Quantifying "The Fighting Spirit": Using Feminist Theory to Inform Analyses of Empowerment Self-Defense Training as Sexual Assault Prevention Education

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Abstract

Feminist theory and empirical research have both addressed sexual violence in various ways. However, feminist theory often fails to acknowledge the empirical literature on sexual violence prevention in general and empowerment self-defense training in particular; similarly, the empirical literature, while dealing with the reality of sexual violence, is not necessarily grounded in feminist literature or adept at acknowledging the work of feminist scholars with respect to methodology. This paper seeks to bridge that gap in two ways: through a literature review that addresses the tensions in feminist theory around empowerment self-defense training, and with two empirical studies. One study examined the individual-level impact of self-defense training via a pre-post analysis of students enrolled in a self-defense course; the other examined the community-level impact of empowerment self-defense through evaluating the effect of information on self-defense training on men's decision-making about sexually aggression. The results are consistent with the literature that shows empowerment self-defense has many individual benefits such as increased self-efficacy, but the community impact is still uncertain and requires further research. Researchers must integrate feminist theory into the design and analysis of studies on empowerment self-defense training and sexual assault prevention.

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Addressing Campus Sexual Assault

The threat of sexual assault is a constant presence in the lives of most women; it is estimated that one in four women will experience some type of unwanted sexual contact in their lifetime (Breiding et al., 2011). The college years are viewed as a time of heightened vulnerability, with approximately 17-25% of women experiencing sexual victimization during the first nine weeks of the academic year (Gidycz et al., 2006). In an attempt to address the epidemic of sexual assault on college campuses, college administrators and the federal government have joined the movement for intervening in and ending violence against women, a movement borne largely out of second wave feminist activism which brought about many victim services we know today, such as sexual assault hotlines and response teams.

Currently, all colleges that receive funding from the federal government are required to meet certain guidelines for preventing and handling campus sexual assault. Colleges must educate students on campus policies about sexual assault and harassment, including the reporting process and procedures, and are guided by federal regulations such as Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 and the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination Act (Campus SaVE Act). In 2014, The White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault offered a series of recommendations in line with what the Center for Disease Control outlines as primary prevention to help colleges uphold Title IX compliance and other federal regulations. Together, these governmental bodies recommend programs that are "sustained (not brief, one-shot education programs), comprehensive, and address the root individual, relational and societal causes of sexual assault" (White House, 2014, p. 9). The White House Task Force emphasizes

bystander intervention as one of the "most promising prevention strategies" (2014, p. 9). Bystander intervention is also strongly recommended and funded by the CDC; therefore, bystander intervention has become the chosen method of fulfilling prevention education requirements.

While some sexual assault prevention programs do show promising positive outcomes, depending on what defines a "successful" program, researchers are still not clear about what methods are most successful at reducing occurrences of sexual assault on campuses: mixed gender or single gender groups? How long should the program be? What type of program works best for college students? What about specific social groups, such as athletes or fraternities? These unanswered questions are what prompts researchers and feminists alike to continue investigating sexual assault prevention methodologies. This is also what encouraged me, as a feminist student of psychology, to take up the research in this paper. I want to better understand what sexual assault prevention on college campuses looks like, and what needs to change in order to make these efforts more effective.

Victimization and Perpetration Risk Factors

To date, there is no one-size-fits all prevention program that effectively reduces rates of sexual assault on campuses while adhering to federal regulations. Research has, however, provided us with knowledge of certain risk factors for sexual assault perpetration and victimization that tend to be focused on in program curricula. These risk factors do not mean everyone who meets these criteria will be assaulted or perpetrate an assault; however, the research cited below indicates that these individuals are at a higher risk for involvement in a sexual assault than the average person. The majority of reported campus sexual assaults are male-on-female; therefore, this paper will focus on female victims and male perpetrators.

Risk for Sexual Assault Victimization

Women in college face many specific risk factors that are associated with a higher likelihood of experiencing assault. This increased likelihood does not mean a woman is at fault for an assault; responsibility for assault always rests with the perpetrator. However, examining risk factors is one way for college administrators to explore various interventions into preventing sexual assault; with the prevalence of sexual violence on college campuses, it has been found that different types of assault have different risk factors (Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, & Livingston, 2007). While the common rape myth of stranger rape being the most prominent risk for women, it is known that 7 out of 10 rapes are actually committed by someone known to the victim; 45% of rapes are committed by an acquaintance, 28% by a stranger, and 25% by an intimate partner (RAINN, 2016).

Given the estimate that one in four women will experience unwanted sexual contact in her lifetime (Breiding et al., 2011), many women in college are likely already coping with a history of victimization. Women who have a history of victimization are significantly more likely to experience sexual victimization in college than women with no previous history of victimization (Turchik, Probst, Irvin, Chau, & Gidycz, 2009). The role of previous victimizations may be most salient in intimate partner victimization; previous history of victimization has been linked to a higher likelihood of assault within a relationship, rather than with an acquaintance (Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, & Livingston, 2007). It is well documented that following an assault, a survivor can exhibit a variety of emotional outcomes that can impact her daily life, as well as her intimate relationships. These outcomes include self-blame, fear, anxiety, depression and low self-esteem, which correlate with lower assertiveness (See Breitenbecher, 2001 for a complete

review). A history of completed assault may leave the survivor feeling like sexual assault is inevitable, and that challenging or resisting an assault is futile.

Alcohol has also been found to play an important role in many college sexual assaults, due in part to the high frequency of alcohol consumption in college party environments. Specifically, alcohol consumption has been associated with sexual victimization by acquaintances more so than with intimate partners (Abbey, 2002). In other words, a woman who has consumed alcohol is more likely to be assaulted by an acquaintance because the perpetrator relies on lowered inhibition to achieve his goal. Intimate partners, on the other hand, tend to rely on a partner's low sexual assertiveness in sexual situations, rather than using alcohol to influence their partner's behavior (Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, & Livingston, 2007). Alcohol and a history of victimization together contribute significantly to campus sexual assault.

Risk Factors for Sexual Assault Perpetration

Many risk factors for sexual assault perpetration have been identified through studying male attitudes and beliefs about women and sexual assault. These risk factors do not necessarily indicate that all men who match these criteria will perpetrate; however, men who do match these criteria are significantly more likely to attempt or complete an assault than men who do not. Some of the most salient factors in predicting perpetration of sexual assault involve social support for specific attitudes and behaviors.

Endorsing stereotypical myths about sexual assault, a trait referred to as rape myth acceptance, is one of the most widely studied and supported predictors of assault. Rape myths incorporate a variety of beliefs about sexual violence, including the belief that rape only happens when women are alone and outside at night, or that only women who wear short skirts and drink alcohol are raped. Men who display high rape myth acceptance, or men who endorse myths

about sexual assault, also tend to engage in more sexually coercive behavior (Bouffard & Bouffard, 2011). Along with higher rape myth acceptance, men who perpetrate sexual assault also tend to indicate higher acceptance of verbal pressure to obtain sex than men who do not perpetrate (Abbey et al., 2001). Men who have friends that support sexually coercive behavior in others are more likely to report engaging in sexually coercive behavior themselves (Bouffard & Bouffard, 2011). The likelihood of reporting having engaged in sexually coercive behavior increases nine times for men who experience social support for sexual assault and consume alcohol, which can prove to be highly dangerous on a college campus (Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001).

The connection between attitude and behavior is a major point of focus for prevention programming; however, the relationship between attitude and behavior is also one of the most difficult factors to address. Behavior change precedes attitude change, but behaviors are often influenced by the attitudes one holds or is perceived by others to hold (Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006; Paul & Gray, 2011). Due to the muddiness of attitude and behavior change regarding sexually aggressive behavior, it can be very difficult to achieve an accurate measure of these factors. Researchers have nonetheless repeatedly produced findings that men who perpetrate sexual assault tend to display more hostile gender role beliefs which normalize male dominance over women (Abbey, McAuslan, Zawacki, Clinton, & Buck, 2001; Edwards, Bradshaw, & Hinsz, 2014; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984).

Project Introduction and Methodology

Although the risk factors at play in the occurrence of sexual assault on college campuses have been explored, there is still much work to be done on the topic. This research has been taken up by feminist scholars in addition to researchers in other disciplines, such as psychology.

Despite the empirical and experiential scholarship in multiple disciplines, and some early efforts to address the topic (e.g., Marcus, 1992; McCaughey, 1997), the discourse on sexual assault prevention lacks an adequate point of connection between feminist theory and the reality of addressing sexual violence through prevention programming and other campus efforts. In order to effectively address sexual assault on college campuses, researchers and theorists alike must seek a way to put these disembodied theoretical perspectives in conversation with violated bodies. Feminist theory provides a lens through which one may evaluate how college administrators work to prevent sexual assault, while also considering the lived experience of sexual violence.

I propose an incorporation of feminist theory into the creation, implementation, and evaluation of college sexual assault prevention programs. It is critical to merge the discourses of feminist understandings of sexual violence with the empirical research on sexual assault prevention. Sexual assault prevention and empowerment self-defense exist in an explicitly interdisciplinary location that is informed by the greater discourse on sexual violence and women's resistance in both a theoretical and empirical sense. In order to offer a sound interpretation of data on sexual violence and resistance, one must understand and thoughtfully apply feminist scholarship within a quantitative framework. Collecting and interpreting data through a critically gendered lens takes into consideration the way socially constructed gender norms and the socialization of masculinity affect gendered embodiment and interact with multiple psychological variables in the context of sexual violence.

This project seeks to examine the theoretical, individual, and community-level implications of empowerment self-defense training as feminist sexual assault prevention education for college students. Despite some feminist ambivalence toward self-defense training,

I propose an application of feminist theoretical inquiry into the quantifiable aspects of what makes empowerment self-defense training different than other sexual assault education and prevention programs. I seek to situate self-defense training as not only a viable option for reframing prevention education college campuses that must be given salience along with other types of prevention programs, but also as the foundation for a new feminist theory of rape prevention. This topic builds on Martha McCaughey's (1997) ethnographic research on the physical feminism of empowerment self-defense by approaching the topic from within feminist theory while working to adequately quantify the individual and community-level outcomes of empowerment self-defense.

In order to examine the theoretical implications of this argument, I will first set up a feminist theoretical framework that will allow for examination of sexual assault prevention programs, including empowerment based self-defense training, through a feminist lens. This framework will focus on three theoretical concepts: agency, victimization, and embodiment. Notions of agency, victimization, and embodiment are fundamental to a corporeal feminism that centers the gendered body's experience of power, and it is these ideas that are disrupted within empowerment self-defense (McCaughey, 1998). Feminists theorize rape from a multitude of positions and with a variety of different goals; however, these three concepts seem to be invoked in some way across multiple feminist perspectives. First, I will review the influential ways in which feminist theorists Susan Brownmiller and Catharine MacKinnon theorized rape, then I will discuss and advocate for Sharon Marcus's pivotal response to those dominant theoretical models. I will also examine Carine Mardorossian's critique of Sharon Marcus's work, and use Martha McCaughey's position to reconnect a new perspective on embodied agency and victimization in theorizing about acts of sexual violence against women.

I will use Chapter Two to define empowerment self-defense and situate it as a feminist endeavor through the theoretical framework established in Chapter One. Chapter Two will build on Martha McCaughey's (1994) argument of self-defense training as feminist; however, I will extend her argument to empirical research on self-defense in general. In the same way that Sharon Marcus problematized the dominant theoretical model of rape, Chapter Three will problematize the dominant model of bystander intervention education as sexual assault prevention. Chapter Four will go on to review quantitative and qualitative outcomes of self-defense and self-defense training, explaining how it fills in the theoretical gaps left by a dependency on bystander intervention.

After having presented the argument for self-defense training as a feminist endeavor and reviewing existing sexual assault prevention programs, I will use Chapter Five to present two original empirical studies examining the degree to which empowerment self-defense training is an effective form of sexual assault prevention education. The purpose of these studies is to establish further empirical evidence for the individual and community-level benefits of empowerment self-defense training while also applying a feminist lens to the use and measurement of self-defense and sexual violence. The paper concludes with a general discussion of the study findings in relation to existing data and feminist theorization of sexual violence in Chapter Six.

Chapter One: Feminists Theorize Rape

Feminist theorists have explored the issue of rape and violence against women through a number of different lenses. I argue that a postmodern framework is necessary in order to denaturalize essentialist notions put in place by early feminist theorists and lay the foundation for a feminist approach to violence prevention through empowerment self-defense training. For the purpose of my argument, I will focus on the key theoretical and material concepts of agency, victimhood, and embodiment because they play a significant role in feminist theorization of sexual violence, and should also play a role in developing and applying effective sexual assault prevention programs. Agency, victimization, and embodiment are deeply connected and cannot be discussed without being placed in conversation with one another; therefore, I will introduce pivotal texts which are key to understanding the shifting and contrasting feminist positions on these concepts as they relate to sexual assault.

First, I will discuss early feminist conceptualizations of sexual violence by influential feminist thinkers Susan Brownmiller (1975) and Catharine MacKinnon (1989), as explained by feminist scholar Ann J. Cahill (2001). I will then provide an in-depth analysis of how feminist scholar Sharon Marcus (1992) exemplified a new approach to rape through a postmodern framework, which has been challenged and problematized by Carine Mardorossian (2002). Finally, I will use Martha McCaughey's (1998) approach to agency, victimization, and embodiment in an effort to explain why these theoretical implications are important for understanding the role of empowerment self-defense in prevention education.

Feminist Conceptualizations of Sexual Violence

The current discussions of sexual assault and resistance rest upon broad feminist conceptualizations of sexual violence. The conversation about sexual violence became highly

politicized within second wave feminist activism, in which being labeled a victim was a political tool of empowerment, not an internal identity. Victims of rape and domestic abuse reacted to violence against women with anger and, in response to their own assaults, pioneered the advent of rape crisis centers, hotlines, and other victim services around the country. In her article "Toward a New Feminist Theory of Rape", Carine Mardorossian (2002) claims that, while postmodern feminist thought has done the most work in terms of actually *theorizing* about violence against women, these feminist thinkers have mostly focused their theorization on pornography and sexual harassment, but not rape specifically. However, in her book *Rethinking Rape*, scholar Ann J. Cahill (2001) provides an in-depth review of various schools of feminist thought on sexual violence arising out of second-wave feminism, and discusses the impact of pivotal feminist thinkers Susan Brownmiller (1975) and Catharine MacKinnon (1989) on the development of a feminist theory of rape. Despite the differences in how these scholars construct rape and subsequently victims, the underlying questions of agency, gendered embodiment, and defining victimhood are clearly visible. Cahill (2001) claims that these "many analyses of rape relied on its unquestionably horrific nature to demonstrate by extension other aspects of the oppression of women" (p. 15). Subsequent feminist constructions of victims, their bodies, and their (lack of) agency are rooted in a purely political position established within second-wave feminist thought.

Cahill (2001) claims that in her pivotal book *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, Susan Brownmiller (1975) produced the first true theorization of rape and sexual violence which laid the foundation for Catharine MacKinnon's (1989) address of rape as a feminist legal issue. Brownmiller (1975) is the first major theorist to distinguish rape from sexuality by defining rape as a violent expression of power that is "an invasion of bodily integrity" rather than a sexual act

(Brownmiller, 1975, p. 381); however, Brownmiller's (1975) political focus on rape as a violent crime neglects its sexual nature, and in doing so both loses the "patriarchal aspects" (Cahill, 2001, p. 33) of rape and "risks defining women out of any and all agency" (Cahill, 2001, p. 30). Brownmiller, according to Cahill (2001), rests her construction of rape on a biological assumption of inevitable female victims and male perpetrators. The notion of inevitable victimization is something that has not only been carried unchallenged through feminist thought, but is embodied by women and incorporated into sexual violence prevention efforts as truth.

In seeking to remove sexuality from rape, Brownmiller (1989) perpetuates second-wave feminist goals of removing patriarchy from legal discourse in order to establish rape as a punishable crime similar to robbery or assault. However, in claiming that the law's inability to distinguish between consensual (hetero)sexual intercourse and rape rests upon the "underlying cultural assumption that it is the natural masculine role to proceed aggressively" and "the natural feminine role is to "resist" or "submit" (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 385). Brownmiller's (1975) influential book set the standard for future discussions about sexual violence that neglect the possibility of female agency by framing women as natural victims

Catharine MacKinnon (1989), in her book *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, proposed an alternative theory of rape that, while challenging Brownmiller's (1075) definition of rape, nonetheless built upon the biological inevitability of victimization. MacKinnon (1989) argues for reintroducing sexuality into discussions about rape because, as Cahill (2001) explains, "it is precisely in rape's sexual meanings that one finds its violence embedded. To define rape solely or primarily by its violent characteristics to the exclusion of its sexual qualities, then, is paradoxically to miss the specific violence that rape represents" (p. 38). In essence, MacKinnon (1989) follows Brownmiller's (1975) questions about the role of consent in rape and other

violent crimes and makes a radical claim that women have no sexual consent within a patriarchal system, therefore consensual sex is never really consensual. Cahill (2001) posits that in questioning not only rape but consensual heterosexual sex, MacKinnon (1989) challenges feminists to question their assumptions about freedom in women's sexual choices along a dichotomous choice of sexuality *or* agency.

Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989) set up juxtaposed political arguments about rape as a sexual crime; however, both arguments rest upon an essentialist notion of inevitable female victimization. While these early feminist theorists were working from a position that sought to establish violence against women as an issue of public concern, they also set the scene for a discussion of rape that does not consider women as anything but a victim, removing her of all agency and reifying a gendered embodiment that is defined by victimization by a man. In situating Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989), Cahill (2001) claims that "neither theory speaks substantially to the role of rape in the formation of the feminine body, and to the implications of that role in the experience and phenomenon of rape itself (Cahill, 2001, 48). Both theoretical positions strip women of agency for the political purpose of legal reform but, in doing so, neglect the embodied experience of gendered victimization. [1]

[1] There are many contradictory readings of MacKinnon (1989). Cahill (2001) provides a specific reading of MacKinnon (1989) as neglecting individual agency; however, MacKinnon (1989) could also be read as presenting an argument for a lack of agency on a structural level, rather than focusing on agency in the individual. When reading MacKinnon (1989) in the context of individual agency, her argument is situated within the camp of thought that followed Brownmiller (1975) by erasing the potential for agency in discussions of victimization.

Adopting a postmodern framework is what has allowed feminist theorists to move away from an essentialist argument that assumes inevitable female victimhood and toward a conceptualization of sexual violence that both engages female embodiment and challenges essentialist assumptions that lead women to unquestioningly embody femininity as victimhood. If we are to continue theorizing about the root causes and the impacts of rape on real bodies, a postmodern framework that deconstructs the very nature of gendered existence is the strongest way to do so. In shifting away from second wave politicization of victimization to a more postmodern perspective, the concept of victim has taken on a very different meaning. However, current conversations about preventing sexual violence have not yet acknowledged the unquestioned conceptualizations of rape laid out by Brownmiller (1975), MacKinnon (1989), and their second wave counterparts.

New Feminist Theories of Rape: Continuing Tensions Between Agency, Victimization, and Embodiment

The root of the tenuous conversations around sexual violence can be clearly located within the dichotomy of gendered embodiment as agentic or victimized as determined by second-wave feminist theorists. In “Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention”, Sharon Marcus (1992) critiques the dominant model of theorizing rape and sexual assault, or what she refers to as the “continuum theory” of rape (p. 389). This dominant model of rape assumes that a predetermined victim and perpetrator enter into the assault and that all actions in the cycle of violence are equal; there is, in essence, no difference between a penetrative assault and the verbal and physical interaction leading up to it. This model subsumes all aspects of an assault into one homogenous event, “in which rape becomes the inevitable beginning, middle, and end of any interaction” (Marcus, 1992, p. 391). Brownmiller (1975) and

MacKinnon (1989) both adhere to this "continuum theory" of rape by assuming female victimization as an inevitable truth and choosing to theorize the political use of rape as a (sexual) crime, rather than the act itself as an assertion of power against a woman's bodily comportment.

Marcus (1992) challenges this "continuum theory" (p. 389) and calls for a reimagining of rape as a narrative process, allowing for a distinction between what may be considered precursors to rape, and a completed assault. These moments in between each of the assailant's actions are lost within the "continuum" model, but prove crucial to strategizing resistance. Marcus (1992) argues that feminist analyses of rape often fall short of envisioning strategies for women to undermine and resist the process of rape because they position assault as an inevitable truth for all women. Marcus (1992) utilizes postmodern notions of language construction and Foucauldian perspectives on power structures to argue that the rape script is a framework within which gendered decisions are made that lead to performing or resisting the script itself. In essence, Marcus (1992) asserts that the rape script creates and is recreated by the behaviors it elicits. Constructing rape as having always already happened within one moment removes the possibility for a woman to become an agent of resistance.

Marcus's (1992) narrative model of rape argues that the rape script does not create rapists and victims; it creates a process through which a certain bodily comportment is cast in the role of victim or perpetrator. Marcus claims that the narrative process of rape "momentarily makes victims" (1992, p. 391). In other words, women are not inherently victims; they are made victims in the moment of objectification and assault on their feminine bodies by men, and men are not inherently perpetrators; they are made perpetrators when they assert masculine power over feminine bodies. Momentary victims reject a set of fixed characteristics that define victim as a predetermined identity. Marcus explains, "A rapist chooses his target because he recognizes her

to be a woman, but a rapist also strives to imprint the gender identity of 'feminine victim' on his target." (Marcus, 1992, p. 391). It is through the scripted embodiment of a gendered victim in a specific way (read: feminine) that rape comes to exist as a tool of power. Marcus (1992) argues that disrupting gendered embodiment of victimhood disrupts the rape script, but this disruption can only occur if rape is read as a process with temporal continuity for moments of resistance.

Marcus (1992) situates gendered embodiment as crucial for constructing the identity of victim and perpetrator, which has implications for who gets control over specific bodies in specific contexts. Marcus claims that, "Rape exists because our experience and deployment of our bodies is the effect of interpretations, representations, and fantasies which often position [women] in ways amenable to the realization of the rape script: as paralyzed, as incapable of physical violence, as fearful" (1992, p. 400). For Marcus (1992), femaleness is embodied as inherently agentic victimhood. In this framework, men realize masculine power as it relates to feminine powerlessness. Thus, women are directly implicated, yet still powerless, in upholding and constructing male power. Strategies for addressing rape within this structure place all agency in men. Women are expected to simultaneously fear and empathize with the would-be rapist and appeal to his humanity by begging him not to rape her. The man in this position has the power to determine what happens to the woman's body, regardless of her wants and abilities. Again, there are no moments of possible resistance because she is always already a victim and rape has always already occurred.

Marcus (1992) also contends that women are not only objects of male violence but also "subjects of fear" (p. 394). Marcus (1992) argues that the threat of rape creates a constant state of fear, which is capitalized upon by rapists because of the assumed freezing response; therefore, rape causes fear which creates an opportunity for a completed rape, which subsequently creates

more fear. According to Marcus (1992), being a subject of fear fosters a false sense of agency in which feminine fear is constructed as active avoidance of injury or death. The freezing response creates an imaginary subjectivity that removes the potential for resistance. In other words, if freezing in the face of assault is the only viable response option presented to women through the dominant rape script, then it is impossible to say she has made a choice to respond that way because she was never presented with a choice to begin with.

Marcus (1992) presented an approach to rape that was and is radically different from the dominant approach grounded by Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989). Although Marcus's (1992) claim that women play a role in the process of rape position resembles MacKinnon's (1989) claim that women are required to participate in a (hetero)sexual system that upholds their subordination to men, it provides a more nuanced deconstruction of how women come to be thought of as victims within this system of domination. Marcus (1989) emphasizes the role of the female body, not literal women themselves. This theoretical approach to gendered embodiment maintains the importance of rape as a sexual crime, while also acknowledging the patriarchal construction of feminine bodies as victims.

However, the postmodern approach to theorizing rape has not gone unchallenged. Feminist theorist Carine Mardorossian (2002) claims that through postmodern discourse, "…the term victimization itself has simultaneously changed from an external reality imposed on someone to a psychologized inner state that itself triggers crises" (p. 770). Mardorossian (2002) problematizes postmodern feminist frameworks by claiming that it has allowed theorists to attribute the cause of rape to an internalized female passivity that mirrors Brownmiller's and MacKinnon's assumption of biologically inevitable victimization.

Mardorossian (2002) argues for a new theory of rape that addresses the individual and material effects of victimization, but does not find the solution to sexual victimization within those individual narratives. Mardorossian (2002) argues that a postmodern approach to theorizing rape which deconstructs notions of gendered embodiment centers on theoretical bodies, and subsequently neglects the real option of passivity as a strategic move of resistance to rape. In other words, by ignoring women's capacity for resistance, Mardorossian (2002) believes the postmodern approach to theorizing rape again suggests that the only outcome of an attempted assault is a completed one; the woman and her options are removed from the equation. Mardorossian (2002) claims that addressing theoretical bodies in this way denies real women agency over their own bodies.

Mardorossian (2002) calls for a theory of rape that locates the source of male sexual violence in institutional, physical, and cultural practices rather than within women's psyches (or, as Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989) claim, within the biological inevitability of rape). This new theory should seek to, once again, redefine the category of victim. Mardorossian (2002) favors a contemporary narrative of empowerment based on second wave feminist activism that uses victimization as a political tool, over a narrative of postmodern introspection. Mardorossian (2002) accuses postmodern feminist thought of approaching rape from a place of high theory, rather than real bodies; however, Mardorossian's (2002) critique of this feminist theorization of rape falls short when considering how Sharon Marcus (1992) has theorized the construction and material implications of theorizing rape.

Mardorossian (1992) challenges Marcus's (1992) claim about agency and subjectivity by arguing that non-responsiveness is itself a strategy of resistance. Mardorossian (1992) claims that Marcus (1992) presents rape victims as "women whose minds are colonized by a sexual scenario

they could instead learn to recognize and use to prevent the scripted experience" (p. 752). This is the location through which feminist self-defense efforts have entered the conversation within feminist theory. Marcus (1992) argues that freezing in the face of assault is a product of feminine socialization within a script that does not present other viable options. Feminists who advocate for self-defense training emphasize re-learning a femininity that embraces multiple options when faced with an attempted assault. Marcus's (1992) argument establishes a basis upon which empowerment self-defense can create true subjectivity; women are not *expected* to do anything except what they feel is the best option for themselves in the moment.

Mardorossian's (2002) interpretation decontextualizes Marcus's (1992) theoretical arguments and misappropriates her claims. For example, Mardorossian (2002) turns Marcus's (1992) proposal of momentary victims into a victim-blaming argument:

> According to Marcus (1992), the rape script preexists the act of violence and only "momentarily" creates the identities of rapist and victim when enacted. Rape is thus "a scripted interaction in which one person auditions for the role of rapist and strives to maneuver another person into the role of victim, … a process of gendering which we can attempt to disrupt" (391). In other words, it is up to the woman to recognize that her assailant does not simply have the power to rape but that his power is created by the extent to which she succumbs to the social script's efforts to secure her participation. (752)

Mardorossian (2002) broadly critiques Marcus (1992) for her use of high theory and attempts to use the theoretical nature of Marcus's (1992) discussion against her. In an effort to emphasize material bodily consequences, Mardorossian (2002) misinterprets Marcus's (1992) use of a postmodern approach to rape. The postmodern framework, as it is applied by Marcus (1992) is a

way to *theorize about real bodies* in a way that opens us up to questions that are left off the table if we limit discussion to *only the material consequences we see* on real bodies.

The rape script, according to Marcus (1992), does not *cause* rape; it creates roles and casts individuals to play out a scenario of rape in a specific way, which perpetuates the accepted script by making it a reality. Marcus (1992) is arguing that claiming passivity as resistance creates a false sense of agency because that response is set on male terms and women are not actually permitted to *choose* how they respond in the face of assault. The behavioral choice is being made for her through the internalized need to embody acceptable femininity, not because she is making a conscious decision. Therefore, according to Marcus (1992), unquestioned passivity cannot be viewed as resistance because it takes place within the accepted terms of the male centric script.[2] Marcus (1992) is directly challenging Brownmiller's (1975) and MacKinnon's (1989) biological essentialist proposal of women as inevitable victims by emphasizing the social construction of gendered embodiment.

Marcus (1992) is speaking in deconstructed, theoretical terms in response to a political movement that sought to bring attention to violence against women by removing sexuality from

[2] Freezing in the face of an assault should not be equated with capitulating. Empowerment self-defense teaches threat and risk assessment, part of which involves assessing whether or not it is safe to physically resist an assailant. The possibility of resistance is fluid, and not every moment within an assault presents a safe option to resist. By making an active choice to resist or to feign compliance, one is making a decision for their own safety. These options are not mutually exclusive, and it is the option to make decisions regarding one's own body and actions that affords agency to bodies that are in the process of being victimized.

the equation; however, Mardorossian (2002) is applying Marcus's (1992) theorization to all literal responses of passivity. By homogenizing all passive responses as being representative of female agency, Mardorossian (2002) is denying the role of patriarchy in constructing female behavior, subsequently perpetuating the problems of Brownmiller's (1975) assertion that sexuality must be removed from discussions of rape. The socially constructed nature of the feminine fear response must be acknowledged in order to move forward with (re)constructing[3] passivity as a viable choice in the face of sexual assault. Mardorossian's (2002) assertion that passivity is a form of resistance is a crucial component of a feminist analysis of sexual assault because passivity does not equate to acceptance or acquiescence, but that assertion must be situated within the understanding that women's behavior is informed by socially constructed and reinforced ideas about gender.

Marcus (1992) presents a theoretical position from which advocates for empowerment self-defense training can find support. She explains the importance of understanding the ways in which gendered responses to sexual violence are constructed on the level of the body, and the implications this has on the way agency in gender based violence is conceptualized. Mardorossian (2002) expresses the need for a corporeal theory of rape, although she does so through a less than perfect critique of Marcus's (1992) postmodern approach. Mardorossian

[3] Passivity or freezing, as noted by Marcus (1992) and Mardorossian (2002) is a valid response; however, it is also the only response women are expected to produce in the face of assault. At times passivity may indeed be freezing, or inaction; however, (re)constructing some instances of passivity not as *inaction*, but as *an active decision* made to protect oneself from harm, allows women agency in a moment of victimization, and does not deny other avenues for resistance.

(2002) contributes the essential notion of material consequences to what Marcus (1992) lays out as a theory of rape that challenges the inevitability of female victimhood. Both theorists present complicated thoughts on agency, victimization, and the importance of embodiment by challenging dominant narratives established by earlier feminist theorists; however, the crucial piece to theorizing rape in a way that is conducive to prevention efforts involves a marriage of deconstructing victim discourse and embodied female agency into one, corporeal site.

Embodying Theoretical Perspectives

Rape and victimization do not happen in a vacuum; they happen within a socially constructed gender system that rests upon masculine authority. Feminist scholar Ann J. Cahill (2000) argues that femininity is produced and reproduced by rape and the socially supported threat of male-on-female sexual violence. This threat of violence places restrictions on what the female body can and cannot do and determines what space women are safely allowed to occupy. According to Cahill (2000), this causes women and men to internalize femaleness as the constant potential for victimization, and in fact, Howard (1984) found that men perceive victimization as a "feminizing" experience. Femaleness and femininity that is defined by victimization exemplifies the material importance of understanding gendered embodiment.

Sexual assault prevention efforts must incorporate new, empowering perspectives on what it means to be a victim and how constructed beliefs about gender are displayed on the body and through sexual violence discourse. Mardorossian (2002) presents a discussion of victimization to real bodies, but she only focuses on bodies as being victimized, inferring that discussions of agency denies victimhood. If we only pay attention to victimized bodies as lacking agency, then we underscore the inevitability of victimization. The intersection created by Marcus's (1992) critique of inevitable victimhood and feminist support for empowering women

to resist assault paired with Mardorossian's (2002) emphasis on accessible corporeality provides a space for a feminist theorization of rape and the consequences of patriarchal constructions of agency and victimization on gendered embodiment that informs research on sexual assault prevention.

Martha McCaughey explores this very intersection in her 1997 book *Real Knockouts: The Physical Feminism of Women's Self-Defense.* McCaughey (1997) explains that the tension between bodily agency and victimization which has occupied the dominant feminist narrative around sexual violence constructs a false dichotomy between these two concepts. This false dichotomy is exemplified in feminist discourse surrounding self-defense training:

> I do not suggest that women can embrace agency and thereby will themselves out of victimization – as though self-defense offered women the choice of agency *over* victimization. Women's victimization and agency must be understood together, since they operate simultaneously in women's lives. Offering a theory and politics of women's self-defense, then, need not imply that women can kick and scream their way out of systematic oppression. (McCaughey, 1997, xii)

McCaughey (1997) argues for a feminist theory that revisits what it means to both have agency *and* be a victim within female embodiment. This notion challenges the agency/victim dichotomy set up by early feminist theorists. She proposes that feminist self-defense training is the site upon which women can establish a femininity that is not defined by victimhood, but still experiences victimization as a feminine body.

McCaughey's (1997; 1998) resistance approach to rape provides a corporeal aspect to Marcus's (1992) theoretical propositions. In order to (re)construct passivity as an active choice, like Mardorossian (2002) suggests we do, there needs to be another option from which to choose.

According to McCaughey (1997), that is where self-defense training comes in and "demands that feminism get physical" (p. xiii) to establish aggression as one acceptable way to embody femininity. Feminist self-defense is rooted in female empowerment, and challenges the naturalization of female victimhood and male aggression. The embodied experience of a femininity that actively resists being defined by victimization disrupts a cycle of feminist thought that has, for so long, let essentialist notions dictate how sexual violence is addressed as both a social and legal issue.

Chapter Two: Defining Empowerment Self-Defense Training as a Feminist Endeavor

During the 1960s and 1970s, second wave feminist consciousness raising and activism produced important achievements for the women's rights movement (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2013). These achievements particularly impacted survivors of sexual assault and domestic violence, with marked growth in rape crisis centers, sexual assault hotlines, and domestic violence shelters. These services primarily addressed the *aftermath* of a sexual assault, but not necessarily the *causes* of assault; therefore, some feminists responded by pushing for self-defense training as a way of addressing the roots of gender based violence through sexual assault prevention (Searles & Berger, 1987). The current focus of sexual assault prevention programs, in both feminist and anti-feminist discussions, has focused primarily on reducing women's risk of victimization, but less emphasis is placed on how perpetration of sexual assault can actually be prevented.

According to Patricia Searles and Ronald Berger (1987), the movement for violence prevention can be broadly divided into two approaches: individual and environmental. The individual approach focuses on increasing one's abilities and skills while decreasing potential vulnerabilities. The environmental approach focuses on changing social and structural factors that are associated with crime perpetration. Empowerment self-defense utilizes a very particular individualized approach to personal safety that also has the potential to impact the environmental factors at play in violence prevention, thus entering into the realm of true prevention and not just risk reduction. As many feminist scholars before me (Madden & Sokol, 1994; McCaughey, 1998), I argue that empowerment self-defense training provides a feminist approach to sexual assault prevention because it addresses the nuances of victimization while also providing women the agency to reclaim their bodies from patriarchal assumptions.

Feminist Pedagogy in Empowerment Self-Defense Training

Empowerment self-defense utilizes a pedagogical approach which can be identified by two main factors: a centrality of physicality and an emphasis of perpetrator responsibility (Thomson, 2014). Researchers Gidycz and Dardis (2014) define a feminist approach to self-defense as one that teaches with the assumption that women are physically and emotionally capable of defending themselves. Empowerment self-defense training, according to this ideology, teaches transferrable verbal skills and basic physical techniques that cater to different body types and do not require years of training to master (Gidycz & Dardis, 2014; Madden & Sokol, 1997). One goal of empowerment self-defense training, like that of many other prevention programs, is to reduce the occurrence of completed sexual assault; however, empowerment self-defense training attempts to achieve this goal by encouraging women to reclaim control over their own bodies and teaching them how to do so in a safe and effective way.

Empowerment self-defense programs move beyond the stereotyped media portrayal of strangers attacking white, middle-class women in a park at night and places focus on acquaintance and partner violence. This is done with the understanding that sexual violence does not happen in a vacuum; every woman faces a different threat based on her own identities, and certain groups of women have better access to resources than others (Madden & Sokol, 1994). The instructors are comprehensively trained to understand the individualized needs of each student and encourage connections within the group, inclusive of race, class, and other differences. This intersectional approach maintains a feminist perspective that acknowledges the differences in women's experiences with victimization.

In addition, the application of these techniques is not limited to fighting off an attacker on the street. Instructors acknowledge the reality that sexual assault often occurs in a familiar place

with a familiar person, and without any bystanders to intervene. Instructors of empowerment self-defense teach in a clear, step-by-step process in order to help students develop muscle memory that can recognize and override an adrenalized response outside of the classroom (Madden & Sokol, 1994). Thompson (2014) claims that instructors of empowerment self-defense are tasked with the creation of a safe and judgment free classroom where students are encouraged to listen to their bodies and process emotions. Communicating with one's body can also help survivors of sexual assault distinguish between regret and self-blame (Madden & Sokol, 1994); this requires a physical awareness and sensitivity to what one's body is doing and feeling, while acknowledging the gendered construction of certain responses and behaviors within a script of victimization and perpetration.

While one does gain a sense of physical awareness and new physical skills in a self-defense course, an empowerment self-defense course also approaches violence with a trauma sensitive lens, and discusses the intersections of identities within gender-based violence. The instructional techniques used in an empowerment self-defense course empowers women to find their voice in a society which devalues female power and strength. This is not limited to just physically resisting an assault, as these instructional techniques and skills provided to students help break down emotional barriers to resistance that make setting and enforcing boundaries with family, friends, and intimate partners difficult. Part of teaching self-defense with a feminist approach is demonstrating that women have the right and ability to assert their boundaries and personal safety with all people (Thompson, 2014).

Perhaps most important is self-defense's physical disruption of a femininity built around notions of inherent weakness. Drawing on the postmodern ideology of gender as a socially constructed set of behaviors which are naturalized through their simultaneous (re)construction

and (re)enforcement, McCaughey (1997) argues that the sexual politics which produce the expectation of feminine womanhood are directly challenged by empowerment self-defense. As McCaughey explains, "since male domination demands specific bodily investments, its transformation will require new bodies" (1997, pp. 202-203). Deviations from the expected embodiment of gender, such as women who fight back or yell, are labeled unfeminine; therefore, in order to uphold this gendered status quo, women are socially conditioned to believe they are incapable of successfully resisting. Those who train in self-defense engage in a physical feminism that creates "new bodily habits" and "change[s] what it means to be a woman" (1997, p. 137).

It is through the practice of physically resisting naturalized male power that women are made aware of their ability to thwart both sexual assault and social subordination. Empowerment self-defense training provides both tools of sexual assault resistance and ways to subvert patriarchal domination. Redefining womanhood can also redefine a potential perpetrator's ideas about women. Marcus (1992) asserted that the role of victim and perpetrator are momentary identities, and McCaughey places Marcus's deconstruction of victimhood directly into self-defense terms:

> The rapist and his victim are not in some primal predator-prey relationship; those are precisely the terms of the event that the act of self-defense rejects. The ethos of rape culture is radically transformed in self-defense instruction not only because women consciously adopt and make habit new features and voices, but because their lives change after their involvement. (1997, p. 132)

McCaughey (1997) clearly lays out the feminist implications for empowerment self-defense in challenging the control masculinist norms have over a society that performs the power dynamic

of gender in a specific way. Empowerment self-defense provides a feminist answer to the issue of sexual assault.

Feminist Ambivalence About Self-Defense Training

Self-defense training in general has a troubled history within the American feminist movements and has often faced severe backlash. The (sometimes negative) feminist response to self-defense training is influenced by a multitude of factors, but perhaps the most salient factor influencing these critiques is the construction of femininity as weak and incapable. Jocelyn Hollander (2009) explains that the critiques she has experienced in her process of researching and writing on self-defense training within the feminist community have come to represent feminist resistance not only to self-defense training, but "to women's resistance to violence more generally, and, I think, to women's empowerment" (p. 2). Most of these feminist critiques of self-defense are seen not in published work, but in conversations within academic and activist circles; feminist backlash is mostly visible through feedback on publication submissions and conference presentations that advocate for self-defense training (J. Cermele, Personal communication, April 6, 2017; Russell, 2007).

Some major feminist critiques of self-defense training are that it is victim blaming, that it perpetuates male narratives of violence, and that it is impossible or too dangerous for women to do (Hollander, 2009; McCaughey, 1997). I will now discuss these feminist critiques of self-defense and offer responses from other feminist scholars in favor of empowerment self-defense training as a tool of sexual assault prevention.

Victim Blaming

One of the most salient critiques of self-defense is the notion that it somehow places blame on the victim rather than the perpetrator (Hollander, 2009; McCaughey, 1997). There are

many people who argue that self-defense creates an expectation for women to change their behavior in order to prevent sexual assault; however, self-defense is a precautionary tool of empowerment that does not restrict a woman's freedom in any way like most risk reducing behavioral changes do. Self-defense training arms women with the knowledge that their own body is capable of resisting with or without the assistance of other material tools of precaution, such as pepper spray or a sharp keychain.

According to Madden and Sokol (1994), self-defense training directly combats victim blaming in three ways. First, empowerment self-defense instructors maintain perpetrator responsibility regardless of whether a victim has trained in self-defense or not. As Sharon Marcus explains, "the ethical burden to prevent rape does not lie with [women], but with rapists and a society which upholds them" but, "we will be waiting a very long time if we wait for men to decide not to rape" (1992, p. 400). In response to a study conducted by Senn et al. (2015) that found self-defense training decreases the risk of complete sexual assault, scientist Sarah DeGue of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, who worked on the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault claimed, "It's possible that potential perpetrators could encounter individuals who have received training and just move on to more vulnerable individuals" (Hoffman, 2015). This insinuates that women who fight back against an assailant are responsible for the future actions of their attacker. Part of the goal of empowerment self-defense is to empower survivors of sexual assault to re-claim the strength of their bodies when they feel they have lost, or never knew they had, the right to do so.[4]

[4] While there are many benefits to training in self-defense, a woman cannot be held responsible for a perpetrator's decision to commit a sexual assault, regardless of the outcome or her level of

The second way which Madden and Sokol (1994) claim empowerment self-defense combats victim blaming is that it educates individuals on and distinguishes between characterological self-blame and behavioral self-blame. Characterological self-blame involves believing that one is responsible for the violence committed against oneself because one is a bad person, while behavioral self-blame emphasizes the actions taken during an assault. Through empowerment self-defense training, a survivor of assault can learn to distinguish between regret over an event that has occurred, and feelings of responsibility for the perpetrator's actions. When these emotions are identified, they can help survivors heal and be used to inform future interactions. Through empowerment-based models of self-defense training, survivors are encouraged to use the emotions they are feeling while processing their assault (or an attempted assault) to power their movements in training (Prepare, 2016).

Finally, Madden and Sokol (1994) claim that empowerment self-defense training teaches that even though it is easy to look back on an assault and locate the moments of possible resistance after being trained in self-defense, that does not mean one did something wrong in the moment of an assault. Everything is clear in hindsight, and just because a survivor now knows things they did not know before, does not mean that survivor was responsible for the assault. Self-defense training serves to arm women with new tools so they can gain confidence in what

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training. Empowerment self-defense training provides choices, not requirements, for resistance. The ability to make a choice about one's own body is what centers agency within the discussion of sexual violence prevention, and what differentiates self-defense training from other methods of prevention programming.

their body is capable of. Empowerment self-defense is built upon agency in survivorship, because opportunities to re-claim bodily autonomy after an assault are few and far between. [5]

Self-Defense as Masculinist Violence

Another feminist critique of self-defense training is the notion that aggression is considered a masculine trait that directly contributes to the perseverance of violence against women (Hollander, 2009; McCaughey, 1997); therefore, when women behave in a way that is considered aggressive by training to physically and verbally resist an attempted assault, some feminists would argue that they are using the master's tools by engaging in violent acts just as a man might. As Glenda Russell (2007) explains through her qualitative research on feminist ambivalence to self-defense training, "In this frame, women's violence—even in self-defense—is equated with patriarchy, with male aggression" (p. 9).

As feminist scholars have pointed out, this notion of inherent masculine aggression and female peacefulness is a social construct which reifies stereotyped gender roles (Marcus, 1992; McCaughey, 1998). McCaughey (1997) explains that embracing the physical aggression of empowerment self-defense "prompts a reexamination of our understandings of violence and resistance to it, of ideologies of gender, and of feminist theory itself" (p. 2). The feminist critique that training in self-defense to combat male violence is anti-feminist because it *is* violence is, in a sense, anti-feminist because it upholds an essentialist model in which women have no agency.

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[5] In discussing agency and sexual violence, there has been much debate about terminology surrounding victims and survivors. Some argue that survivor is a more empowering label than victim, however the shifting definition of victimhood, as discussed in Chapter One, highlights the linguistic difficulties around this discussion.

It is empowerment self-defense's interaction with the construction of gendered behavior that gives it such potential to prevent sexual assault on an environmental level because it directly addresses the root social causes of gender-based violence. As McCaughey explains, "what is revealed so clearly in self-defense classes is the level at which gender is incorporated into the body" (1997, p. 132); the body which plays host to naturalized gender differences is also the place where these differences can be disrupted. The act of training in empowerment self-defense simultaneously creates space for the discussion of how gendered notions of violence and aggression construct behavior, while also actively disrupting those behaviors. Russell (2007) also explains that women fear they may enjoy being violent, and within this frame of thought they often disregard the male assailant's use violence for the purpose of assault in favor of critiquing the role of her violence as self-protective. The claim that behaving aggressively in self-defense training is equitable to male aggression in violence against women disregards the notion that expectations for women's behavior are set on male terms, as Marcus (2002) has made clear through her dissection of patriarchal sexual violence.

Self-Defense is Impossible and Dangerous

The third most common critique of self-defense training is that it is too dangerous and women are not physically capable of actually thwarting an assault (Hollander, 2009; McCaughey, 1997). In response to the argument that women are physically incapable of fighting back against an assailant, McCaughey (1997) states that "women's size or strength is far less relevant than the social investment in a female body that does not exert coercive force" (p. 95). In other words, it is not actually about how strong a woman is; it is again about a woman's ability to assert force in a way that is typically reserved for men. The myth that women are physically incapable of fighting back against an assailant has been debunked repeatedly through

empirical research; in fact, physically resisting an assailant has actually been found to reduce the likelihood of completed assault (Senn et al., 2015; Ullman, 2007) without increasing the risk of further injury (Tark & Kleck, 2014; Ullman, 1998).

An assumption of inevitable victimization as a result of having a female body follows the sustained theoretical framework laid out by Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989). Feminist ambivalence about self-defense training expresses that, although we seek to stop rape from occurring, we are hesitant to acknowledge solutions that may challenge the gendered status quo or the theoretical and legal work that has established rape as a legitimate crime. Again, if we continue to construct women as naturally passive victims and men as naturally dominating aggressors, then we do nothing to challenge the structures within which gender based violence exists. Feminists must work through this gender normative ambivalence in order to tackle the issue of violence prevention without perpetuating constructions of victimized femininity and dominating masculinity.

Chapter Three: Bystander Intervention Ideology in Campus Sexual Assault Prevention Efforts

According to the Rape and Incest National Network (2016), sexual assault is the most common crime committed on college campuses, with college women being twice as likely to be sexual assaulted than robbed. College aged women are also four times more likely to be assaulted than women in general. These alarming statistics on campus sexual assault highlight the severity of the nationwide issue of sexual assault prevention. Bystander intervention programs tend to be the preferred method of sexual assault prevention education on college campuses; therefore, in this chapter, I will review several sexual assault prevention programs from an empirical feminist perspective and problematize their dependency on bystander intervention ideology as primary sexual assault prevention.

While bystander intervention education is an important intervention into sexual violence, sexual assault prevention education programs are often constructed around common rape myth narratives and are rarely informed by feminist theories of sexual violence which emphasize the role of victimization, agency, and embodiment. However, sexual assault prevention education is the site with the most at stake in terms of material consequences. These programs are being relied upon by colleges and universities across the country to change the culture of violence and reduce the occurrence of sexual assault on campus. In this chapter, I will focus on a range of college-level bystander intervention programs designed to fill the federal requirement to educate students on issues of sexual violence through different methods including peer-education theater and interactive online interfaces.

Bystander Intervention Framework for Sexual Assault Prevention

Bystander intervention seeks to establish sexual assault as a community problem with a community solution, in which every individual is implicated in the prevention of assault

(Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2005). Bystander intervention is by far the most popular method of sexual assault prevention education on college campuses, with the idea that that students will form a personal connection to the prevention of sexual violence and will in turn feel more confident in identifying and safely intervening in potentially violent situations (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007). The curricula of bystander intervention programs focus overwhelmingly on encouraging others to act on behalf of a woman who is deemed incapable of navigating potentially dangerous situations. Bystander intervention, while motivating community level action in specific situations, often neglects the ability of individual women to act on their own behalf. McCaughey and Cermele (2015) argue that bystander intervention programs perpetuate deep rooted benevolent sexism. Despite the benefits of bystander training, bystander intervention education does not challenge the male dominated script of assault. Bystanders are afforded the same power and authority over women which men already have in the existing rape script.

The Green Dot Program

The Green Dot is one of many bystander intervention programs that are implemented on college campuses across the nation. The Green Dot model includes two components: an inspirational and educational speech, and a training session for a population of student leaders who are expected to diffuse that information and behavior patterns to other students. Like other bystander intervention programs, the purpose of this program is to educate students on bystander intervention and encourage them to intervene as bystanders rather than just observe. The Green Dot seeks to teach students to understand how victims are targeted, identify potentially violent situations, safely and effectively intervene, and eventually shift the focus from just helping victims to identifying perpetrator behavior before a crime is committed (Coker et al., 2014).

The Green Dot website claims a 50% reduction in sexual violence was found in a study funded by the CDC (See https://www.livethegreendot.com for more information). While this study did find that The Green Dot program is associated with lower rates of sexual violence such as stalking and harassment, it did not find lower rates of rape occurring on these Green Dot campuses (Coker et al., 2014). One reason for this may be that for bystander intervention to be an effective method of preventing rape, there must be bystanders present when an assault is imminent or occurring. Seven out of ten rapes are perpetrated by someone known to the victim, and these assaults occur most often in the privacy of the home (RAINN, 2013). Bystander intervention programs like The Green Dot are successful at reducing forms of assault that occur in (semi-)public spaces, but not assaults that occur within private spaces between intimate partners or acquaintances.

SCREAM Theater

SCREAM Theater is another bystander intervention program that uses a slightly different approach to education than the Green Dot. SCREAM Theater is a 75-minute performance that uses Peer-Education Theater to depict a realistic sexual assault scenario at a college party with opportunities for bystander intervention before, during, and after the assault. The actors depict a variety of reactions to the victim, including victim blaming and disbelief. At the end of the performance the actors engage in a talkback as their characters so the audience can ask questions about their motivation and behavior. This program was found to decrease rape myth acceptance while increasing positive attitudes toward bystander intervention (McMahon, Postmus, Warrener, & Koenick, 2014). While these attitudinal changes are promising, there is no support for behavioral change as a result of this program.

The creators of the SCREAM Theater program emphasize the theory behind Peer-Education Theater as being a crucial component to successful bystander intervention training (McMahon, Postmus, Warrener, & Koenick, 2014). I argue that these researchers jump to a conclusion that this method will help spread bystander intervention behavior without exploring what bystander intervention actually means for the real bodies involved in its practice. The audience of SCREAM Theater does not get involved in the program until the very end when the characters sit down for a question and answer session where audience members are encouraged to ask about each character's behavior choice. Each time, the characters play a very specific role and the narrative of the story goes unchanged. Much like The Green Dot program, SCREAM Theater continues to construct women as passive victims without agency through assumptions about bystander intervention.

For example, one pivotal moment during the SCREAM Theater performance is when the assailant isolates the victim and has her pinned down to the bed. She is very drunk, and is clearly not consenting to the activity. In this moment, a friend from the party walks into the room, witnesses the situation, and leaves because he does not realize an assault is taking place; he thinks his friend is just having sex with another girl from the party. The assault is completed and the story moves on to dealing with the aftermath of the assault and the various social responses the victim faces. It is in this moment that the audience receives the message of bystanders being the only hope for thwarting an assault.

Not Anymore

A third example of a program which teaches bystander intervention is the Not Anymore program. Not Anymore is an online rape prevention education program utilized by many college campuses, including Drew University. This program is customizable and allows each campus to

choose modules specific to their interests, including alcohol and drugs, bystander intervention, and rape myth education (Student Success, 2009). The optional modules of this program display video vignettes of bystander intervention at parties, survivor testimonials, informational slides, and periodic quizzes that must be passed in order to receive a certificate of completion. The length of the program depends on which modules a school chooses.[6]

Not Anymore is drastically under-researched compared to other popular bystander intervention programs; however, what little independent research that does exist indicates that students are not gaining much from it. Research on The Green Dot and SCREAM Theater has presented the issues within bystander intervention programs that require further investigation and may shed light on ways to improve bystander education, but programs like Not Anymore are just as popular yet may produce drastically different results than other programs.

Problematizing Bystander Intervention Ideology

Bystander skills are most readily applicable to individual instances of sexual harassment occurring against another person, but they are only applicable up to a certain point. The Green

[6] Based on independent research conducted by McNulty (2014) and Wilson (2015), The Drew University Not Anymore program used in academic years 2014-2016 took students about four hours to complete, and most students did not take it seriously. Not Anymore allows a university to check a box stating they provided the information to students, despite the lack of theoretical development and inability to address the underlying social causes behind campus sexual assault. Aside from the internal data published by Student Success (2009), the company that created the Not Anymore program, there has been very little published research on the efficacy of this program at reducing campus sexual assault.

Dot teaches students to intervene on behalf of another person and in what is a very narrow conceptualization of where and how sexual violence occurs. Bystander intervention problematically assumes the constant presence of a bystander who is capable of intervening safely and effectively in a potential assault. Bystander intervention is only applicable in situations where bystanders are present, and neglecting to address this caveat creates gap that has serious material consequences. The individual woman is taught to act for the benefit of the community, rather than to act for herself.

The popularity of bystander intervention programs may be in part because they sit nicely within the gendered status quo; Bystander intervention programs continue to hold the constructed notion of masculine indestructibleness against an image of weak and passive femininity without truly addressing the underlying issues behind male perpetration of sexual assault. McCaughey and Cermele explain "the attitudes that support and maintain rape culture are underscored and reinforced [through bystander intervention programs], rather than challenged" (2015, p. 26). Bystander intervention programs repeatedly represent women as agentic and place men in a perpetual position of power in deciding what happens to a woman's body, situating men as saviors and preventing us from viewing them as perpetrators of a crime (McCaughey & Cermele, 2015). Women are expected to play the role of damsel in distress and endure assaults by men while waiting to be rescued by a male savior.

Bystander intervention programs like The Green Dot, SCREAM Theater, and Not Anymore set up a perspective on rape that follows the Marcus's (1992) continuum model in which the individual moments of rape are subsumed into one collapsible event, as opposed to her narrative model, which re-conceptualizes rape as having in-between moments where resistance is possible, and a sexual assault completion can be prevented at any point in the process. By

neglecting to address what happens when a would-be perpetrator and victim are alone, traditional bystander intervention programs inherently disregard these in-between moments; instead, bystander intervention programs either imply or overtly state that sexual assault can either be stopped when a bystander is present, or it cannot be stopped at all (McCaughey & Cermele, 2015). If sexual assault prevention programs present waiting for bystander intervention as the only option out of an impending assault, that is likely the way women will respond to an assault.

These theoretical oversights are particularly troubling, given the known differences between risk factors for various types of assault. Bystander intervention programs are marketed as blanket programs that present the key to preventing sexual assault on college campuses, but these programs only address a facet of what is at play in the epidemic of sexual assault on college campuses. Colleges cannot continue to present this as the only viable option for preventing assault. These programs, even those which are well-constructed and researched, neglect to challenge gendered scripts within which sexual violence occurs, thereby reifying male power and female powerlessness by inherently positioning women as passive victims, and neglecting to address the most likely contexts in which rapes are committed. In essence, bystander intervention programs perpetuate the notion of inevitable female victimhood as laid out by early feminist theorists.

According to bystander intervention ideology, resistance is not an option. Prevention efforts must work to change this script in favor of women claiming control of their own bodies to show that women are capable of successfully and forcefully resisting assault on their own terms. A successful prevention education program needs to build upon and go further than what bystander intervention education accomplishes alone. As noted by McCaughey and Cermele

(2015), traditional bystander intervention programs are not the *only* option for preventing sexual assault and, therefore, should be presented alongside other options.

Chapter Four: Outcomes of Self-Defense and Self-Defense Training

While most sexual assault prevention programs focus on bystander intervention, there are other programs that incorporate self-defense training into their curricula. Arguments about self-defense training, while theoretically sound, only make sense if there is data to indicate that self-defense and self-defense training work at reducing rates of completed sexual assault. Researchers throughout multiple disciplines, including psychology, have taken up the task of exploring the outcomes of both training in self-defense and resisting attempted assaults.

Efficacy of Resistance and Self-Defense

When women were asked to describe a hypothetical assault, their narratives almost always contained nonforceful resistance such as begging or pleading, but rarely contained acts of forceful, physical resistance (Turchik et al., 2009). There was a significant correlation between narratives containing nonforceful resistance and women who had experienced sexual assault. The data on women's responses to assault indicate that forms of nonforceful resistance such as begging or pleading are correlated with completed assaults; therefore, women who construct a rape narrative with nonforceful resistance are more like to use nonforceful resistance during an assault, and are subsequently more likely to experience a completed assault because nonforceful resistance strategies are less effective at thwarting assault. The data indicate that this may be problematic for women; non-forceful resistance has been found to be significantly less effective at thwarting an assault than forceful resistance (see Ullman, 2007 for a review of literature), and women who attempted only nonforceful resistance during a completed assault reported experiencing more anxiety and self-blame regarding their assault than women who also utilized forceful resistance (Brecklin & Ullman, 2004).

Our cultural discourse rarely includes examples of women powerfully, forcefully, and effectively resisting sexual assault (Cermele, 2010), and yet, current research has established that self-defense is effective at thwarting assaults. This means that physically fighting back against an assailant, when possible, is more likely to prevent a completed rape from occurring than if a potential victim was to beg or plead with an assailant. Physically resisting an assailant challenges the notion of internalized and inevitable female victimization.

This has been documented in a number of empirical studies. In 1997, Sarah Ullman brought women's resistance into the scholarly conversation with a groundbreaking article documenting the efficacy of women's resistance against sexual assault; ten years later, her follow-up article showed the increase in research on women's self-defense, with similar findings. These findings remain robust; research has found that assertive verbal and physical resistance works to thwart an assault (Clay-Warner, 2002; Gidycz & Dardis, 2014; Senn et al., 2015) without increasing the likelihood of personal injury (Tark & Kleck, 2014; Ullman, 1998).

Efficacy of Self-Defense Training

Given that women's physical and verbal resistance is effective at reducing the likelihood of a completed sexual assault, it is important to challenge assumptions of inevitable victimization by making these options known to women, which is something self-defense training accomplishes. While the research of Ullman (1997; 2007) and others indicates that self-defense training is not required in order for women to defend themselves, providing such training should increase the likelihood that women will consider resistance a viable option. Internalized social expectations of femaleness as passive victim does not allow for resistance to exist without a strong intervention into the way gendered violence is addressed.

Studies have demonstrated that self-defense training actually reduces women's likelihood of experiencing completed assault. For example, Hollander (2014) found that women who were trained in self-defense reported lower rates of sexual victimization after completing training than women who did not train in self-defense; in fact, in a one-year follow up, none of the women trained in self-defense reported experiencing a completed sexual assault. In another study by Senn et al. (2015) of almost 900 women examining a sexual assault prevention program that utilizes self-defense training as a core component of its curriculum, it was found that students who trained in self-defense had a significantly lower risk of experiencing attempted and completed rape during the year following their training. The lower rates of sexual victimization after self-defense training, as indicated by Hollander (2014) and Senn et al. (2015) indicates that self-defense training actually disrupts the cycle of violence.

Moreover, the benefits of self-defense training go beyond the critical outcome of reducing the risk of completed sexual assaults. Multiple studies demonstrate that self-defense training also provides a number of other important benefits to women. Living in a rape culture can create numerous psychological challenges, including pervasive fear, feelings of vulnerability and self-blame, and a sense of helplessness and disempowerment. Self-defense training shifts those feelings by providing women a range of options for resisting rape and sexual violence.

For example, sexual assault prevention programs that incorporate self-defense training have been found to increase self-protective behavior in productive ways, such as awareness of risk factors, assertive sexual communication, and likelihood of reporting an assault to authorities (Gidycz et al. 2006). Much of the advice offered to women about avoiding assault focuses on ways in which they should limit their behavior, such as not being alone, not going out at night, or not wearing certain types of clothing. Instead, self-defense training provides women with

options that allow them to increase, rather than decrease, their freedom and mobility, while at the same time maintaining their safety.

In addition, self-defense training can reduce feelings of self-blame, and can help women assign blame where it belongs: to the perpetrator. Women who have experienced sexual violence who completed some form of self-defense training shifted the assignment of blame to the perpetrator rather than to themselves, and report experiencing more external emotional responses, such as anger, than internal emotional responses, such as guilt (Brecklin & Ullman, 2004). After completing self-defense training as part of a sexual assault prevention education program, more women reported successfully thwarting attacks, and those who experienced victimization felt less personal responsibility for the assault and were more likely to blame the perpetrator (Gidycz et al., 2006). These findings indicate that self-defense training works at both helping women resist assault and displacing internalization of victim-blaming attitudes post-assault.

Furthermore, self-defense training increases feelings of self-efficacy and self-confidence. In 1990, Ozer and Bandura reported that women in self-defense training had higher levels of assertiveness, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. Similarly, Brecklin (2008) found that female self-defense participants felt stronger and more assertive following their training. These findings appear to hold true regardless of who the assailant is; women who participated in a 30-hour empowerment self-defense class maintained significantly higher self-efficacy and self-confidence in thwarting an assault with a stranger, acquaintance, and intimate partner (Hollander, 2014). It is particularly important that this finding is true for acquaintances and intimates, given that women are more likely to be assaulted by someone they know than a stranger.

The individual benefits of self-defense training are clear; however, very little is known about the impact this has on a community at large, and what impact this training may have for those who do not actually participate in training. The lowered risk for completed sexual assault found by Hollander (2014) and Senn et al. (2015) indicates that self-defense training could have a community-level impact on sexual assault perpetration. This is consistent with the argument presented by McCaughey and Cermele (2015), that self-defense training in fact creates not just individual but population-level change.

There are many different ways of assessing population-level change. One way is to examine the impact of self-defense training on the likelihood of bystander invention. Participants in self-defense training display more self-efficacy and assertiveness, which may correlate with bystander intervention behavior. Individuals who complete empowerment self-defense training are more likely to intervene on their own behalf as evidenced by increases in self-protective behavior (Gidycz et al. 2006); therefore, it may be that there is a spillover effect to protective behaviors for others as well.

Another way to examine whether self-defense creates population-level change is to explore whether knowing that women in their community are skilled in resistance strategies impacts men's choices about aggressive or violent sexual behavior. Empowerment self-defense training puts into practice feminist theories that deconstruct patriarchal impositions of gendered embodiment of victimization as lacking agency. The presence of this training within a community disrupts male narratives by presenting an alternative narrative of women as non-victims and allowing for a (re)imagining of women as agents of resistance rather than passive receivers of male violence.

Chapter Five: Theoretical Implications and Quantitative Outcomes of Empowerment Self-Defense Training as a Feminist Model for Sexual Assault Prevention

In 2016, the CDC released an updated set of guidelines for sexual assault prevention entitled "STOP SV: A Technical Package to Prevent Sexual Violence". In this update, the CDC recommends "empowerment-based training for women to reduce risk for victimization" (p. 21). This is the first federal endorsement of empowerment self-defense training as sexual assault prevention; however, in 2015 McCaughey and Cermele presented a strong summarizing argument for incorporating empowerment self-defense training into primary prevention efforts. The feminist movement in favor of empowerment self-defense has already started on college campuses across the nation, prompting further empirical research into the measurable outcomes of self-defense training. It is already known that self-defense is has many individual benefits, including reduction of likelihood of attempted and completed assault, as discussed in Chapter Three. The current chapter presents an examination of empowerment self-defense training as both an individual and community-level intervention into sexual assault on college campuses.

Study One: Individual Outcomes of Empowerment Self-Defense Training

Rationale

Existing literature tells us that training in self-defense has a number of benefits, including increasing the chances of successfully thwarting an assault (Clay-Warner, 2002; Gidycz & Dardis, 2014; Senn et al., 2015; Tark & Kleck, 2014; Ullman, 1998), effectively reducing risk of completed sexual assault (Hollander, 2014; Senn et al., 2015). The individual impact of self-defense training is clear through increases in self-efficacy, self-determination, and risk perception (Hollander, 2014; Gidycz et al., 2006; Ozer &Bandura, 1990). However, less is known about how self-defense training impacts the decisions people make about intervening on

their own behalf, or on behalf of others. Self-defense training is likely to accomplish what bystander training does not, in that it teaches people how to intervene safely and effectively for both themselves and others, which may impact their decisions to intervene in high-stress situations. As suggested in Chapter Three, bystander intervention is an important piece of sexual assault prevention; therefore, this study also seeks to add bystander intervention to the investigation of self-defense training.

The goals of Study One are to replicate the findings in the literature regarding the impact of self-defense training on risk perception, self-efficacy, and self-determination. In addition, this study also examines the decision-making process behind using resistance strategies. Decisional balance, or the weighing of pros and cons when making a decision, is a factor that has been considered when examining bystander intervention behavior. It has been found that educational programs can positively impact decisional balance, meaning participants placed more decisional value on potential positive outcomes than on potential negative consequences for intervening (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007). While research has established that self-defense training makes women believe they have the capability to resist an assault, less is known about the decisional process behind initiating resistance. Therefore, it is important to include the variable of decisional balance, as it is likely related to, but distinct from, self-efficacy.

There are five hypotheses in this study:

1. Participants in self-defense training would value the potential benefits over the potential negative consequences of utilizing self-defense techniques, therefore becoming more likely to engage in resistance strategies.
2. Participants would report higher bystander self-efficacy.
3. Participants would report lower perceived vulnerability to assault.

4. Participants would report higher self-determination.
5. Participants would report higher self-defense self-efficacy.

Method

Participants. Participants in this study consisted of 14 female students aged 20-22 (M=20.5) from a semester long course on women's resistance to gender violence at a small liberal arts college in northern New Jersey. One male participant began the study but did not complete participation and was subsequently excluded from all data analysis. Participants were compensated $5 in the form of an Amazon gift card for each survey completed, and upon completion of both pretest and posttest measures, were entered to win a $20 Amazon gift card.

IMPACT©. The self-defense program consisted of full-impact empowerment-based self-defense training through Prepare Inc., an IMPACT© organization that offers a wide array of comprehensive, trauma informed, violence prevention programs that cater to different populations (Prepare, 2016). This course is explicitly feminist in orientation and fits the guidelines of what constitutes feminist, empowerment-based self-defense (see Thompson, 2014). Many of the recommendations made by Madden and Sokol (1997) and Gidycz and Dardis (2014) which were discussed in Chapter Two are also implemented by the Prepare teaching method. The self-defense course is taught through weekly four-hour sessions for five weeks, while the workshop is completed in one three-hour session.

The curriculum covers a variety of physical and verbal resistance strategies, including extensive practice of self-protective and bystander-intervention skills with highly trained instructors. The material is always taught by a lead female instructor, with male instructors assisting in full body armor. Students in both the workshop and basics course practice full-force blows in a simulated assault with the male instructor. Full-impact self-defense provides a

realistic simulated attack that allows students to experience being fully adrenalized, and learn how to react with resistance strategies in a high-stress situation. This interactive and hands-on instruction helps participants' bodies re-learn how to respond to an attack without being constrained by gendered expectations (Prepare 2016).

In addition to physical resistance strategies, the self-defense training completed by participants also includes units on verbal resistance, threat assessment and management, environmental and emotional awareness, boundary setting, and bystander intervention. Both physical and verbal strategies are rehearsed with the instructors playing the role of strangers, intimate partners, relatives, and friends. This program is designed to empower participants with new tools of resistance which previously may never have been considered viable options (Prepare, 2016).

Measures

Self-Defense Decisional Balance Scale. The Self-Defense Decisional Balance Scale was developed for this study as an adaptation of the Bystander Intervention Decisional Balance Scale (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005). Making a decision to change a behavior involves various cognitive appraisals of potential risks and benefits which can be influenced by perception of personal safety, previous experiences, and social scripts (Nurius, 2000). Decisional balance scales exist to assess the perceived pros and cons of changing health related behavior including weight loss and substance abuse, but are now being expanded to include measures of sexual assault prevention (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005).

The language from the original 11 item Bystander Intervention Decisional Balance Scale was modified to reflect perceived pros and cons to a decision to engage in self-protective behavior, rather than to engage in bystander intervention behavior. Participants rated the

importance of each item in deciding whether or not to resist violence on a one- to five-point Likert style scale, with anchors ranging from "not at all important" to "extremely important". Examples of these items include "If I resist against an assailant, I may prevent completion of a sexual assault" and "I could get physically hurt by resisting an assault." For a complete list of items, see Appendix A.

Decisional balance scales are scored by coding each statement as representing a pro or a con associated with the behavior in question. The participant rates the importance of each pro or con in making a decision about whether or not to engage in the behavior. The scores for pros and cons are averaged and the difference between the values becomes the decisional balance score; a negative score corresponds to more salient cons, and a positive value corresponds to more salient pros.

Bystander Intervention Self-Efficacy Scale – Short Form. The Bystander Intervention Self-Efficacy Scale Short Form (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005) is a 4-item measure designed to examine participants' self-efficacy in engaging in bystander intervention behaviors. The short form has strong reliability ($\alpha = .87$). Participants indicated how strongly they felt they could successfully complete each bystander behavior on a scale of 0-100, in intervals of ten, with anchors of "can't do", "quite certain", "moderately certain", and "very certain". Examples of this item include items assessing how confident a participant is that they could "Get help and resources for a friend who tells me they have been raped". For a complete list of items, see Appendix A.

Dating and Acquaintance Rape Scale. The Dating and Acquaintance Rape (DAR) Scale measures people's opinions and beliefs about sexual assault and level of comfort with different dating and relationship situations. Three subscales were utilized for this study:

Perceived Vulnerability, Self-Defense Self-Efficacy, and Self-Determination. Perceived vulnerability is the extent to which one believes they are vulnerable to sexual assault. Self-defense self-efficacy is how confident one is that one could utilize resistance strategies to thwart an assault. Self-determination is the belief that one is entitled to act in one's best interest.

The wording of some items was modified by Cermele and Rosenblum (2003) to make the items applicable to individuals across a range of gender identification and sexual orientation. Examples of these items include "Rape among dates and acquaintances is a major problem at my school" and "It's very hard for me to tell a date what I do or do not want to do sexually". Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement on a six point Likert style scale with anchors "not at all agree" and "very much agree". For a complete list of items, see Appendix A.

Perception of Risk. Two questions were used to assess participants' perceptions on their risk for sexual assault. One item asked about the risk for society at large, and one asked about their ability to distinguish between risky and safe situations. These items are scored on a 10-point Likert style scale (Ozer & Bandura, 1990).

Sexual Assault Anxiety. One question was used to assess participants' level of anxiety about sexual assault. This item was scored on a 10-point Likert style scale (Ozer & Bandura, 1990).

Modified Self-Defense Self-Efficacy Scale. The Modified Self-Defense Self-Efficacy Scale includes items rating participants' confidence in their ability to use specific resistance strategies in a stranger or acquaintance attack. Examples include "how confident are you that you could yell loudly more than once" or "use physically fighting back to get away". Responses

scored on a 10-point Likert-style scale (Ozer & Bandura, 1990). For a complete list of items, see Appendix A.

Motivation for Participation. Participants answered the open-ended question "Why did you take this self-defense course?". This question was designed to gain insight into what participants had individually hoped to gain from their experience with self-defense training.

Demographic Information. Participants reported their age, gender, and year of graduation.

Procedure

Participants were initially recruited via email after enrolling in a semester-long course on gender violence and resistance. Participants completed pre- measures prior to starting the class, and post-measures a week after completing self-defense training at their own discretion. All participants were compensated with a $5 gift card for each data collection session, for a total of $10 if they competed both the pre- and post-test measures, and entered into a drawing for a $20 Amazon gift card.

All measures were presented through the online survey management system Qualtrics. After opening the link to the survey, participants viewed and agreed to the informed consent document. Participants then completed the Self-Defense Decisional Balance Scale, the Bystander Intervention Efficacy Scale, the Dating and Acquaintance Rape Scale, and the Self-Defense Self-Efficacy Scale. After completing the measures, participants entered their age, gender, and year of graduation and then answered the open-ended question "Why did you take this self-defense course?" Qualtrics randomly generated an individual participant identification code which was used to match up pretest and posttest data in order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality.

Due to data matching errors, data were treated as independent samples rather than paired samples.

Results

Descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics were calculated for each of the variables of interest (Table 1). The possible range for each measure is included in the table for reference. The mean score for bystander intervention self-efficacy was high in both pre- and post-measures; however, the standard deviation indicates higher variability in responses.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for dependent variables pre- and post-self-defense training

	Range	Mean		Standard Deviation	
Measure	Min - Max	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Self-Defense Decisional Balance	-5 - 5	1.38	1.87	0.64	0.84
Bystander Intervention Self-Efficacy	0 - 100	82.21	89.86	9.33	9.93
Dating & Acquaintance Rape	1 - 10				
Perceived Vulnerability		4.24	3.44	0.59	0.62
Self-Determination		4.73	4.90	0.45	0.54
Self-Defense Self-Efficacy		3.49	5.58	1.10	0.48
Self-Defense Self-Efficacy	0 - 10				
Stranger		6.00	8.76	1.32	0.95
Acquaintance		5.61	7.91	1.24	1.07
Perception of Risk		6.08	6.56	1.55	2.13
Ability to Detect Risk		4.85	3.67	1.95	2.29
Sexual Assault Anxiety		3.77	6.22	3.00	2.17

Self-efficacy for self-defense. It was hypothesized that participants would report higher self-defense self-efficacy after completing self-defense training. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare self-defense self-efficacy for groups before and after self-defense training. There was a significant difference in self-efficacy before self-defense training (M = 5.92, SD = 2.69) and after completing self-defense training (M = 8.78, SD = 0.97). After

completing self-defense training, participants reported higher self-efficacy in using physical resistance against both an acquaintance assault ($t(20) = -3.01$, $p < .01$) and a stranger assault ($t(20) = -3.66$, $p < .01$).

Beliefs about rape and resistance: Vulnerability, self-determination, and self-efficacy. It was hypothesized that participants would report lower perceived vulnerability to assault, higher self-determination, and higher self-defense self-efficacy after completing self-defense training. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare perceived vulnerability to assault, self-determination, and self-defense self-efficacy in participants before and after completing self-defense training. There was no significant difference in perceived vulnerability to assault before ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 0.59$) and after ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 0.62$) self-defense training ($t(20) = -3.03$, $p = .53$). There was no significant difference in self-determination before ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 0.48$) and after ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 0.54$) self-defense training ($t(20) = 0.77$, $p = .89$). However, there was a significant difference in self-defense self-efficacy before ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.10$) and after ($M = 5.58$, $SD = 0.48$) self-defense training. After completing self-defense training, participants reported significantly higher self-defense self-efficacy than before training ($t(20) = 5.36$, $p = .03$). These findings are in line with the self-efficacy measure within the modified self-defense self-efficacy scale. These results indicate that, while people with and without self-defense training have similar levels of perceived vulnerability to assault and self-determination about the use of self-defense techniques in thwarting assault, those with training are more likely to believe that they could execute self-defense techniques effectively.

Perception of risk. It was hypothesized that participants would report lower perceived risk of assault and higher perceived ability to detect a risky situation after completing self-defense training. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare perceived risk of

sexual assault and perceived ability to detect a risky situation in participants before and after self-defense training. There was no significant difference in perceived ability to detect risky situations before (M = 6.08, SD = 1.55) and after (M = 3.67, SD = 2.23) self-defense training ($t(20) = -0.612$, $p = .34$). There was no significant difference in perceived risk before (M = 6.08, SD = 1.55) and after (M = 6.56, SD = 2.13) self-defense training ($t(20) = -0.61$, $p = .15$). This suggests that individuals within this sample may have already been aware of the risk and were already able to detect a high-risk situation before completing self-defense training.

Sexual Assault Anxiety. It was hypothesized that participants would report lower anxiety about sexual assault after completing self-defense training. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare anxiety about sexual assault before and after completing self-defense training. There was no significant difference in scores before (M = 3.77, SD = 3.00) and after (M = 6.22, SD = 2.17) self-defense training ($t(20) = -2.10$, $p = .15$).

Self-Defense Decisional Balance. It was hypothesized that after completing self-defense training, participants would value the potential benefits more than potential risks when making a decision about whether or not to utilize resistance strategies. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare decisional balance scores before and after self-defense training. There was no significant difference in the scores for groups before (M = 1.38, SD = 0.64) and after (M = 1.87, SD = 0.84) self-defense training ($t(20) = -1.51$, $p = .68$). This suggests that participants already valued the potential benefits over the potential negative consequences of using resistance strategies, and this did not change as a result of self-defense training.

Bystander intervention self-efficacy. It was hypothesized that participants would report higher bystander intervention self-efficacy after completing self-defense training. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare bystander intervention self-efficacy before

and after completing self-defense training. There was a trend, in the expected direction, toward significant difference in the scores for groups before (M = 82.21, SD = 9.33) and after (M = 89.86, SD = 9.93) self-defense training; ($t(20) = -1.84$, $p = .08$). This suggests that people who participate in empowerment self-defense training may be more likely to believe they are capable of intervening in a potentially dangerous situation as a bystander.

Motivation for participation. Participants were invited to write about their personal motivation for participating in this self-defense course. A review of participant responses led to the emergence of two major themes: learning successful resistance and intervention strategies, and feeling empowered. Each response was then coded for the presence or absence of each theme.

Learning successful resistance and intervention strategies. When asked why they decided to take this self-defense course, 11 out of 15 participants responded with a clear desire to learn new tools to help resist potential assaults, as exemplified by this response:

> I am taking this self-defense course because I have always been passionate about sexual assault and residence. And it always goes through mind that if one day I was ever being attack or assault would I be able to defend myself. This course gives me the advantage to achieve my goal in learning the skills and moves when it comes to defending myself from any possibility of being assault or attack.

Two participants also indicated that they had a desire to learn skills to not only defend themselves, but also to help others:

> [I am taking this course] Because I would like to know more about what to do if friends and loved ones get attacked by a stranger. It is really helpful to know how to react in different situations.

> It's frustrating for me to sit by and hear my friends and family tell me that they have been raped or assaulted and I would like to take steps for my own protection and hopefully gain some insight on how to help those around me.

Empowerment. Five out of fifteen participants also displayed an understanding that they felt learning these physical skills for resistance and intervention would also help them feel more power and control over their own bodies and environments:

> [I took this course] To learn to be more confident in myself and have more control over situations and my environment.

> I want to feel empowered and I also want to be able to defend myself against violence and sexual assault. I am an anxious person and I think I would feel more secure about myself and entering certain situations if I knew self-defense.

One participant provided a response that speaks directly to the notion that resistance is not presented to women as a viable option in the face of assault:

> I want to grow from the person that did not know defending themselves was a real possibility to the person who is confident they can handle a situation where they might have to verbally and physically defend themselves.

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that those who train in empowerment self-defense experience an increase in self-efficacy for physically fighting back against a known or unknown assailant. This finding is consistent with a number of studies which have indicated that self-defense training leads to an increase in self-efficacy for resistance (Gidycz, et al., 2006; Hollander, 2014; Ozer & Bandura, 1990; Weitlauf, Smith, & Cervone, 2000). This is critical because higher levels of self-efficacy make it more likely that individuals will engage in those

behaviors in the face of future potential or attempted assaults. Resisting assault works, so when individuals are more likely to engage in resistance techniques, are more likely to successfully thwart an assault.

One important factor in increasing self-efficacy is the role of successful resistance being made visible (McCaughey & Cermele, 2015). By neglecting to present resistance as a viable option in the face of assault, sexual assault prevention education programs that rely on bystander intervention uphold gendered expectations that perpetuate the cycle of sexual violence. Training in self-defense makes resistance a viable option, and allows participants to experience their body's physical capacity for resistance. Empowerment self-defense training puts into practice the importance of agentic gendered embodiment that feminist theorists such as Marcus (1997) and Cahill (2001) problematize earlier thinkers such as Brownmiller (1975) and MacKinnon (1989) for lacking. Engaging in feminist, full-impact, empowerment self-defense training like the IMPACT© model used in this study allows women to experience the full capacity of their bodies (Prepare, 2016). Experiencing a bodily awareness that challenges victimhood defined femaleness shows participants in this training that female bodies are capable of existing and thriving outside of victimization. This type of training is lauded by theorists like McCaughey (1997; 1998) for directly challenging dominant conceptions of rape by (re)constructing a female existence that is not rooted in inevitable victimhood.

The finding that self-defense self-efficacy was significantly higher post training, while the increase in bystander intervention self-efficacy only approached significance, may be due to the explicit teaching of new personal safety skills to which the participants may never have previously been exposed. College students are routinely exposed to the idea of bystander intervention skills, and less so to the idea of personal safety skills. Regardless, even for bystander

invention, that knowledge was likely more theoretical than practical; they may not have opportunities to practice or enact those safety behaviors. Even if the knowledge of bystander intervention was there, the application of that knowledge was likely not.

These findings are in contrast to what is known about bystander intervention programs. In the current study, there was a positive trend for increases in bystander intervention efficacy; this opens doors for further research into the impact of empowerment self-defense on bystander behavior. Practicing intervention skills through empowerment self-defense may help override an adrenalized response for bystanders in the same way it does for personal self-defense, which directly challenges the damsel-in-distress model adopted by bystander intervention programs. Future research on this topic should explore different methodologies for examining the outcomes of empowerment self-defense that extend beyond oneself as the potential target of an assault. This research should focus on actual rather than intended behavior; however, measuring self-reported behavior and behavioral intent continues to pose a methodological challenge for researchers.

Although the decisional balance data were not statistically significance, participants indicated that the benefits to resisting an assault outweighed the potential negative consequences. This suggests that even without self-defense training, participants believed, at least in theory, that resistance had more salient potential benefits than potential negative consequences. In fact, that data supports this belief. For example, the myth that fighting back against an assailant causes further harm is a perceived negative consequence to resisting; however, Tark and Kleck (2014) found that resistance does not increase the chance of personal injury. Higher levels of self-efficacy for self-defense may simply make it more likely that participants will be able to engage in the resistance strategies and techniques they already believe to be valuable.

The findings of this study are promising in contributing to our understanding of the benefits of self-defense training, but of course, it is not without its limitations. This study was originally intended to contain two populations of participants: one from the semester long course, and one from an introductory workshop. Unfortunately, participants in the workshop elected not to participate in this study; therefore, the data used was only from the semester long course. This produced a smaller sample size, which may have contributed to the insignificant findings in conflict with other published data on this topic.

In addition, participants did not follow directions in completing pre- and post-measures. For example, participants were instructed to input a randomly generated code from the pre-training measures into the first page of the post-training measures, but most participants did not follow these instructions; therefore, data had to be analyzed as independent groups rather than paired samples because it was impossible to connect participants' pre- and post-measures. Given that it was not possible to actually look at individual changes in each of the variables, it is still useful to compare mean overall scores before and after self-defense training, although potential individual gains may have been lost.

One potential limitation that studies of self-defense training often present is the effect of self-selection. Individuals who actively choose to participate in self-defense training may enter into training with high scores in measures such as ability to detect risk of assault. If their scores are high to begin with, participants may experience the ceiling effect in that their measurable scores can only increase so much if they were already high to begin with. These participants may have felt they would engage in self-protective and bystander intervention behavior before training, but the training may have helped provide them with the skills needed to actually do so safely and effectively. The population that chooses to participate in empowerment self-defense is

likely already aware of their risk, and this is supported by the participants' motivation for participation.

When looking at these self-selected populations, the significant changes may be more qualitative than quantitative. If participants experienced an internal shift in their self-perception, this may actually impact their behavior in ways that are not detectable by traditional measures. Quantitative measures have proven to be insufficient for measuring these types of changes; however, undetected changes may hold clinical significance. For example, providing an individual who is already willing to intervene in an attempted sexual assault with the tools needed to actually do so may not increase their initial internal willingness to act, but it may be enough to motivate them to actually intervene in ways they were not capable of before. The act of engaging the body in new ways that challenge unresponsiveness in the face of assault allows for a re-shaping of female embodiment from a passive object, to an active subject who is aware of her own ability to act on behalf of herself, and others.

Study Two: Empowerment Self-Defense Training as a Population-Level Variable

Rationale

The findings of Study One indicate, in conjunction with existing literature, that self-defense training is an effective individual intervention into sexual assault perpetration; however, the trend of increased bystander intervention self-efficacy seen after completing empowerment self-defense training in Study One suggests that self-defense training may also have the potential to elicit population level change. McCaughey (1997) introduces the notion that "the first potential impact [self-defense has] on rape culture is that men may actually become too afraid to pounce" (p. 179). Therefore, it may be that in being made aware of self-defense training as a viable option for women on campus, men might be more likely to reassess their perception of

women as victims and think twice about the likelihood of engaging in consequence-free sexually aggressive behavior.

The research in this study replicates and extends a 2014 study conducted by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz which examined differences in men endorsing sexually aggressive behavior based on the language used to refer to the behavior; either sex, rape, or forced sex. They found almost one third of men surveyed indicated that they would use force to obtain sex with a woman if no one would know and there would be no consequences for their actions. This finding is alarming, but even more disturbingly, this is not the only study that has reported this finding. For example, in 1984 Rapaport and Burkhart found that approximately one third of men surveyed admitted to ignoring their female partner's protests to intercourse. While ignoring protests was the most common strategy, they also found 15% of men surveyed admitted to having forced intercourse with a woman at least once or twice, and 12% of men surveyed admitted to using physical restraint to gain a sexual advantage against their female partner's will.

On the surface, it might be reasonable to assume that the response to these alarming statistics should be increased intervention that targets men who report their willingness or intention to rape; in fact, there are interventions designed to target sexual violence perpetrators (George, 2009; Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Foubert, Brasfield, Hill, & Shelley-Tremblay, 2011; Stephens &; Stewart, 2014). Similarly, it might be reasonable to assume that the response should be increased bystander intervention training in order to create a combined community response to the 33% of the men in the community who endorse statements about committing sexual violence. However, neither of these strategies has been empirically found to reduce actual rates of sexual violence the way self-defense training has (Hollander, 2014; Senn et al., 2015), and the fact that most sexual assaults occur without bystanders indicates that bystander intervention

training can only do so much. The data on the efficacy of self-defense as a method of thwarting assault in the moment are clear; however, McCaughey and Cermele (2015) also argue that self-defense training is effective in creating population-level change, and therefore, can be a method of primary prevention in the same way that bystander invention is posited to be.

The purpose of this study is to replicate and modify Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz's (2014) methodology by adding information about self-defense training and the efficacy of resistance against sexual assault as a variable in order to examine whether knowledge of the presence of self-defense training in a community affects male endorsement of sexual aggression. It may be that there is a direct effect of providing information about self-defense training; it may also be that information about self-defense training affects the decision-making process about whether to engage in sexually aggressive or violent behavior.

Decision-making is a process involving cognitive appraisals in various stages. Therefore, how one perceives and assesses information in an interpersonal situation can impact the final decision to engage in a specific behavior. For example, Bouffard and Bouffard (2011) found that perceptions of risk and reward can predict men's likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behavior. Men who perceived a potential benefit to engaging in sexually aggressive behavior were more likely to discount the potential risks of that behavior when deciding whether or not to engage in that behavior. The current study seeks to examine the relationship between the perceived risks and rewards of sexually aggressive behavior in men who were introduced to the concept of self-defense training within their community.

There were three hypotheses in this study:

1. Participants who endorsed sexually aggressive behavior would display higher hostility toward women and calloused sexual attitudes.

2. Participants who read about self-defense outcomes and training options within their university would be less likely to endorse sexually aggressive behavior than participants who only read about the university's sexual assault policies.
3. Participants who read about self-defense would display lower hostility toward women and calloused sexual attitudes.

Method

Participants. Participants in this study consisted of 25 heterosexual male college students (48% white, 16% Asian, 12% black, 12% Hispanic or Latino), age 18-24 (M = 19) from a small liberal arts college in northern New Jersey. As compensation for participation, participants either received participation credit toward an introductory psychology class, or a $5 gift card and a chance to win a $100 Amazon gift card.

Measures.

Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Short Form. The Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale – Short Form consists of 13 true-false items designed to assess participants' desire to present as likable to others, a factor that may influence self-report responses. The original scale was a 33-item measure developed by Crown and Marlow (1960); the short form was developed by Zook and Sipps (1985) and is a commonly used version of the scale with high reliability (α = .76). Examples of these items include "It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged" and "I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake". For a complete list of items, see Appendix B. To score this measure, the data is recoded to reflect 1 or 0 for each T/F question, and each participant's score is added for a total social desirability score per Marlow-Crowne (1969) scoring instructions.

Attraction to Sexual Aggression Scale. To replicate the methods of Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2015), three items from the attraction to sexual aggression scale (Malamuth, 1989a; Malamuth, 1989b) were used to assess participants' self-reported likelihood of engaging in certain sexual behaviors. The three items described three specific sexual behaviors: heterosexual intercourse, rape, and forcing a female to do something sexual she didn't want to do. Participants were asked, on a scale of one to five, with anchors "not at all" and "very likely", how likely they would be to engage in these acts "…[i]f you could be assured that no one would know and that you could in no way be punished." For a complete list of items, see Appendix B.

Sexual Assault Decisional Balance Scale. This scale was developed based on items from the Outcome Expectancies for Partner Abuse (OEPA) Scale (Meis, Murphy, & Winters, 2010). The OEPA scale is used to measure how perpetrators of domestic abuse who are in rehabilitation programs perceive their aggression and violence against their partner. The language used in the items from this scale was modified to construct items relevant to decision making and sexual violence. Example items include "If I become forceful with a woman, I may get in trouble with the law" and "My aggressive actions may convince a woman to have sex with me". For a complete list of items, see Appendix B.

Questions were coded as being positive (higher scores associated with emphasizing potential benefits of behavior) or negative (higher scores associated with emphasizing potential negative consequences of behavior). The difference between the averages of positive and negative scores resulted in a decisional balance score for each participant. If the score was negative, then that participant placed more emphasis on the potential negative consequences; if the score was positive, then that participant placed more emphasis on the potential benefits.

Hostility Toward Women Scale – Short Form. The Hostility Toward Women Scale is designed to assess negative attitudes toward women that participants may possess. The original version of the scale was developed by Check, Malamuth, Elias, and Barton (1985), and adapted to a 10-item version by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995). This scale consists of 10 statements that express male hostility toward women. The items are scored on a five-point Likert style scale with anchors "strongly agree", "do not agree or disagree", and "strongly disagree". Sample items include "I think that most women would lie just to get ahead" and "Women are responsible for most of my troubles". For a complete list of items, see Appendix B.

Callous Sexual Attitudes Scale. The Callous Sexual Attitudes Subscale from the Mosher and Skirkin (1984) Hypermasculinity Scale was used to measure participants' endorsement of insensitive attitudes toward women. Language from the subscale was adapted to fit the current discourse surrounding women and feminism. For example, "women's libbers" was changed to "feminists" in item five. Examples of these items include "I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them" and "I usually find myself agreeing with women". For a complete list of items, see Appendix B. This is a forced-choice scale, meaning participants must choose one of two answers for each question. The scale is scored by awarding one point for answers that indicate calloused sex attitudes, and a sum is calculated for each participant.

Conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to either a self-defense information condition or a control condition. Both conditions contained information about sexual assault and information about the University's resources available in responding to sexual assault. However, the nature of the information was deliberately varied to examine the impact of information about self-defense against sexual assault on the dependent variables of interest. The manipulation was

assessed with a manipulation check that asked participants to write about what they learned about either self-defense at Drew or Drew's sexual assault policy.

In the self-defense condition, participants read the following passage on college sexual assault and the availability of self-defense training at the University:

> Sexual assault refers to sexual contact or behavior that occurs without explicit consent. The majority of sexual assaults are committed by someone known by the victim such as an intimate partner, a friend, or an acquaintance. Women ages 18-24 who are enrolled in college are 3 times more likely than women in general to experience sexual violence.
>
> Over the years, Drew University has offered self-defense training for students as a response to the widespread problem of sexual violence on college campuses nationwide. Students have the opportunity to learn and practice physical and verbal resistance skills during a New Student Orientation workshop, during workshops that are offered at different times throughout the semester, or through a semester-long seminar on gender violence. The data indicate that self-defense training increases women's confidence and success in resisting male aggression, subsequently decreasing the likelihood of experiencing completed sexual assault.

Participants in the control condition read the following passage on college sexual assault and the University's policy and procedure regarding reporting of assaults:

> Sexual assault refers to sexual contact or behavior that occurs without explicit consent. The majority of sexual assaults are committed by someone known by the victim such as an intimate partner, a friend, or an acquaintance. Women ages 18-24 who are enrolled in college are 3 times more likely than women in general to experience sexual violence.

Over the years, Drew University has developed a set of policies and procedures to respond to sexual assault on the campus. The University prohibits sexual discrimination and harassment, including domestic violence, stalking, and sexual assault and requires all university employees to receive sexual harassment and misconduct training. Students are also required to participate in sexual assault prevention programming. While students are encouraged to report sexual assaults to local law enforcement, the University does provide internal resources including no-contact orders and an expedited fact-finding process.

Procedure. Participants were recruited via the research participant pool in introductory psychology courses, and via campus wide emails and flyers to participate in a study about "hypothetical behavior in dating and intimate relationships". Research was conducted with participants individually in a psychology research lab space. Each participant arrived at the research space and was greeted by the researcher, who provided a copy of the informed consent document to be reviewed and signed, and answered any questions the participant had. The informed consent document notified participants that the study contained sexually explicit and potentially offensive material, but that the purpose of the study was to "better understand male attitudes about behaviors in intimate relationships and how that may influence sexual decision-making." Once the informed consent document had been signed, the researcher gave the participant a manila envelope with the survey materials.

The first item in the envelope was the Social Desirability Scale. After completing the first measure, participants read a paragraph that contained either information about self-defense classes at the university, or information on the university's sexual violence policy. Participants then wrote a few sentences reflecting on the information they read as a manipulation check. After this step, participants continued by completing the Attraction to Sexual Aggression Scale, Sexual

Assault Decisional Balance Scale, Hostility Toward Women Scale, and the Calloused Sexual Attitudes subscale of the Hypermasculinity Inventory.

The participant completed all measures while alone in a research room and when finished, placed the materials back in the manila envelope, sealed it, and placed it in a closed box before opening the door to alert the researcher. After completing the measures, the researcher reviewed the debriefing document with the participant and answered any questions regarding the study.

Results

Manipulation check. A manipulation check was included to assess participants' understanding of the experimental variable. Responses were coded for the mention of self-defense, and it was found that only participants in the self-defense condition ($N = 23$) mentioned self-defense. This implies that self-defense is not present in common discourse. Responses to the manipulation check produced a wide range of responses. Some participants who wrote about self-defense provided very vague statements about what they read ("Self defense can help women and men protect themselves."), while others provided some detail ("I've learned that self defense training boosts confidence and success in resisting violence"), and others went in depth and expressed more negatively polarized opinions on sexual assault prevention and attitudes toward women, as exemplified by the following responses:

> "Self defense decreases the amount of sexual assault incidences. Drew is very vague in it's [sic] stance on sexual assault. Haven't learned anything from Drew that I didn't previously know. I learned that Drew has a self-defense program. I also notice that Drew is extremely detached from the real world an [sic] how your behaviors do determine others behaviors towards you."

> "I understand that self-defense is offered, but we live in a world where everyone believes that they will never be sexually assaulted. Unless self-defense becomes manditory [sic] I don't believe individuals will participate. Self-defense is offered & it helps some but most cases of rape & sexual assault involve women that don't participate in self-defense classes. I hope that one day Drew will implement a program that makes sure women can defend themselves."

Overall, participants tended to respond vaguely to the prompt, and wrote about things that indicated they did not read the manipulation. This indicates that the manipulation was not strong enough to determine whether reading about empowerment self-defense impacted participants.

Descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics were calculated for each dependent variable (Table 2). On a possible scale of one to five, participants tended to report relatively low attraction to rape (M = 1.20) and attraction to forced sex (M = 1.27), and higher attraction to sex (M = 3.39). Overall, participants tended to value the potential negative consequences for engaging in sexually aggressive behavior slightly more the potential personal benefits; however, the average score on the decisional balance task was very close to zero, which indicates ambivalence about the decision (M = -1.70). Reported hostility toward women was moderate (M = 2.55), as was callous sexual attitudes (M = 2.95). Social desirability was also moderate (M = 6.05).

Social desirability. There was no impact of social desirability on responses to rape ($r(44) = -.04$, $p > .05$), use of force ($r(44) = -.15$, $p > .05$), or sex($r(44) = -.20$, $p > .05$). There was also no impact of social desirability ($r(44) = -.13$, $p > .05$), on hostility toward women or callous sexual attitudes ($r(44) = -.15$, $p > .05$). Therefore, further statistical analysis could proceed as normal.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Collapsed Sample

	Range Min - Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Attraction to Sexual Aggression	1 – 5		
Rape		1.20	0.74
Forced Sex		1.27	0.72
Sex		3.39	1.55
Sexual Assault Decisional Balance	-5 – 5	-1.70	1.19
Hostility Toward Women	1 – 5	2.55	0.81
Calloused Sexual Attitudes	1 – 5	2.95	2.61
Social Desirability	1 - 13	6.05	1.92

Correlations between attitudes toward women and attraction to sexual aggression.

Correlations between hostility toward women, callous sexual attitudes, and intentions to rape or use force to obtain sex were calculated (Table 3). Hostility toward women was correlated with callous sexual attitudes ($r(44) = .35$, $p < .05$), endorsing rape ($r(44) = .42$, $p < .01$) and use of force ($r(44) = .43$, $p < 0.01$), but not sex ($r(44) = .14$, $p = .37$). Calloused sexual attitudes was not correlated with endorsing rape ($r(44) = 0.18$, $p = 0.26$), use of force ($r(44) = 0.20$, $p = 0.18$), or sex ($r(44) = -.17$, $p = 0.26$). Endorsing use of force was significantly correlated with endorsing rape ($r(44) = .81$, $p < .001$). Endorsing sex was not correlated with either endorsing rape ($r(44) = .23$, $p = .13$). or use of force ($r(44) = .09$, $p = .56$).

Table 3

Correlations Between Hostility Toward Women, Callous Sexual Attitudes, and Attraction to Sexual Aggression

	Hostility	*Callous Sexual Attitudes*	*Intentions to rape*	*Intentions to use force*
Hostility		.35*	.42**	.43**
Callous Sexual Attitudes			.18	.20
Intentions to Rape				.81**

$p < .05$ = *, $p < .001$ = **

Impact of self-defense manipulation.

Endorsing sexual aggression: Attraction to sex, rape, and forced sex. It was hypothesized that participants who read a passage on self-defense would display lower attraction to sexual aggression than participants who read about sexual assault policy. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare attraction to sexual aggression for groups exposed to self-defense training and those not exposed to self-defense training. There was no significant difference in attraction to rape between participants exposed to self-defense training (M = 1.26, SD = 0.92) and participants not exposed to self-defense training (M = 1.14, SD = 0.48); $t(44)$ = 0.53, p = .60. Similarly, there was no significant difference in attraction to use of force between participants exposed to self-defense training (M = 1.30, SD =0.88) and participants not exposed to self-defense training (M = 1.24, SD = 0.54); $t(44)$ = 0.30, p = .77. This indicates that the manipulation was not strong enough to impact participant perception of sexual aggression.

Decisions about sexually aggressive behavior. It was also hypothesized that participants who were exposed to self-defense would place more importance on the potential risks of sexually aggressive behavior than the potential benefits. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare decisional balance in participants who were exposed to self-defense and participants who were not exposed to self-defense. There was no significant difference in the weighing of potential risks and benefits of sexual behavior between participants who were exposed to self-defense (M = -1.68, SD = 1.03) and those who were not (M = -1.72, SD = 1.37); $t(44)$ = 0.13, p = .89. Again, this indicates that the manipulation was not strong enough to impact participant decision making.

Hostility toward women. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare hostility toward women for groups exposed to self-defense training and those not exposed to

self-defense training. There was no significant difference in the hostility toward women for participants exposed to self-defense training ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 0.85$), and participants not exposed to self-defense training ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 0.77$); ($t(44) = -.38$, $p = .70$).

Callous sexual attitudes. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare calloused sex attitudes in participants. There was no significant difference in calloused sex attitudes held by participants who were exposed to self-defense ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 2.47$) and those who were not ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 2.82$); $t(44) = -0.45$, $p = .65$.

Differentiating men who endorse force from men who endorse rape. Because the manipulation from the extension of the study conducted by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014) was not strong enough to have an impact, an attempt to replicate the original results was made. This involved conducting a discriminant function analysis to examine the differences between men who do and do not endorse use of force or rape. As explained by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014), a discriminant function analysis serves almost as a reverse multivariate analysis of variance in that it attempts to predict group membership based on predictor variables. In this case, group membership was classified as either reporting no intention to rape or use force to obtain sex (group one; $N = 36$), reporting intentions to use force to obtain sex but deny rape (group two; $N = 4$), or reporting intention to rape a woman and use force (group three; $N = 4$), and predictor variables included hostility toward women and callous sexual attitudes. All assumptions of normalcy and variance were met for this analysis, as demonstrated by Box's M test ($p > .05$).

Two independent statistical functions were derived from a unique linear combination of the predictor variables, as generated by statistical software. It was found that function 1 significantly discriminated group one from groups two and three; $\lambda = .731$, $\chi^2 (4) = 12.69$, $p =$

.013. The standardized canonical function coefficients and structure matrix (Table 4) suggests that the first function represents a strong positive correlation with hostility toward women (r_s = .966) and a moderate positive correlation with callous sexual attitudes (r_s = .495). This indicates that men who report intention to rape or use force to obtain sex present higher hostility toward women and callous sexual attitudes than men who do not report intention to rape or use force to obtain sex. This finding is in line with findings from Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014). However, function 2 did not significantly discriminate between groups; λ = .999, χ^2 (1) = .046, p = .83. Standardized canonical function coefficients and structure matrix (Table 4) suggests function 2 represents a strong correlation with callous sexual attitudes (r_s = .869), but not with hostility toward women (r_s = -.260). This finding is not in line with what Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014) reported.

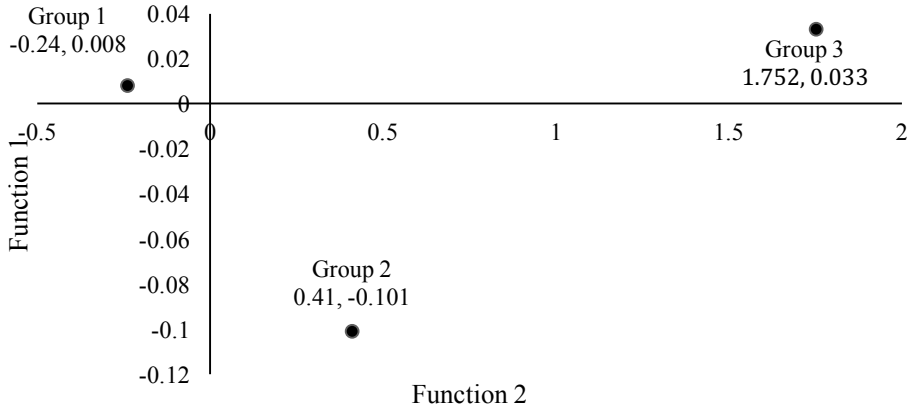
Table 4

Structure Matrix and Functions at Group Centroids by Function

Structure Matrix	*Function 1*	*Function 2*
Hostility	.966	-.26
Callous sex	.495	.869
Functions at group centroids		
No intentions (1)	-.240	.008
Force (2)	.410	-.101
Rape (3)	1.752	.033

Figure 1.

Group Centroids on Discriminant Dimensions



Discussion

Overall, there were few significant findings in this study. Participants reported moderately low attraction to sexual aggression; however, attraction to sexual aggression was still present, albeit at lower frequencies than found by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014). Only 18% of this sample reported intentions to rape or use force to obtain sex from a woman, compared to the 31.7% found by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014). Endorsing rape and use of force to obtain sex from a woman were both correlated with each other, and with high levels of hostility toward women.

The correlation between rape and use of force indicates that participants knew the definition of rape, and could distinguish this from consensual sex. This correlation is confirmed through the discriminant function analysis, which further indicated that hostility toward women accounted for differences between men who did not endorse sexual coercion of any kind and men who did. However, the non-significance of function 2 makes it difficult to distinguish between men who endorse rape and men who endorse using force to obtain sex. Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2015) determined that men who possess moderate-high callous sexual attitudes and inverse hostility toward women were more likely to endorse using force to obtain

sex, while men who possess high hostility toward women and moderate-high callous sexual attitudes were more likely to endorse rape.

Hostility toward women trended negatively in the discriminant function analysis of the current study; however, it did not reach statistical significance. Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014) explain their significant negative trend as a supposed inverse hostility toward women, which they define as, "an affable, trusting, and nonreactive affect toward women" (p.192). They explain that inverse hostility toward women, when combined with callous sexual attitudes in the significant function 2, represents personality characteristics that lead men who endorse use of force to view their actions not as rape, but as an achievement of masculine sexual gratification. While there are likely many differences between men who endorse use of force and men who endorse rape, this explanation of inverse hostility toward women as the defining factor does not fully satisfy the question at hand. This negative trend in hostility toward women, like the one found by Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014), may not actually imply an inverse construct of hostility toward women; it more likely indicates that the quantifiable construct of hostility toward women does not drive men to endorse using force to obtain sex from a woman.

While the short form Hostility Toward Women Scale has been found to be valid and reliable (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995), it may not actually capture the reality of misogyny in violence against women. The dichotomous social construction of masculinity and femininity implies that an assertion of masculinity, like the one Edwards, Bradshaw, and Hinsz (2014) use to explain the inverse construct of hostility toward women, requires an opposing viewpoint on femininity. In other words, a negative construction of femininity is required in order to affirm a positive perception of masculinity. Men who display an inverse of hostility toward women cannot possess a truly "affable, trusting, and nonreactive affect toward women" (Edwards,

Bradshaw, & Hinsz, 2014, p.192) because a "perceived compliance with stereotypical masculine gender norms" (Edwards, Bradshaw, & Hinsz, 2014, p.192) requires a construction of femaleness that is still defined by male domination. The Hostility Toward Women Scale is not the appropriate measure to attempt to distinguish between men who endorse using force to obtain sex from a woman and men who endorse rape because it is not informed by constructions of gendered existence; it only reaffirms those gendered assumptions.

One major limitation of this study was the strength of the manipulation. There were no significant differences between participants who read about self-defense and those who did not. The manipulation check, while indicating that participants either did not read the passage or did not understand the passage, also revealed a variety of attitudes toward women, self-defense training, and sexual assault prevention more broadly. Although this study did not produce visible population differences from self-defense within the community, this is likely a result of an ineffective manipulation and is not representative of the changes that occur as a result of teaching self-defense in a community. What is made clear through these responses is that self-defense training must be framed in a very specific way if researchers and activists want men to take the cause seriously. Should this study be repeated, the manipulation would need to be made stronger. Because self-defense is such a corporeal experience, presentation of information on self-defense might be better suited to a video clip than a written passage. Watching the shift from embodying victimized femaleness to embodying physically powerful and agentic femaleness directly challenges patriarchal constructions of gender.

In addition to the manipulation check, sample size was also a limitation of this study. Eligible participants for this study were limited, therefore the sample size was relatively small. Having a small sample size makes it difficult to generalize these results. However, the

replicability is strong, given that the current study was a replication which found very similar results to the original study. Statistical tests used in this study were robust and the data met all assumptions about variance and normalcy, therefore the small sample size did not seem to greatly impact the results.

Chapter Six: Bridging Empirical Research with Feminist Theory

The purpose of this paper was to situate empowerment based self-defense training as not only a viable option for reframing prevention education, as McCaughey and Cermele (2015) suggest, but also as the foundation for a new feminist theory of rape prevention. If the postmodern belief that victimhood is an internalization of socially mandated feminine passivity and the female body is where patriarchal oppression is embodied, then self-defense training re-shapes gendered embodiment and restores agency to victimhood, or at least allows for their co-existence. Feminists must acknowledge and integrate the data on self-defense into their arguments for empowerment self-defense as a feminist endeavor, but researchers must also consider the gendered implications of empowerment self-defense from a feminist perspective. Feminist theory and prevention research must come together to work toward the integration of empowerment self-defense into mainstream sexual assault prevention.

Self-defense works; physically resisting an attempted assault does not increase the likelihood of injury occurring, but it does reduce the likelihood of completed rape (Senn et al., 2015; Tark & Kleck, 2014; Ullman, 2007). This means that physically fighting back against an assailant, when possible, is more likely to prevent a completed rape from occurring than if a targeted victim was to beg or plead with an assailant. Of course, this does not mean that a woman who does not physically resist is at fault for her rape. The question of resistance should not be one of fault, but rather one of agency. Through Ann J. Cahill's (2001) examination of feminist thought on rape, it is clear that the current gendered existence constructs women as inherently penetrable; a constant receiver of male violence who has no way to avoid being raped by an unstoppable man. Empowerment self-defense training challenges dominant gender beliefs about inevitable female victimization and allows women entry into the conversation about their own

bodies. When women are constructed not as embodying a femaleness defined by inevitable victimhood, but one defined by agency over their own bodies, passivity, or a lack thereof, becomes a strategic choice. Being cast as a victim is no longer the only option in the face of sexual assault, and alternative options must be incorporated into the social narrative of rape.

Feminists who generally oppose self-defense training usually endorse bystander intervention training as the key to preventing sexual violence. Self-defense training engages the body in a way that traditional bystander intervention programs just do not do. By actively rehearsing resistance and intervention strategies and techniques, empowerment self-defense training inscribes a new bodily experience that is not predicated on male terms (McCaughey, 1997; McCaughey, 1998). Self-defense training challenges the cultural discourse surrounding sexual violence that assumes women are always victims and rarely resist an assault, but when they do, it never works to stop the violence being enacted upon them (Cermele, 2010). Despite the data and lived experiences suggesting that women frequently and successfully do resist violence (Ullman, 2007) without being further injured (Tark & Kleck, 2014), women are nonetheless consistently constructed as passive objects, rather than active subjects, both in theory and in applied research. This embodiment of passivity, as it is discussed by Marcus (1992) and Mardorossian (2002) is denaturalized and presented as a resistance strategy through the pedagogy of empowerment self-defense. The strategies taught in empowerment self-defense challenge assumptions about female victimhood and infallible male aggression by reimagining the rape narrative.

Empowerment self-defense increases self-efficacy at thwarting an assault, and those who choose to participate in this training demonstrate self-selection effects; these participants understand what is at stake when it comes to sexual violence, and they improve on their already

high measures of self-efficacy. The quantifiable changes have been measured time and time again and these findings add to the already growing body of literature which supports the claim that self-defense training is an effective tool for reducing occurrences of completed sexual assault; however, the corporeal shift experienced as a result of empowerment self-defense training, while insurmountably important to women's lived experiences, is less easily captured by quantitative research.

The question of how to accurately measure these experiential changes is a difficult issue to tackle within both psychological research and feminist thought, as exemplified by the studies within this paper. Empowerment self-defense challenges gendered embodiment in a way that researchers have not yet been able to capture. Perhaps developing research models based on feminist theorization of rape, such as Sharon Marcus's narrative model, will provide ways in which researchers can quantifiably assess what may be driving individual thoughts and behaviors before, during, and after an attempted assault. The first step toward understanding a quantifiable corporeal experience is to tap into underlying mechanisms of basic gendered behaviors within the context of sexual violence. Adapting a quantifiable model based on feminist theory will allow for considerations of the construction of gendered embodiment as it impacts notions of victimization.

The individual impact of empowerment self-defense training is clear; however, the potential for population-level change is still largely unexplored. It is obvious from the manipulation check in study two that college students in this population do not know much about self-defense, as it was not mentioned by any participant who did not explicitly read about self-defense training in the study. Again, resistance is left out of most conversations about sexual violence. The possibility of a woman *not being victimized* is not something that is easily

accessible within cognitive processes. Much like the difficulties in quantifying corporeal shifts as a result of engaging in empowerment self-defense training, these population-level shifts may also be difficult to quantify.

Attempting to measure attitudes and beliefs about sexual aggression also presents many methodological issues. By simply asking participants about rape myths, researchers may be unintentionally reinforcing those myths. The act of measuring one's endorsement of rape myths requires one to expend cognitive energy to disagree with a statement that may represent the opposite of what is heuristically available to the participant. Stereotypes of passive female victimhood dominate rape myths; therefore, the idea of female resistance is not readily available for men who endorse rape myths, and by asking them to recall anything about sexual violence, they may be more likely to recall information in line with their internalized gender stereotypes. Cognitive distortions about gender stereotypes may impact the decision-making process behind sexually aggressive behavior (Bouffard & Bouffard, 2011; Polaschek & Ward, 2002); therefore, researchers must take caution when measuring certain aspects about sexual aggression

These issues speak not only to larger cultural resistance to self-defense training, but also to feminist resistance to self-defense training. Women who display strength and assertiveness are perceived as aggressive and unfeminine (McCaughey, 1997). Many of the critiques offered by anti-self-defense feminists are the same critiques visible in men who disavow women who train in self-defense or resist assault. Cahill (2001) explains that women "risk a loss of their feminine appeal should they appear overly aggressive or even active" (p 39). By engaging in behaviors that are categorized as aggressive, women challenge a construction of femininity that is rooted in passive victimization at the hands of a dominant male.

As Marcus (1997) explains, womanhood is constructed around feminine bodies that are cast to play a role of passive victim. In the context of Catharine MacKinnon's arguments about a lack of agency within female sexuality, Cahill explains, "Women are implicated in the system of their own domination precisely as they participate in a constructed heterosexuality that assumes, even requires, that they respond erotically to masculine aggression" (Cahill, 2001, p. 39). It is not that deconstructing gendered embodiment positions women as causing rape, as Mardorossian (2002) has inaccurately argued; it is in deconstructing gendered embodiment that we see women are cast to play a role of passive victim in such a way that resisting would challenge their very existence as female, and subsequently the existence of men solely as holding power over women.

The underlying premise of the findings from the two studies conducted in this paper provide empirical support for Marcus's (1992) claim of a false sense of agency in passivity as the only response to attempted assault. One feels a sense of agency in responding during an assault; however, the act of responding in and of itself is not indicative of having agency when passive responses are the only options presented within the model of woman-as-victim. While there is no "right" or "wrong" way to respond to an assault, the social narrative tells us that there are only so many available options for women. When there is one viable way in which a woman can respond to an assault, the ability to make a decision on one's own behalf disappears. Much like MacKinnon's argument that (hetero)sexual activity for a woman is not a choice when there are no other acceptable options (Cahill, 2001), passive compliance is not a strategic decision if there are no other acceptable options with which to respond to an assault. Empowerment self-defense does the work required to establish passivity as one active and viable option in the face of assault.

Work has started within the psychological community to begin integrating feminist theory into psychological approaches to sexual violence. One new perspective called the Feminist Framework Plus model (McPhail, 2016) combines multiple feminist theories on rape, including pieces of Brownmiller (1975), MacKinnon (1989), and Cahill (2001) into one integrated model that claims to acknowledge rape as a sexual act that occurs as a result of multiple factors on an individual, bodily level, as well as on a political level, while also emphasizing the harm rape causes to different identities (i.e., race or sexuality). McPhail (2016) has successfully attempted what this paper seeks to do; however, this theory leaves out key pieces from theorists such as Sharon Marcus (1992) and Martha McCaughey (1998) who lay the foundation for an empirical-theoretical model of self-defense and resistance training as sexual assault prevention. Future work should seek to actively incorporate Marcus (1992) and McCaughey (1998) into these discussions.

Empowerment self-defense training challenges patriarchal assumptions about the female body (McCaughey, 1998). Feminist scholar Martha McCaughey (1998) refers to self-defense training as fostering the “fighting spirit” in women. This “fighting spirit” is the material application of the female body as a site of the theoretical resistance. The emphasis on physicality and embodiment that empowerment self-defense training provides to women creates a new agentic feminine bodily comportment (McCaughey, 1998). Empowerment self-defense has proven to be a promising feminist model of sexual assault prevention that accounts for inadequacies in traditional bystander intervention education and challenges toxic gender norms that perpetuate sexual assault on a cultural level. If feminists seek to push empowerment self-defense training as a means for sexual assault prevention education and acquire the funding to do so, then feminist theory and sexual assault researchers must enter into a discussion that produces

scholarship that is informed by both sides. The conversation about sexual assault prevention efforts and can only positively progress if we start encouraging women to challenge assumptions of passive victimhood with “the fighting spirit” because, as Sharon Marcus (1992) so eloquently explains, “we will be waiting a very long time if we wait for men to decide not to rape” (p. 400).

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Appendix A: Measures for Study One

Self-defense Decisional Balance Scale

Each statement represents a thought that might occur to a person who is deciding whether or not to utilize resistance skills. Please indicate how important each of these statements would be to you if you were considering using physical or verbal resistance skills in a dangerous situation. Please select the number that best describes how important each statement would be to you if you were deciding whether or not to resist.

1	2	3	4	5
not important at all	slightly important	moderately important	very important	extremely important

1. If I resist against an assailant, I may prevent completion of a sexual assault.	1 2 3 4 5
2. It is important for me to be involved in my own protection.	1 2 3 4 5
3. Friends will admire me if I resist an assault.	1 2 3 4 5
4. I will feel stronger if I resist an assault.	1 2 3 4 5
5. I like thinking of myself as someone who is capable of resistance.	1 2 3 4 5
6. Resisting might make someone angry with me.	1 2 3 4 5
7. Resisting might cost me relationships.	1 2 3 4 5
8. I could get physically hurt by resisting an assault.	1 2 3 4 5
9. I could make the wrong decision and use resistance skills when it is not necessary.	1 2 3 4 5
10. People might think I'm overreacting to the situation by using resistance skills.	1 2 3 4 5
11. I could get in trouble by making the wrong decision and resisting.	1 2 3 4 5

Bystander Efficacy – Short form (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005)

Please read each of the following behaviors. Indicate in the column Confidence how confident you are that you could do them. Rate your degree of confidence by recording a whole number from 0 to 100 using the scale given below:

0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
can't do			quite uncertain			moderately certain				very certain

	Confidence
1. Get help and resources for a friend who tells me they have been raped.	_____
2. Do something to help a very drunk person who is being brought upstairs to a bedroom by a group of people at a party.	_____
3. Do something if I see a woman surrounded by a group of men at a party who looks very uncomfortable.	_____
4. Speak up to someone who is making excuses for forcing someone to have sex with them.	_____

Dating and Acquaintance Rape Scale

The following statements deal with people's opinions and beliefs about sexual assault and people's level of comfort with different dating or relationship situations. Please circle the

number along the rating scale that best indicates how much you disagree or agree with each of the following statements.

1. Rape among dates and acquaintances is a major problem at my school.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

2. Only a few women will have to deal with a rape attempt by a date or acquaintance during their years at my school.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

3. Only a few men will have to deal with a rape attempt by a date or acquaintance during their years at my school.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

4. I personally stand a good chance of having to deal with a rape attempt by a date or acquaintance sometime during my years at my school.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

5. The possibility of being raped by my date is the last thing on my mind when I am out having a good time.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

6. I never worry about going home alone with a date.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

7. If I sense anything about a woman that makes me uncomfortable, I'm able to avoid being alone with her.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

8. If I sense anything about a man that makes me uncomfortable, I'm able to avoid being alone with him.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

9. I can't seem to make it clear to people that they need to respect my personal space.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

10. It's very hard for me to tell a date what I do or do not want to do sexually.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7

not at all agree very much agree

11. If a date refused to stop after I said to stop, I wouldn't know what I could do to make that person stop.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

12. I know a number of basic self defense techniques that I would be able to use if anyone tried to rape me.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

13. When I am alone with a man I don't know well, I sometimes feel afraid of him but I can't do anything about it.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

14. When I am alone with a woman I don't know well, I sometimes feel afraid of her but I can't do anything about it.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

15. If I heard a person yelling or screaming in another room I wouldn't know what I could do.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

16. Sometimes people I know make me feel uneasy, but I ignore my fears so I can stay on good terms with them.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

17. I will take care of myself first and others second, including people with whom I am friends or dating.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

18. If a person doesn't treat me well, I can do very nicely without him or her in my life.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

19. I would rather have very few relationships in my life than a lot, if having a lot means that some of them are abusive.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

20. If any person thinks he or she can make me have sex, that person is going to learn a painful lesson.

1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

21. I get furious when a person acts as if he or she has the right to expect sex from me.
1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

22. People who dress to look their best for a date are not necessarily indicating that they want sex.
1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

23. If a person doesn't stop when someone says *no*, it's rape.
1----------2----------3----------4----------5----------6----------7
not at all agree very much agree

Modified Self-Efficacy Scale (Ozer & Bandura, 1990)

1. How widespread is the risk of assault?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Some situations Many situations Most situations

2. How easy is it for you to tell which situations are risky and which are safe?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Easy Moderately difficult Extremely difficult

3. How anxious do you feel about the possibility of sexual assault?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
No anxiety Moderate anxiety High anxiety

On a scale of 1 (cannot do at all) to 10 (certainly can do), how confident are you that you can:

	If a stranger attacks you:	If an acquaintance attacks you (Casual dating or friend):
Yell loudly more than once		
Struggle physically in some way		
Use physically fighting back to get away		
Disable assailant		
Knock out assailant		

Appendix B: Measures for Study Two

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.	T	F
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.	T	F
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.	T	F
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.	T	F
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.	T	F
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.	T	F
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.	T	F
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.	T	F
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.	T	F
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.	T	F
11. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.	T	F
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.	T	F
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.	T	F

If you could be assured that no one would know and that you could in no way be punished for engaging in the following acts, how likely, if at all, would you be to commit these acts?

	Not at all				Very likely
1. Sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
2. Rape	1	2	3	4	5
3. Forcing my partner to do something sexual they didn't want to do	1	2	3	4	5

Each statement below represents a thought that might occur to a person who is making a decision about having sex. Please select the number that best describes how important each statement would be to you if you were deciding whether or not to engage in sexual activity.

	1 Not Important	2 Slightly Important	3 Moderately Important	4 Very Important	5 Extremely Important
1. If I become forceful with a woman, I may get in trouble with the law.	1	2	3	4	5
2. If I am aggressive or violent, my partner may leave me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. If I make threats, my partner may be more likely to do what I say.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My aggressive actions may convince a woman to have sex with me.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The tactics I may use to get sex with my partner may physically hurt them.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The tactics I may use to get sex with my partner may hurt their feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
7. If I have sex with my partner when they really don't want to, they won't trust me.	1	2	3	4	5
8. If I make the decision about when I have sex with my partner, they will respect me.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Other people may think less of me if I use force to have sex with my partner.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Using anger or force may be faster than waiting for my partner to agree.	1	2	3	4	5

Please rate your agreement or disagreement with each item below.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree		Do not agree or disagree		Strongly agree

1. I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them.	1 2 3 4 5
2. I believe that most women tell the truth.	1 2 3 4 5
3. I usually find myself agreeing with women.	1 2 3 4 5
4. I think that most women would lie just to get ahead.	1 2 3 4 5
5. Generally, it is safer not to trust women.	1 2 3 4 5
6. When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful.	1 2 3 4 5
7. I am easily angered by women.	1 2 3 4 5
8. I am sure I get a raw deal from the women in my life.	1 2 3 4 5
9. Sometimes women bother me by just being around.	1 2 3 4 5
10. Women are responsible for most of my troubles.	1 2 3 4 5

Out of each pair below, please select the option you agree with most.

1. a. Fair is fair in love and war.
   b. All is fair in love and war.

2. a. Get a woman drunk, high, or hot and she'll let you do whatever you want.
   b. It's gross and unfair to use alcohol and drugs to convince a woman to have sex.

3. a. Women who tease should be forgiven.
   b. Women who tease should be raped.

4. a. Any man who is a man needs to have sexual regularly.
   b. Any man who is a man can do without sex.

5. a. All women, even feminists, are worthy of respect.
   b. The only woman worthy of respect is your own mother.

6. a. You have to fuck some women before they know who's boss.
   b. You have to love some women before they know you don't want to be boss.

7. a. Hook-ups should expect to put out.
   b. Hook-ups should choose their men carefully.

8. a. Some women are good for only one thing.
   b. All women deserve the same respect as your own mother.

9. a. I only want to have sex with women who are in total agreement.
   b. I never feel bad about my tactics when I have sex.

10. a. Lesbians have chosen a particular life style and should be respected for it
    b. The only thing a lesbian needs is a good, stiff cock.