes alone because she has fun but not as much as her friends, but she still refuses. After a few hours, Chris comes back to the girls to check on them. Carol, Shawn, & Kim are wasted & having big fun. He begins to talk to Jane and ask why she isn't drinking. Jane, so ecstatic that he's talking to her, just says what the hell and ask Chris to grab her a drink. After the 1st drink, Jane is still fine but sure if she can handle another. Chris & Jane had been standing in a corner for talking for almost an hour. He encourages her to have another drink. This time, Chris eagerly gets I for her & slips a date rape pill inside her cup. Jane downs her 2nd drink very quickly. About 30 mins later, she began to feel a little light-headed and wanted to lay down. Chris offers to take her upstairs to lay down..

Scene 4: When they get upstairs, Jane falls on the bed. Chris lies next to her and

begins to kiss on her. At 1st Jane doesn't realize what is happening and doesn't say anything. Chris continues to kiss on her and begins to unbutton and pull her pants off. Jane slowly gains consciousness of what is happening and asks Chris to stop. Before she knew it Chris was on top of her & Jane began to push him away but he wouldn't stop. She yelled "NO." Chris continued. She began to get very forceful but Chris was a lot stronger. She tried to reach for something to hit him with, she found a book on the floor and hit him over the head. She ran downstairs and out of the house. Scene 5: The next morning she began to vaguely remember the nights' events and started to cry. She was afraid to tell her roommate; for fear that they wouldn't believe her. She just cried and held herself. She realized that she had been raped. Jane = fear, happiness, excitement, sadness

Blitz Rape, 22

Female walking alone in a secluded area. Man follows female and eventually approaches her. Man overpowers female and is raped in an even more secluded area. Male knocks female unconscious, once he is done she calls or gets help. Female feeling and thoughts = scared, shocked, hurt (initial). Depressed, shameful (afterwards) - Typical female young, average weight. Males feelings and thoughts = aggressive, lonely, hostile - middle age man

Non-Stranger Blitz Rape, Age 23

A guy sees a girl "Sara" at a bar. She is drinking w/her girlfriends. He keeps watching her (from a distance) as she is taking shots and dancing. He approaches her & tries to dance w/her, but she ignores him and stays w/her girls. A few of the girls find their boyfriends and leave with them. Sara is left with only 2 friends at the bar. Sara, very drunk, decides to go to the bathroom without telling her friends. She is gone for a long time, and they assume she left w/someone she knew. Sara decides to walk home (She is on the

strip, she lives in the Fort). As she is walking up the hill, the guy starts to follow her. She is so drunk, she doesn't realize it. Once they are away from the lit parking lots, he pushes her from behind. Sara is knocked down to her knees. Even if she were not as drunk, she is wearing high heels, which would prevent her from running. He knocks her on her back. Sara thinks she is yelling, but she is silent. She is scared and he is covering her mouth. He calls her a bitch & tells her "this is what you get for being a snobby bitch and ignoring me." He rips her dress and the side of her panties. As he tells her to relax, she pushes himself inside her. He only thrusts a few times before he thinks he hears someone coming & he runs off. Sara is left with her dress up laying on the cold concrete. She is crying and motionless. Once she is able to get up she reaches her apt. & tells her roommate. She is taken to the hospital, but his baseball cap was low over his face, & her description is not that good.

Stalker Rape, Age 28

Student eyes a man/woman on campus that is attractive and probably unattainable to he/she. Student finds out that man/woman will be attending a party so student will also attend. Alcohol is being consumed, student puts drug into victim's drink. Begins conversing with victim and walking with he/she to a secluded room. Student grabs victim, throws victim on floor, covers victim's mouth, rips clothes off and penetrates while saying perverted things and basking in his power trip. Rape is finished. Student puts clothes back on and leaves victim to quickly slip out of house.

A "New" Script

Junior-senior female stories did not have a new sequence of events. Over half of the stories involved a male and a female, drinking, and "things get physical."

At some point, the female realizes she is "uncomfortable" or decides she does not want to "go any further."

Normally, the male would ignore the females request or "stop" and continue against her will without consent.

Guilt was another element commonly represented in the junior-senior female stories. Females blamed themselves or felt guilty. Several stories had females criticizing themselves for not preventing rape or being in the situation in the first place.

Summary

As previously stated, the length of rape stories varied with storyteller's gender and school standing. Junior-senior female stories were longer than any of the others, averaging 50 words more than junior-senior males and 76 words more than freshman-sophomore females. While this might have been due in part to the extensive length of a few stories, most of the stories in this group were longer than those in others groups. Stories written by freshman-sophomore males were the shortest in length and averaged 28 words less than females in the same sub-group and 50 words less than other males. This may have

occurred for two reasons. First, number of words used in a story reflects its overall strength of content, conceptualization, and descriptive narrative. Second, experience, exposure, and length of time in college may have an affect on the accumulation and articulation of knowledge.

Juniors and seniors, males and females, offered a deeper, richer sequencing of events. Their stories contained more elements about the events and elaborate in explicated more in the steps leading up to and following the rapes. Nonetheless, content in male stories were weaker than females. The same argument could be made for the freshman-sophomore genders. Overall, junior-senior females more often included elements of emotion, responsibility, and consequences in their stories of rape. When freshman-sophomore females addressed elements of resistance incorporating verbal and physical force into their stories, their stories lacked the substance of emotion or aftermath.

Some of the most important differences in rape stories, in terms of gender, were found between freshman-sophomore males and females. Both groups had the event beginning at a bar or party setting, drinking and

spending time together. Females characterized participants' relationship as friends, acquaintance, or strangers, while males only identified strangers.

At the end of their stories there is a disparity between male and female plot lines. Females most often presumed the male or attacker as a steward the victims thought would help them home. Victims would leave with their attackers under the assumption they would give them a "safe" ride home, take them home, or take care of them until they were sober. It was on their journey home or to what they thought would be a safer place that the rape occurred. Males explicitly wrote about how a male would take advantage of a female who was drunk, inebriated, or too impaired to resist. They presented the attacker as seizing an opportunity to control the situation. Events usually ended in an apartment, dorm room, or house and sex was obtained by force and without consent.

Freshman-sophomore females characterized attackers as aggressive, while junior-senior females did not. Junior-senior females had characters' relationship as strangers or acquaintances. The females, or victims, had consumed more alcohol than the attackers and the majority of stories addressed elements of self-blame or guilt over

the rape. Junior-senior females' victims blamed themselves and took assumed responsibility for the outcome of events.

Male stories also contained similar elements. Both groups of male stories began at a bar or party, involved alcohol, strangers, but ended differently. Freshman-sophomore males wrote more about resistance in terms of physical force, non-consenting sex, and victims being too impaired to resist. Junior-senior males did not include these elements in their stories. Their stories resembled a more traditional sexual script with males as the instigators, females as the gatekeepers, and males overcoming obstacles for sex. The most common obstacle was a woman's refusal. In a preponderance of the stories the male perpetrators ignored females' requests to stop and perceived it as a "token response" and not as a genuine "no."

Junior-senior females also wrote about victims initially being excited about "kissing, fondling, fooling around," but progressively becoming uncomfortable or realizing the severity of the situation. Most wrote about the victims wanting to stop the physical activity, while the males just ignored them and continued.

Three of the four groups had a new script extracted from their stories. When I speak of a "new" script, I am referring to one has not been identified in previous research. Junior-senior females' stories did not have the same sequence of events emerge.

CHAPTER SIX

SEDUCTION STORY FINDINGS

In presenting the seduction findings, sections will follow the same general organization as in the previous chapter. That is, I begin with an overview of the number and length of seduction scripts for each group of subjects in the study population. Following this, I provide a descriptive overview of the elements presented in the scripts of each group, beginning with freshman-sophomores males, junior-senior males, and the same with the females. Next, I present a section containing examples of various seduction stories consistent with existing typologies. Because seduction stories presented no evidence of a "new" script, that section is omitted.

The seduction stories were considerably shorter than the rape ones. Stories written by females, both freshman-sophomore (77 words) and junior-senior (42 words) were longer than the males. Junior-senior male stories (53 words) were longer in length than freshman-sophomore stories (20 words). Of the males, four freshman-sophomore and 10 junior-senior stories were not analyzed due to lack of content. There were 27 male seduction stories.

Fifty-nine female stories were analyzed. Of the females, six freshman-sophomore and four junior-senior stories were not analyzed due to lack of content.

Stories of Seduction: Freshman-Sophomore Males

There were 13 freshman-sophomore male stories analyzed for seduction (see Appendix G, Table V). Male stories had a combination of male, female, and gender neutral initiators. The passive was assigned both genders. Several stories had the instigator and passive as gender neutral. Almost half had initiators and passives drinking or under the influence of drugs.

Location was not a central element in freshman-sophomore male stories. Some new locations, a hotel and library, appeared. Characters within the stories were depicted as acquaintances or friends.

The common outcome of freshman-sophomore seduction stories was consensual sex or a hook-up. Male stories contained elements of manipulation to obtain sex, such as alcohol or verbal "sweet-talk." A couple of stories characterized the seduction as pleasing to both parties.

Types of Seduction Stories

Freshman-sophomore males had limited conceptualizations of seduction. As one male wrote, "drunk and horny" can sum up the overall sentiment throughout the typical seduction story. The stories were short, but did describe consensual sexual encounters among characters. The following excerpts are examples of the different conceptualizations of seduction stories:

Drunken Seduction, Age 20

More than likely a drunken seduction, as hormones are heightened due to the alcohol.

Date Rape Seduction, Age 20

...My thoughts are that most rapes cases happen when women are alone and can be singled out and when there is at least one other major factor involved (alcohol, drugs, darkness, seclusion, etc). Alcohol and the "date rape" drug are really big factors affecting whether or not it will happen. Guys think that a "drunk" girl or "drugged" girl is easier to seduce, when in most cases, there still no consent on the female's part. Alcohol also impairs the male's judgment and can cause them to not think clearly.

As the stories were so short in length and devoid of detail, there was no evidence of a "new" script among freshman-sophomore males. Two elements presented in a number of stories are alcohol and sexual arousal.

Seduction Stories: Junior-Senior Males

There were 14 junior-senior male seduction stories analyzed (see Appendix G, Table V). Forty-three percent of male stories had a male instigator, others were female or gender neutral. Several passive characters were assigned either gender or were gender neutral. Both instigator and passive were equally drinking or under the influence of drugs.

Half the stories began at a bar, party, fraternity house or some social gathering. Events did not have a clear ending location, with some locations specified as a private room, outdoors, or on a date. Over 40 percent of the junior-senior male stories involved strangers. A couple of stories characterized relationships as friendships or former dating partners.

Several elements of manipulation were mentioned, sporadically, i.e., bragging, lying, or using alcohol to obtain sex. Half had the outcome of the seduction as consensual sex or a hook-up. Several stories did not specify an outcome or address the aftermath of the seduction, although one did classify the event as pleasing to both parties.

Types of Seduction Stories

Over 60 percent of junior-senior males gave examples of hook-up stories as a "typical" seduction. Hook-up stories involved a non-committal sexual encounter. Others had a "same-as-before" written in the seduction space. Some males wrote instructions to take the previous rape story, but to change the ending for a "typical" seduction. In these cases, previous rape stories were analyzed noting the different endings, i.e., the sex was consensual or the female was not forced against her will. The following excerpts are examples of each type of seduction story:

Date Rape, Age 22

...Typical seduction scenario 2 me is a guy is having a girl over to his place. They eat, talk, chill, and have fun together. They are lubby dubby with each other. Both of them start to have a couple of drinks. The both of them start feeling pretty woozy so they start feeling and touching each other, so by that time the both of them are very intimate with each other. They start to have sex. The girl tells the guy to stop and then he doesn't he just says "hold up I'm all most done." Then the girl says stop, stop, please stop and he keeps going. That's a typical seduction scenario to me.

Hook-Up, Age 21

...Sees a girl standing at the bar so the man goes and pulks out a huge wad of cash and begins to flash his money by buying drinks and giving outrageous tips. He buys her a drink and starts a conversation about how much money he

has and what kind of car he drives and she gets wrapped into his material wealth that she basically will do anything with him thinking that the man wants a relationship, but he is only hooking up that night.

Sex is Sex, Age 34

Take the second scenario that I wrote about before and just change what the girl is thinking the next morning. [This is if he doesn't know the victim, more than likely he knows victim and will ply her with alcohol until she is totally drunk. He will then take her home (if she lives alone) or his place where he rapes her. (Rape doesn't necessarily infer force ably) She may be in a drunken haze and unable to resist. He may genuinely think she wants to have sex with him and not think he is raping her. She may (in her drunkenness) say things that imply she wants sex.] If she doesn't think she was raped and she wanted to have sex before and after the drunken haze then he's one lucky SOB.

In over half of the stories, males had characters communicate their intent with one another. In a couple, the writers confused "seduction" with "abduction" and described scenarios where someone was kidnapped. These stories were not included in the analysis. No "new" scripts were depicted in the junior-senior male stories, although over half described a hook-up as seduction.

Stories of Seduction: Freshman-Sophomore Females

There were 19 freshman-sophomore female seduction stories analyzed (see Appendix G, Table VI). Approximately one-fourth of females had a male instigator and a female passive. In a couple of stories the instigator and passive were both drinking or under the influence of drugs. Neither the location nor the character's relationships were central to the stories. Of the stories that did mention a location they began at an apartment, dorm, bar, or restaurant.

Of the freshman-sophomore female stories only one included verbal coercion or resistance. Over a third described consensual sex or a hook-up. Several did not specify an outcome. The majority of stories did not address the aftermath of the seduction, although one did classify the event as pleasing to one party.

Types of Seduction Stories

Freshman-sophomore females' stories presented seduction as everything from date rape, mutual hook-up, to romance. The following excerpts are examples of types of seduction:

Date Rape Seduction, Age 20

The girl thinks she is on a date with a nice young man. He takes her out, and then takes her back to his place. Then he proceeds to rape her. But he doesn't beat her up. He threatens her life if she tells anyone.

Romantic Seduction, Age 19

Seduction is when two people have sex willing. It's the act of making love. There's usually foreplay and then they start having sex. It can be romantic or not. People feel really good about it and afterwards are very pleasant.

Approximately one third of the seduction stories had a script where the instigator persuades the passive character to have sex by "telling her nice things," making promises, or leveraging love. While the sex is consensual, both parties are engaging in it for different reasons. In these stories, the instigators were males and they wanted sex. The females were the passives and wanted a relationship, love, or something in return other than sex. There is hardly anything in these stories to justify them as a "new" script. Rather, they represent seduction in traditional terms. The following excerpts illustrate this:

Age 19

At a party a guy sees this pretty young girl and begins talking to her. He asks her name. Then he says "you have the prettiest eyes I've ever seen." He tells her thing that she wants to hear like how beautiful she is. He does this

until he eventually talks her into going back to his place.

Age 18

The man will try to be everything the girl wants. He will take advantage of the girls in bars that are drunk or down in the dumps. He will try to be the shoulder for them to cry on. He will make her feel special and cared for when all he really wants is sex.

Age 19

After a painful and complicated break-up, Jenny and Daniel are on strange terms. Jenny still deeply cares for Daniel, but he wishes to not remain in a relationship any longer. One night, after Daniel has had some drinks, he invites Jenny over. She is emotionally unstable because of the breakup, and she has visions of their relationship reconciling. Daniel seduces Jenny with promises of a safer, more loving relationship. He tells her he loves her deeply, and they sleep together. The next day, Daniel tells Jenny that he only used her for sex and he only told her what she wanted to hear in order to sleep with her...

Age 18

... She is young and naïve. She is not very popular and a tomboy (she doesn't wear make-up, dresses in jeans and t-shirt). She tells herself to not go too fast, but thinks that he is really loves her. Since he loves her then it is okay for her to have sex with him, which is all he wanted in the first place. He gets to brag to his friends about it and she is left confused and lost.

Stories of Seduction: Junior-Senior Females

There were 40 female junior-senior seduction stories analyzed (see Appendix G, Table VI). Thirty-five percent of female stories had the male as the instigator or a mutual instigation. Over a third of the passive characters were females and both were drinking or under the influence of drugs. Several stories had the characters on a date. The common location of the seduction began at a bar, party or restaurant. Only three stories included the ending location. Characters were either strangers or romantically involved and/or had a previous relationship. Few depicted acquaintances.

Twenty percent of junior-senior female stories involved verbal coercion. Over half had outcomes of consensual sex or a hook-up. A few stories involved non-mutual sex, labeled the event as satisfying for both, or had regret.

Types of Seduction Stories

Junior-senior females wrote stories of numerous examples of seduction, including consensual sex or hook-ups, romantically sex, coercive sex, sexual harassment,

and rape. The following excerpts are examples of types of seduction stories:

Consensual Seduction, Age 20

Same bar/social party setting as before. Man is more flirtatious from the outset. He buys woman drinks, dances with her, compliments her beauty, etc... He asks her if she would like to go somewhere else, apart from the crowd. She is aware of his intentions to have sex with her. She is aware that she has been drinking, is not drunk, but is a little tipsy & her judgment isn't as it normally would be. She then just has a decision to make, either go with him & have sex with him or reject his offer now & maybe find her friends and begin talking to his friends so as to take the attention off of just the connection (relationship) between him and her. In this seduction scene, the girl is aware of the boy's intention, aware she is being seduced, whereas in the previous context, she was not & rape was the end effect. Here, if they have sex, it will be a mutual choice (even though she may regret it later).

Romantic Seduction, Age 21

Normally two people who are romantically involved. One person sets the scene maybe by lighting candles, playing soft music, dimming the lights. The woman usually wears something sexy and see through. Both people start nibbling and kissing on each other whispering words into each other ear. There usually is some foreplay involved. But neither person has a set physical characteristic. During this time all both people think about is pleasuring each other.

Manipulative Seduction, Age 21

Seduction usually occurs when one party wants to receive/obtain some sort of material object or favor from another party. Sex is used to coerce the victim to giving in to advances.

Sexual Harassment, Age 22

A boss at someone's work attempts to seduce their young female employee. The male boss approaches her late after work when all the other employees are gone and begins flirting with her. The employee thinks it's kinda weird but goes with it because he is her superior. The boss seduces the woman, convincing her that she can improve her situation by sleeping w/him, such as with a raise or promotion. She decides to go ahead with it because she is attracted to him because he is older & more experienced. She also thinks it will be advantageous to please him and make him happy. They have sex in the boss's office and afterwards he tells her to leave and not tell anyone else what happens. After, the girl never gets any preferential treatment, and nothing happens in her favor as a result of having sex w/ the boss. She cannot tell anyone or complain about it, because the sex was consensual & grounds for getting fired. If she makes a big fuss, the boss might fire her, so she doesn't say anything.

Rape Seduction, Age 21

...may have known attacker & if so was possibly some casual flirting occurring before the female passed out -

The seduction stories in junior-senior females did not have a "new" script amongst them, although half of them dealt with sexual activity. Stories characterized the sex as "both parties consenting," "aware of guys intentions," or "willingly." Others stated the passive "...knowing she can stop at any time" or "not forced." A few respondents openly admitted not knowing what

seduction was or confused seduction with abduction. In these cases, stories were not analyzed.

Summary

Seduction stories were neither as long nor as comprehensive as the rape stories. Stories did show a change from the traditional sexual script where the male typically peruses the female. Over half of the males wrote stories in which both genders were involved in a consensual hook-up. Furthermore, males had equal representation of genders as instigators and passives. Seduction might occur between strangers, acquaintances, or friends. Only three stories had the participants on a date or romantically involved. Both male groups had some element of manipulation in their stories, e.g., pushing alcohol consumption, talking, or lying.

Freshman-sophomore females primarily had males as the instigator and females as the passive. In contrast, junior-senior females had either male initiators or a mutual instigation among participants. Drinking and/or drugs were incorporated into both groups' stories. Most of the characters were either strangers or in a dating/

"romantic" relationship. Female outcomes were hook-ups or mutual sex. Junior-senior females stressed sexual activity was "willing," while freshman-sophomores wrote about one party being persuaded into sex. Freshman-sophomore females described males telling women nice things, saying they were in love, or promising a future relationship. The females in their stories wanted something more than just the physical sexual experience.

Both junior-senior male and female groups mentioned willingness for or communicated intent in regards to sexual activity, meaning both parties knew and were agreeable about what was going to happen next. Some males had incidents where the sex was non-consensual.

Overall, seduction stories varied in terms of gender and college standing. Junior-senior female stories more frequently presented mutual hook-up scenarios than freshman-sophomore. Females' stories referenced dating and/or romantic involvement. Both male and freshman-sophomore females had elements of manipulation in stories. Nonetheless, none of the groups demonstrated sequencing and rich detail in their stories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMPARISONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

As indicated in the statement of the problem, the three objectives of this research were: 1) identifying common scripts of rape and seduction among college students; 2) comparing males' and females' scripts on rape and seduction; and 3) comparing freshman-sophomore and junior-senior student scripts on rape and seduction. The following section briefly summarizes prior research in the context of these objectives and compares my findings to earlier work. Next, I offer conclusions and suggest future policy implications. I end by discussing limitations of this study and suggesting questions for future research.

Comparing Rape and Seduction Scripts with Previous Research

When comparing the findings from this study with those of previous researchers, several similarities and differences can be identified. Both have important ramifications for the direction of future research and

for policies to enhance rape awareness on college campuses.

Similarities: Alcohol, Ambiguity, and Confusion

The consumption of alcohol was a common theme throughout the students' stories. Many of the rape stories included comments about how alcohol influenced the judgments of both perpetrators and victims. Alcohol was perceived as either affecting one's perception of a situation or being influential in the misinterpretation of another's behavior. This finding was consistent with those of Abbey (1991) and Hingson (2002). They found the consumption of alcohol was a characteristic element in situations of misconstrued sexual expectations, intentions, and behavior. Excess alcohol consumption may be an important contributor to incidents of forced sex between students.

I also found evidence of ambiguity and confusion regarding the line between acceptable and unacceptable sex. For instance, many rape and seduction stories had basic overlapping elements like location, verbal manipulation, and the presence of alcohol. Another example is the act of refusal being treated as a token response or as an obstacle to overcome, particularly in

the junior-senior stories. This finding corresponds with Littleton and Axsom's (2003) argument that people in our society have difficulty labeling various acts of sexual victimization as crimes, as traditional sexual scripts contribute to confusion surrounding the acceptability of unwanted sex.

In addition, the junior-senior males' and females' stories complement Estrich's (1987) findings in regard to the "no means yes" philosophy was still apparent. Traditional sexual scripts create ambiguity about how much and what types of pressure are acceptable.

Differences: Hook-up Rape and Confusion About Seduction

There are several ways in which my findings differ from those of previous researchers. One important difference is types of rape. For example, Adler, Mueller, and Laufer (2001) developed a three-category typology of rape that consisted of: *stranger rape*, *predatory rape*, and *date rape*. While many of the stories in my study involved an attacker only recently acquainted with the victim, they do not fit their definition of stranger rape. They defined stranger rape as involving little or no prior contact between the victims and the attackers.

My research differentiated between strangers and recent acquaintances. Characters in the stories were classified as strangers only if there was no personal interaction before the attack. Although the victims/attackers might have been strangers in the beginning of events, for the most part they spent time getting acquainted before the rape.

Few stories in my study fit the date rape category in Adler, Mueller, and Laufer's typology. There were date rape stories, but very few. The rapes could more appropriately be classified as the outcomes of hook-ups between the victim and the attacker before the elements of force or resistance were introduced.

My findings also differed from those of Mary Koss (1988) with respect to date rape. In most of the students' stories, rape did not happen in the context of a date, but rather in a "hook-up" scenario. A "hook-up" occurs when "a girl and a guy get together for a physical encounter and do not necessarily expect anything more." (Glen and Marquardt, 2001:4).

Characters in the hook-up stories commonly met at a party, bar, or social setting and were not in a dating relationship. Koss' finding that the overwhelming

majority of rape victims knew their attacker and over half of rapes happened while on dates is not consistent with the hook-up stories found in my study. The difference between my findings and those in the previous studies can be attributed to a shift in recent years in the social lives of college students from "dating" to "hooking up."

Blitz rapes were represented in the stories, but there were not many. Blitz rapes mostly involved stories in which students conceptualize rape as a woman outdoors being victimized by an aggressive male stranger characterized as angry, socially or mentally unfit, were represented in Ryan's study (Ryan, 1988).

My findings with respect to seduction stories were different from those of Ryan, containing elements of manipulation and persuasion. However, they were similar to Ryan's in occurring indoors, being consensual, positioning both genders as initiators, and involving alcohol consumption.

Comparisons of Males' and Females' Rape and Seduction Stories

There were many similar elements in the rape stories related by both males and females, including male attackers, female victims, beginning locations, alcohol, and resistance. Similar elements in seduction scripts included mutual instigation and alcohol.

Arguably, one of the most interesting finding is that a majority of males' and females' stories, both rape and seduction, consisted of a hook-up scenario. This is consistent with Glen and Marquardt's (2001) observation that a "distinctive sex-without-commitment interaction between college women and men is widespread on-campus and profoundly influences campus culture" (p.4).

I did find discernible differences between males' and females' stories about how and where the events ended. As already mentioned, females' rape stories incorporated elements of responsibility and aftermath into scenarios, while males made little or no references to them in theirs. In females' rape stories most of the blame, responsibility, or guilt associated with the rape was placed on the female, with the female either blaming

herself or being blamed by her attacker. Females wrote that victims should not have put themselves into the situation in the first place or should have done more to prevent it. This finding is consistent with that of Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2000), who found a substantial proportion of college women do not characterize their sexual victimization as a crime.

Comparisons of Students' Rape Stories by Class Standing

Given the small sample size, it is difficult to distinguish students' stories solely on the basis of either gender or class standing. Male and female distinctions permeate all aspects of sexual conduct in the college culture. Still, important similarities and differences existed between students with different class standings.

Freshman-Sophomore Students

Freshman and sophomore males and females had similar sequencing in their rape stories. For example, they contained an element of taking advantage of a situation. Also, their stories tended to be shorter in length than

those of juniors and seniors; they had less depth, description and details in them.

Given these similarities, freshman and sophomore females and males ascribed different reasoning to the story characters. Females wrote about a victim leaving with a male under the assumption she would be taken home or to a safe place to sober up. Males wrote about perpetrators taking advantage of females who were drinking or too drunk to resist advances. Males indicated the perpetrators interpreted the females' behavior throughout the night as an indication that they were sexually interested in them. The stories of most freshman and sophomore females had similar elements, but when it came down to expectations regarding sex, their endings were not the same as the males. Both males and females appear, at least up to a point, to be accepting the traditional male standard of the male as protector. Confusion and ambiguity enters in regarding consensual sex.

Junior-Senior Students

Junior and senior males and females generally wrote longer, more detailed, stories, and had similar endings

to their rapes. Both groups dealt with intimate situations that went wrong. Females and males both wrote of a sexual situation where the female changes her mind and the males continued without her consent.

Major Findings: A Summary

Three findings stand out in this study. The first, and perhaps the most salient finding to emerge from this study, is evidence of a "new" rape script that is an outgrowth of the prevalence of hook-up sexual encounters on contemporary college campuses. The blitz and date rapes reported in previous research findings were less salient to the students. Contemporary college students structure their thought and actions about rape around scripts that work, i.e., are familiar to others. Scripts become more structured for students as they experience situations in which those scripts prove useful to them and as they observe others behaving according to the same script. The limited number of rape stories and the larger number of hook-up rape stories by juniors and seniors may reflect their longer exposure to and involvement in hook-ups as a prominent part of college culture and make them more knowledgeable about hook-ups that end up as rapes.

A second noteworthy finding is the difference in the rape stories of junior-senior females and males, especially in assigning blame and responsibility. The stories of rape suggest that sexual norms have changed unevenly. Norms about whether males or females should initiate sex appear to be moving toward a single standard of sexuality, as evidenced by representations of mutual or female initiated sexual involvement. Yet a traditional sexual norm of females as gatekeepers, that is, one that assigns blame and responsibility for rape to females is reflected in the stories by females. The view of females as gatekeepers is also reflected in stories depicting males manipulating females verbally and/or with alcohol.

The overall absence of a clear-cut seduction script constitutes the third finding. Seduction apparently was not a meaningful concept for a number of students. A few did not know what the term meant. None of the students wrote elaborate stories of seduction, perhaps because they do not think in terms of seduction.

Policy Implications

Matt Bean asks the question, "What happens when a woman agrees to have sex and then changes her mind?"

(2003:1) While the admonitions "no means no" and "stop means stop" seem like easy-enough concepts to comprehend, the act of consent is an even harder issue to contend with. People in our society still have difficulty recognizing and defining rape. College students and others are not alone in this. The courts share in this dilemma, adding another voice to the debate over whether a person can withdraw consent. Illinois was the first state to officially address the withdrawal of consent issue. Under the law someone can say "no" at anytime and the person must stop or it is rape. Lyn Schollett stated, "The law was important to make it clear to victims, offenders, prosecutors and juries that people have the right to halt sexual activity at anytime" (2003:1). Former prosecutor Wendy Murphy (2003) made the analogy:

If I invite you into my house and I ask you to come in for an hour and then I change my mind and ask you to leave, you gotta leave,"..."If it's not my

house but my body instead, it's an even more compelling argument. (Bem 2003:1)

So what can we do? The first step is to establish uniform policies on definitions and responses to rape on university and college campuses, policies more consistent with the "new" scripts of rape and seduction. It is important that all social institutions within society have a clearer picture of what constitutes unacceptable sex. Secondly, more research on how males and females perceive these events is needed. Questions remain on how scripts shape behavior. Some of the details provided in female stories may suggest they have heard or experienced these events themselves. Until we understand how students organize a number of varying sexual scripts we cannot begin to help make college campuses a safer place.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

As the findings in this study indicate, script theory is an effective framework to examine college students' perceptions of rape and seduction. Likewise, the methodology of employing an open-ended instrument to

elicit responses about sexual scripts has proven to be a useful way to obtain information on scripts.

The study is not, however, without limitations. First, the findings are limited to students from one large southern university. Research is needed on scripts in other collegiate settings, such as two and four-year undergraduate schools.

Second, males are, relatively speaking, underrepresented in this study as in previous studies on this topic. Future research needs to obtain larger male samples to establish whether the elements contained in their rape and seduction scripts are consistent.

Third, there was a relatively high non-response rate among those asked to participate in the study. No demographic information is available on those who chose not to participate in the study. If Instrument One was blank or Instrument Two filled, they were not included in the study. It is important to note that voluntary participation and the sensitive nature of the research topic may affect rates of participation. Further research should address the issue of non-response rates when asking about rape more directly, finding out what the demographic characteristics are of non-responding

students and devising strategies to lower non-response rates.

Finally, to the extent that it is feasible, research of this type needs to be expanded to populations of high school students. Insofar as the findings from the present study are accurate with respect to a new script about rape and seduction among college students, exploring the commonalities between their perceptions and the perceptions of high school students seems warranted. Otherwise, how can colleges be prepared to provide the kinds of rape prevention programs needed to educate incoming freshmen about these problems before they become victimized by rape?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Oral Instructions

Good morning/afternoon. I am Nicole Cravens, a doctoral student in the sociology department. I am here today to ask you to volunteer to help me with a study I am doing to examine how perceptions of behavior have changed. About 20 years ago, Kathryn Ryan asked students in her class at Lycoming College to write a description of what they perceived to be a typical rape and seduction scenario in as much detail as possible. Their scenarios were to include what led up to the rape and the seduction, what happened during each of them, and what actions followed them. They were to incorporate their own thoughts and feelings about the rape and seduction into the scenarios.

I am interested in finding out how students today perceive these events. Just as Ryan did with her students, I am asking you to write a description of what you perceive to be a typical rape and typical seduction scenario. I want you to include your perceptions about what led up to the scenario, what happened during each of them, and what actions followed. I want you to incorporate your own feelings and emotions about the rape and seduction into your scenarios. In addition, there is a brief section for information that will be useful in analyzing the data. When you are finished please place the survey back into the envelope and seal it. Please do not sign your name or otherwise identify yourself personally on the instrument or envelope. Please place the envelope in the box when you are finished.

Your participation is completely voluntary. For those who do not wish to participate there is an alternative writing project enclosed in the envelope to occupy your time so you don't feel uncomfortable while others are writing. These alternative instruments will be destroyed and not examined.

Thank you for being patient while the scenarios are being written by others. Thank you very much for helping me with the study. And thank you ----- for allowing me to come to your class. Unless you have a question, let's begin.

APPENDIX B: Instrument One

INSTRUCTIONS: You are asked to write a scene of a "typical" rape scenario and a "typical" seduction scenario in today's society. In the scene, provide details and images of what leads up to, what happens during, and what follows the event. Describe as many characters as possible, including their thoughts, feelings, and physical characteristics of individuals involved. Use the paper provided.

Participation is voluntary and anonymous. We appreciate your willingness to take part in this research.

Please provide the following information: Circle responses when indicated.

Age: _____

Race: _____

Gender: _____ Male _____ Female

School Standing: _____ Freshman _____ Sophomore
Junior _____ Senior

Social Group Affiliation: _____ Fraternity/Sorority Campus
Organization

Other: _____ None

Have you been exposed to any campus programs on rape/date
rape: Yes _____ No _____

"Typical" Rape Scenario:

"Typical" Seduction Scenario

APPENDIX C: Instrument Two

INSTRUCTIONS: You are asked to write about life at The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Voice your opinion on parking, football, or any other topic. Use the paper provided. *Participation is voluntary. We appreciate your willingness to take part in this research.*

APPENDIX D: Form A

IRB # _____

**Certification for Exemption from IRB
Review for Research Involving Human Subjects**

A. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(s) and/or CO-PI(s): (For student projects, list both the student and the advisor.)
Nicole M. Cravens

B. DEPARTMENT/UNIT: Sociology

C. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS AND PHONE NUMBER OF PI(s) and CO-PI(s):

Department of Sociology
901 McClung Tower
Knoxville, TN 37996

Sociology Department Office: 974-6021 Cell: 755-8068

D. TITLE OF PROJECT: Exploring Sexual Scripts: College Students' Perceptions of Seduction and Rape

E. EXTERNAL FUNDING AGENCY AND ID NUMBER (if applicable):
N/A

F. GRANT SUBMISSION DEADLINE (if applicable): N/A

G. STARTING DATE: (NO RESEARCH MAY BE INITIATED UNTIL CERTIFICATION IS GRANTED.) My committee members have already approved the research and methodology, so as soon as certification is granted.

H. ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE (Include all aspects of research and final write-up.):
Spring 2006 (Dissertation completion is expected in October 2005).

I. RESEARCH PROJECT:

1. Objective(s) of Project (Use additional page, if needed.):

Ryan (1988) was one of the first researchers who examined sexual scripts. In her study, which serves as the basis for my dissertation, Ryan studied college students' scripts of rape and seduction for commonalities. She found that most students incorporated a "blitz" rape, which would be classified as a stranger rape placed in the context of current typologies.

By expanding on Ryan's research and methodologies, I intend to explore, in greater depth, selected aspects of sexual scripting among college students at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville campus. Like Ryan, I plan to identify commonalities in scripts of rape and seduction scenarios using script theory.

The objectives of the research consist of three parts: 1) to explore and identify common scripts of rape and seduction among college students; 2) to compare introductory students (freshmen and sophomores) and upper level students (juniors and seniors) scripts on rape and seduction; and 3) to identify and compare males and females common scripts on rape and seduction.

2. Subjects (Use additional page, if needed.):

Students enrolled in two sections of introductory and upper level sociology classes will be asked for their voluntary participation with the study. Both levels of classes contain students from diverse majors within the arts and science curriculum. Students will be approached during class meetings and duration of involvement will be limited to one class period, for approximately fifty minutes.

Students who choose not to participate in the study can work on instrument two (see methods below). Both instruments are available to each student, so non-participants are not easily visible. Instrument two will not be examined.

3. Methods or Procedures (Use additional page, if needed.):

The research methods will parallel those outlined in Ryan's work to identify commonalities in scripts of rape and seduction scenarios using script theory. A synopsis of her study will be explained in the oral instructions at the beginning of the survey. A packet including a cover page and two instrument options will be passed out to each student. The packet will be enclosed in a vanilla envelope and students will be informed participation is voluntary and responses will remain anonymous.

In instrument one, subjects will be asked to write a scene of a "typical" rape and seduction scenario in today's society, providing details and images of what happened before, during, and after the event. Subjects are instructed to describe as many characteristics as possible, incorporating thought, feelings, and physical attributes of participants in the scenario.

In instrument two, subjects will be asked to write about life at The University of Tennessee at Knoxville and to voice opinions on parking, the football team, or any other topic. Instrument two will be destroyed and not examined.

Students will also be asked to provide the following demographic information: age, gender, race, school standing, social group affiliation, and whether they have been exposure to campus programs on rape. No identifiers are on the instruments. Oral instructions cover page, and both instruments are attached.

4. CATEGORY(s) FOR EXEMPT RESEARCH PER 45 CFR 46

(see reverse side for categories): ____N/A

5. Signatures on file.

May 2005

APPENDIX E: Seduction Code Sheet

Seduction Scripts for:	Level:		Level:
Participant Characteristics	Scripts	Event Characteristics	Scripts
Instigator: male		On date	
Instigator female		Beginning: apt/ dorm	
Instigator :neutral		Beginning: bar/party	
		Beginning: outdoors	
Instigator: attractive		Ending: apt/ dorm	
Instigator: unattractive		Ending: bar/party	
Instigator : nice		Ending: outdoors	
Instigator : trustworthy		Relationship: dating	
		Relationships: previous	
Instigator: aggressive		Relationship: friend	
Instigator alcohol/drug		Relationship: acquaintance	
Instigator: gave drug unknowingly		Relationship: stranger	
Emotions: remorse		Outcome: mutual consent sex	
Emotions: embarrassed		Outcome: non-mutual sex	
Communicated intent: yes		Outcome: forced rape/ attempted rape	
Communicated intent: no		Outcome: assaulted	
Communicated intent: mixed signals		Outcome: none stated	
Passive: male		Coercion: verbal	
Passive: female		Coercion: weapon	
Passive: gender neutral		Coercion: alcohol	
Passive: attractive			
Passive: unattractive		Aftermath: satisfying/ pleasing for both	
Passive: alcohol/drug		Aftermath: pleasing for one	
		Aftermath: regret	
Passive: trusting		Aftermath: confused / don't recall event	
Resistance: verbal no			
Resistance: physical struggle			
Resistance: forced against will			
Resistance: without consent			
Resistance: none			

APPENDIX F: Rape Code Sheet

Rape Scripts for:	Level:		
Participant Characteristics	Number	Event Characteristics	Number
Attacker: male		Beginning: apt/ dorm/ home	
Attacker: female		Beginning: bar/party/ frat	
Attacker: gender neutral		Beginning: outdoors	
Attacker: alcohol/drug		Ending: apt/ dorm/ home	
Attacker: attractive		Ending: bar/party/frat	
Attacker:unattractive		Ending: outdoors	
Attacker: nice			
Attacker : trust-worthy		Relationship: previous	
Attacker: aggressive		Relationship: friend	
Attacker: gave drug unknowingly		Relationship: acquaintance	
		Relationship: stranger	
Emotion: no remorse			
Emotions: remorse		Outcome: rape	
Emotions: embarrassed		Outcome: attempted rape	
		Outcome: physical assault / violence	
Victim: male		Outcome: none stated	
Victim: female		Outcome: guy goes further than girl wants	
Victim: gender neutral			
Victim: alcohol/drug		Coercion: verbal/ coaxed	
Victim: attractive		Coercion: weapon	
Victim: unattractive			
Victim: nice		Aftermath: report to police/ campus security	
Victim: trusting		Aftermath: tell someone	
Victim: easy		Aftermath: unreported - tells no one	
		Aftermath: counseling	
Emotions: shame/ dirty		Aftermath: hospital	
Emotions: shock/ disbelief		Aftermath: confused/ don't know what to do	
Emotions: fear			
Emotions: embarrassed		Responsibility: victim blames attacker	
Emotion: guilt		Responsibility: victim blames themselves : 1/2	
Emotion: won't believe		Responsibility: attacker blames themselves	
		Responsibility: attacker blames victim: wanted it	
Resist: verbal no		Resist: too impaired	
Resist: physical struggle		Resist: forced against will / no consent	

APPENDIX G: Tables

Table I. Percentage of Composite Items in Male Rape Stories

Composite Items	Rape (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Rape (%) Junior- Senior
Participant Characteristics		
The man is nice	5	8
The man is aggressive	*	8
The man has no remorse about events	*	16
The woman is attractive	*	*
The woman feels dirty/ashamed	*	*
Alcohol Use		
The man has been drinking	53	54
The woman has been drinking	65	54
The man slips the woman a date rape drug	18	16
Resistance		
The woman verbally said "no"	5	37
The woman physically resists man	5	21
The woman is forced against will	41	37
The woman is too impaired to resist	47	37
Outcome		
A rape occurs	35	62
A physical assault/violence occurs	*	19
The man goes further than the woman wants	18	25
Aftermath		
The woman reports rape	7	16
The woman tells someone about rape	3	*
The woman goes to hospital		*
The woman tells no one about rape	7	8
Responsibility		
The woman accepts responsibility for rape	*	8
The woman blames the man for rape	*	*
The man accepts responsibility for rape	*	8
The man blames the woman for rape	*	4
The man believes sex is consensual	12	16
Total Stories	17	24

* Indicates no presence of element in story

Table II. Percentage of Composite Items in Female Rape Stories

Composite Items	Rape (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Rape (%) Junior- Senior
Participant Characteristics		
The man is nice	*	15
The man is aggressive	28	11
The man has no remorse about events	*	14
The woman is attractive	7	11
The woman feels dirty/ashamed	14	20
Alcohol Use		
The man has been drinking	39	43
The woman has been drinking	43	61
The man slips the woman a date rape drug	11	2
Resistance		
The woman verbally said "no"	28	29
The woman physically resists man	32	36
The woman is forced against will	28	39
The woman is too impaired to resist	14	11
Outcome		
A rape occurs	71	77
A physical assault/violence occurs	14	20
The man goes further than the woman wants		27
Aftermath		
The woman reports rape	7	16
The woman tells someone about rape	3	2
The woman goes to hospital		9
The woman tells no one about rape	7	34
Responsibility		
The woman accepts responsibility for rape	*	18
The woman blames the man for rape	*	2
The man accepts responsibility for rape	*	*
The man blames the woman for rape	7	14
The man believes sex is consensual	*	*
Total Stories	28	44

* Indicates no presence of element in story

Table III. Percentage of Male Rape Stories Containing Particular Elements

Elements	Rape (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Rape (%) Junior- Senior
The attacker is a man	70	83
The victim is a woman	76	92
The events began at a party/ bar	47	62
The man and woman are strangers	53	37
The man and woman are acquaintances	12	16
The man and woman are on a date	12	21
Total Stories	17	24

* Indicates no presence of element in story

Table IV. Percentage of Female Rape Stories Containing Particular Elements

Elements	Rape (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Rape (%) Junior- Senior
The attacker is a man	68	84
The victim is a woman	75	89
The events began at a party/ bar	39	43
The man and woman are strangers	18	41
The man and woman are acquaintances	18	36
The man and woman are on a date	*	16
Total Stories	28	44

* Indicates no presence of element in story

Table V. Percentage of Male Seduction Stories Containing Particular Elements

Elements	Seduction (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Seduction (%) Junior-Senior
The instigator is a man	23	43
The passive is a woman	23	36
No gender is assigned to instigator	31	21
No gender is assigned to passive	23	21
The man and woman have been drinking	46	28
The event began at a bar/party	8	50
The man and woman are strangers	*	43
The man and woman are acquaintances	23	7
The man and woman are on a date	*	7
The man and woman are involved in a hook-up	31	21
Total Stories	13	14

* Indicates no presence of element in story

Table VI. Percentage of Female Seduction Stories Containing Particular Elements

Elements	Seduction (%) Freshman- Sophomore	Seduction (%) Junior-Senior
The instigator is a man	21	35
The passive is a woman	26	37
No gender is assigned to instigator	10	25
No gender is assigned to passive	5	7
The man and woman have been drinking	*	35
The event began at a bar/party	10	32
The man and woman are strangers	16	30
The man and woman are acquaintances	5	7
The man and woman are on a date	10	15
The man and woman are involved in a hook-up	16	52
Total Stories	19	40

* Indicates no presence of element in story

VITA

Nicole Corsaro Cravens was born in Springfield, Massachusetts on June 18, 1973. She was raised in Longmeadow, MA until she was thirteen. She attended elementary school at St. Mary's and middle school at Williams Middle School. She attended The Gunnery in Washington, CT for three years of high school and graduated from Briarcliff Manor High School in 1991. From there, she went on to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville and received a B.A. in sociology, with a minor in criminal justice in 1996 and a M.A. in sociology, with a concentration in criminology in 1998.

Nicole resides in Knoxville with her husband, Wayne, and their children, Mary Grace (5) and Harris (3). She currently works as an adjunct at Maryville College and The University of Tennessee at Knoxville. She is pursuing opportunities of a tenure track position at a small college or university.