THESIS

WALK LIKE A MAN:

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ANTI-SEXUAL VIOLENCE WEBSITES FOR MEN

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ABSTRACT

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This study was the first step in examining the messages of anti-sexual assault websites that target men as perpetrators. The overarching question it set out to answer was whether these sites perpetuate rape myth acceptance. The study began with a literature review of rape myth acceptance theory and anti-sexual assault campaigns. One important theme from the literature is that holding stereotypical or traditional gender role beliefs is the number on predictor of rape myth acceptance. The method was devised using the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression (AMMSA) scale. A content analysis was then conducted on four websites chosen based on two criteria: approach and organization type. Two sites used a traditionally masculine approach and two sites used an androgyny advocacy approach. One traditionally masculine site was administered by a nonprofit organization and one was a governmental site. One androgyny site was also nonprofit and one was governmental. This was designed to bring balance to the purposive sample, and to compare and contrast these two dimensions.

Key findings included gender stereotypes and rapes myths on all four websites. Empathy was found most overall, and miscommunication was found least. Images of men outnumbered women 31 percent to five percent. Masculine gender stereotypes, justification, and uncontrolled sexuality were most prevalent on the traditionally masculine sites, and feminine gender stereotypes, denial, and emancipated sexuality were found most prevalent on the androgynous

sites. Victim blame was found on all four sites. No differences were found between the nonprofit and governmental sites.

The messages on these sites may explicitly endorse an anti-sexual assault agenda, but the text and images contain gender stereotypes and rape myth functions that undermine the websites' purpose and perpetuate rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance remains the number one predictor of men committing rape, and the sexual assault rate in the US has remained the same for thirty years. It is possible that mass media messages not only fail to actually impact attitudes and behaviors concerning sexual assault, but they may unknowingly perpetuate rape culture. Further research on audience effects is needed to determine how men receive, interpret, and act on these messages.

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INTRODUCTION

Gender violence. Sexual assault. Rape. The language used to describe coercive sexual acts has changed over the years, but the problem itself persists. According to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) Fact Sheet (2012) sexual violence (SV) is a significant problem in the U.S. Perpetrators are typically male and an acquaintance, family member, or trusted individual (Centers for Disease Control Factsheet, 2012; National Sexual Violence Resource Center [NSVRS], 2012). Victims are typically female and include children, teens, adults, and elders (NSVRC, 2012). A three-year National Injury Control and Risk Survey conducted by the CDC reported that 10.2 percent of women experience a completed rape once in a lifetime (Basile, Chen, Black & Saltzman, 2007), and one in five women in the U.S. will be sexually assaulted at some time in their lives (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, Chen, & Stevens, 2010).

In the CDC's Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance (2010), a nationwide survey of high school students, eight percent reported experiencing rape. Within that group 11 percent were female and five percent were male. An estimated 20 to 25 percent of college women in the U.S. have experienced an attempted or completed rape during their college careers (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). The focus of sexual violence prevention programs has often fallen on the victims to facilitate behavior change, such as self-defense education. For example, many college campuses offer free rides or walking partners at night so women do not walk home alone. Much research on the topic also focuses on the victims, but what about the perpetrators? Who are they and what prevention programs exist for them?

According to the Rape Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) the average rapist is 31 years old and 52 percent are Caucasian. RAINN also reports that 22 percent of rapists are married and 16 percent are under the age of 18. The CDC Factsheet (2012) includes a "Perpetrator Risk Factors" section that compiles the most common attributes of offenders. The list includes being male, having friends who are sexually aggressive, witnessing or experiencing violence as a child, alcohol or drug use, and/or being exposed to social norms or shared beliefs that support sexual violence (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). Recently a number of governmental and nonprofit organizations have launched website prevention campaigns that target perpetrators instead of victims. These campaigns attempt to shift the responsibility of preventing rape from women to men, victim to perpetrator.

Imagine if a shop owner installs security cameras to prevent shoplifting, which may deter some thieves and not others. The burden of protecting the store falls completely on the owner. Now imagine if education through a state or national media campaign could effectively get people to not shoplift. The potential is that a combination of the two approaches can more effectively address the problem than one approach alone. This is a simplistic analogy, but it illustrates the need for targeting men as perpetrators with prevention education, as well as teaching women how to protect themselves from becoming victims.

The NSVRC (2012) maintains that sexual violence is preventable through primary prevention campaigns that seek to change cultural norms, and thus behavior, by teaching people not to violate others. Some of these approaches include engaging high school students in mentoring programs or other skill-based activities that address healthy sexuality and dating relationships; helping parents identify and address violent attitudes and behaviors in their children; creating policies at work, at school, and in other places that address sexual harassment;

and developing mass media (TV, radio, websites and social media) messages to promote norms or shared beliefs about healthy sexual relationships (CDC, 2012). It is possible for these approaches to be used in conjunction with one or more of the others, but this study focuses solely on mass media approaches to prevention campaigns, specifically websites targeting men.

No research currently exists about the messages contained on these sites. That is why one question in this research is what messages do these websites convey? Outwardly they project anti-sexual assault messages, but do gendered approaches to prevention material contain content that defeat the messages' central goals? Masters (2010) identifies two approaches these websites take: traditional masculinity and androgyny advocacy. Both approaches use traditional gender roles in attempts to change men's attitudes about rape. However, a tenet of rape myth acceptance (RMA) theory is that belief in traditional gender roles is the best predictor of RMA. The first step in this study is examining the manifest and latent content of these websites to determine what messages they actually convey to their audiences.

Once the actual message content is determined, the next question is whether these sites perpetuate RMA? RMA theory emerged from psychology and cultural anthropology to predict men's engagement in sexual violence (Desai, Edwards, & Gidycz, 2008). It measures the degree to which people accept rape myths, or false but persistently held cultural beliefs about rape. Traditional gender stereotypes are the best predictor for RMA, and RMA is the best predictor for sexual violence. Therefore, it is important to know if these messages contain gender stereotypes and rape myths that perpetuate RMA. These sites' gendered approaches may be clever or stylish, but they may be working against the prevention of sexual assault. The two overarching questions for the study then are:

1. What messages do anti-sexual violence websites for men convey?

2. Do anti-sexual violence websites for men perpetuate rape myth acceptance?

A content analysis will be conducted because that is the best method for determining message content. Four websites are analyzed, two that take traditional masculinity approaches and two that use androgyny advocacy. For balance, one of each is a nonprofit site and one is a governmental site. RMA and the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression (AMMSA) scale are used to explicate the concepts for study because RMA is still considered the best predictor of sexual violence today. The AMMSA was chosen because it is the latest scale based on RMA that accounts for people's understanding of politically correct answers that may not reflect actual attitudes. This scale is subtle and nuanced for modern modes of communication.

Once researchers attain a better understanding of the message and its receivers, more strategic communication campaigns can be designed to target men at many levels: middle school, high school, and college. Colleges in particular can benefit from the results of this study, and subsequent studies, to target specific groups within colleges, such as men's athletics and men's Greek organizations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Rape Myths

Burt's (1980) seminal work defines rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (p. 217). These rape myths rationalize sexual violence to offenders and create hostile environments for survivors (Burt, 1980; Brownmiller, 1975). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) updated this definition to define rape myths as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p. 134). The central characteristic in this definition is not the degree to which a myth represents an empirical fact, but rather the cultural function the myth serves (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, 1995; Edwards et al., 2011). This definition continues to be accepted and supported by the literature, hence its use in this study.

The rape myths themselves are a combination of victim blame, perpetrator absolution, and the rationalization of sexual violence against women (Edwards et al., 2011; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The four core rape myths include:

1. A husband cannot rape his wife
2. Women enjoy rape and/or fantasize about rape
3. Women ask to be raped
4. Women lie about being raped

Each myth has a back-story that helps explain how it came into the cultural consciousness. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) wrote that myths often have a "grain of truth" in them, and rape myths are no different. Some countries have variations on these myths and in some cases entirely

new myths consistent with cultural values. The four core myths were chosen for this study because all western rape myths originate with them, but they are not limited to western thinking.

History of rape myths

The "husbands cannot rape their wives" myth began as legal truth. In 1736, British Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale decreed that "the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself in this kind unto her husband, which she cannot retract" (Martin, Taft, & Resick, 2007; Edwards et al., 2011). The Hale Doctrine, as it became known, was accepted into U.S. law in 1857. But beginning with South Dakota in the 1970s, all 50 states have now made marital rape illegal. However, a 2009 study by the National Center for the Prosecution of Violence Against Women found that 31 states have some exception to their marital rape laws. For example, "marital rape is prosecutable only if the spouses are living apart, legally separated, or divorced, if physical force is used, or if the wife cannot consent due to mental impairment or incapacitation" (Edwards, et al., 2011).

This myth also gains cultural credence from Christianity. Biblical verses, like Ephesians 5:22, "Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord," or 1 Corinthians 7:4 "The wife does not have authority over her own body, but the husband does" (Bible, 1982), taken literally can be used to justify marital sexual violence (in Edwards et al., 2011; Fortune, 2005). Sheldon and Parent (2002) conducted a study of clergy attitudes toward marital rape by asking questions about hypothetical marital situations. They found that 61 percent of clergy agreed that the wife was coerced in some way; however, 24 percent believed that the woman did not adequately defend herself or properly escape. A significant 11 percent stated that the wife should be

submissive and "know the proper marital role" (Sheldon & Parent, 2002). The persistence of this particular myth shows that hundreds of years of legal and religious doctrine are not easily overcome.

The "women enjoy rape" myth got its start from Herodotus, a Greek historian in the 5th century B.C.E. He wrote: "abducting young women is not, indeed a lawful act; but it is stupid after the event to make a fuss about it. The only sensible thing is to take no notice; for it is obvious that no young woman allows herself to be (raped) if she does not want to be" (in Horos, 1974). This view was accepted in Victorian England and carried over to the United States. The legal implications include a burden of proof on the victim to show "evidence of physical force" (Schulhofer, 1998). Lack of vaginal injury or self-lubrication during the assault is often used in court to "prove" that a victim enjoyed herself (Schulhofer, 1998; Bryden, 2000).

An offshoot of this myth is the myth of "token resistance," the idea that when women say no they really mean yes. Before 2003 in Britain, men only had to legally prove that they "honestly believed" a woman had consented, which was later repealed by the Sexual Offence Act (Edwards et al., 2011). Loh et al. (2005) found that one-third of college-age men perceived token resistance from a previous partner, and that they were three times more likely to commit sexually aggressive acts than the other participants who perceived no token resistance from a previous partner. Another study by Carmody and Washington (2001) found that one to four percent of college-age women believe that women secretly desire to be raped, while 15 to 16 percent of college-age men believe it. This myth has been culturally reinforced through art, literature, music, and the media, from the Marquis de Sade to the recent bestseller *Fifty Shades of Grey*.

The "women asked to be raped" myth is also sometimes referred to as the "she had it coming" myth. This refers to risky behaviors that place blame on the victim. For example, wearing sexy clothing, or walking home at night alone. Johnson, Kuck, and Schander (1997) found that 27 percent of college-age men and 10 percent of college-age women endorse the myth that "women provoke rape" (p. 697). A 2005 British Amnesty International poll reported that 22 percent of those surveyed "thought a woman was partially or totally responsible for rape if she had many sexual partners, and 26 percent thought her partially or totally responsible for rape if she was wearing sexy or revealing clothing" (Walklate, 2008).

This attitude, like the rest, made its way into the legal system. Feild and Bienen (1980) showed that jurors acceptance of this myth was the best predictor of rape case verdicts. A study of 360 rape case jurors found that when evidence of alcohol, drugs, or promiscuity was introduced jurors denied the perpetrator's guilt (LaFree, Reskin, & Visher, 1985). McMahon (2010) reported that 53 percent of college students believe that a woman's actions led to sexual violence. In a feminist analysis Cahill (2000) stated that women must "monitor, police, restrict, and even hinder their movements in an attempt to ensure the safety of their bodies" (p. 57). The underlying message is still that a woman is responsible for not getting raped.

The final myth, "women lie about rape," can be traced back to the Greek myth of Hippolytus and Phaedra and the Old Testament story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39: 7–23), in which women were rejected by men and then lie about being raped as a means of revenge (Edwards et al., 2011). Unfortunately, cases of false rape accusations are rare, and yet the myth is widely accepted. Burt (1980) found that even though false rape accusations accounted for only two to eight percent of all rape accusations, 50 percent of men and women believed the myth (Lonsway, Archambault, & Lisak, 2007). Kahlor and Morrison (2007)

reported that college-age women thought 19 percent of rape accusations were false, and college-age men believed 22 percent were false. Also, 13 percent of men in the study believed that "women lead men on and then cry rape" (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007, p.730).

One implication for victims lies with law enforcement. Page (2008) found evidence that police officers were less likely to believe victims if they did not resemble a stereotypical rape victim. For example, if they were not a virgin, or had a prior relationship with the perpetrator, police were more likely to dismiss their claims. Another implication comes from the media. Franiuk, Seefelt, Cepress, and Vandello (2008) reported that the way the news media frames rape victims directly affects consumer rape beliefs. The evidence showed that after reading stories containing rape myths, college-age men and women were more likely to blame the victim (Franiuk et al., 2008).

The media also tend to focus on high profile cases in which the victim is blamed or DNA evidence is used to prove the victims are lying, as with the Kobe Bryant and Duke La Cross cases (Edwards et al., 2011). A content analysis of prime time television shows revealed that 42 percent of plots depicted a woman "wanting" to be raped, 38 percent depicted a victim lying about rape, and 46 percent featured women "asking" to be raped through risky behavior (Brinson, 1992; Edwards et al., 2011). One goal of this research is to see if prevention media endorse or challenge the myths that the news and television media perpetuate.

A myriad of lesser known rape myths and cultural and legal variations have emerged, but this research focuses on these four core myths to study prevention messages. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) argued that the truth or falseness of a rape myth is not as important as the cultural function it serves.

Rape myth functions and gender stereotypes

Burt (1980) first hypothesized that rape myths are the means through which people cognitively justify dismissing acts of sexual violence. The rape myths separate certain acts in certain situations from "real rape," thus lowering the perception of vulnerability (Burt, 1991). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) went a step further in defining rape myth functions. "The hypothesized net effect of rape myths is to deny or reduce perceived injury or to blame the victims for their own victimization" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 136). In other words, women use rape myths to lessen feelings of vulnerability, and men use them to rationalize sexual aggression. Both sexes use rape myths to blame the victim because that particular myth serves the purposes of both sexes.

The question is not as simple as how each sex uses rape myths, but also how sex informs them. Burt (1980) tested sex-role stereotyping with nine questions on her Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMAS). Each used a 7-point likert scale, with a construct reliability of Crohnbach's alpha .80, to determine if stereotypical gender beliefs predicted rape myth acceptance. She found that sex-role stereotyping positively (.498) predicted rape myth acceptance in females, and positively (.374) predicted rape myth acceptance in males. The results of the study led Burt (1980) to conclude that, "rape attitudes are strongly connected to other deeply held and pervasive attitudes such as sex role stereotyping" (p. 229).

Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1999) tested sex-role stereotyping in their Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (IRMAS) by using Burt's (1980) nine-item scale and Rombough and Ventimighlia's (1981) 20-item sexism scale. They found positive correlations, sex-role stereotyping - .55; sexism scale - .63, between both scales and rape myth acceptance with a reliability of $p < .001$. They concluded that respondents who scored higher on the IRMAS were

"more likely to hold traditional sex role stereotypes" (p. 55).

Kress, Shepherd, Anders, Petuch, Nolan, and Thiemeke (2006) replicated Payne et al.'s (1999) findings in a pre-test/post-test study that measured the differences in rape myth acceptance and sex-role stereotyping prior to and following an anti-sexual assault workshop. They also noted that females had fewer stereotypical gender beliefs than males prior to the workshop, but both sexes showed a significant drop ($p < .01$) in sex-role stereotyping and rape myth acceptance after the 2.5-hour workshop. The workshop included a presentation by facilitators, a peer theater performance, a group dialogue about the performance, and a gender-separate dialogue session with a facilitator. The workshop and study was sponsored by Baldwin-Wallace University, and the content focused on anti-sexual violence education and campus policies regarding sexual assault (Kress et al., 2006).

Maccoby (1998) noted that children learn gender stereotypes early from parents, teachers, and peers, which effectively trains them to expect power inequalities between the sexes in heterosexual relationships. "The acceptance of traditional gender roles for men and women and the acceptance of negative, stereotypical views of women are related to rape myth acceptance attitudes" (Kress et al., 2006, p. 150). Acceptance of gender stereotypes predicts rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980; Lee, Busch, Kim, & Lim., 2007; Mallet & Herbe, 2011).

Domestic and international rape myths

Bradley, Yeater, and O'Donohue (2009) examined a sexual violence prevention program at the University of North Dakota. They compared the effectiveness of a presentation to a mixed-gendered group with two control group presentations, one with only males and one with only females. The mixed-gender presentation used a didactic, information based approach that

encouraged students to say how they feel about definitions of consent, rape laws, the role of alcohol and drugs, etc. (Bradley et al., 2009). This program used the assumption that attitude change leads to behavior change, but the authors admit that this study did not test for that (Bradley et al., 2009). The study did use self-reporting surveys to measure rape attitudes after students in each group attended the presentation. Both men and women reported an increase in sexual violence knowledge and a decrease in RMA. Men in the mixed-gender group and the male control group reported an increase in victim empathy following the presentation. All participants reveled a higher level of empathy, sadness, and distress. The authors also reported a decrease in RMA among men, but they provided no evidence to support that claim (Bradley et al., 2009).

A study by Lyndon, Duffy, Hall-Smith, and White (2011) researched the effectiveness of using high school coaches to foster sexual violence prevention. The premise of this program is that participation in sports helps develop life skills like teamwork, cooperation, and respect for others (Lyndon et al., 2011). Gould, Chung, Smith, and White (2006) identified coaches' roles in the social, psychological, and character development of athletes. Lyndon et al. (2011) identified four factors associated with sports that predict sexual aggression:

1. Substance use
2. Competitiveness
3. Adherence to masculine gender ideals
4. High number of sexual partners

Notably, Lyndon et al. (2011) found that high school coaches actually endorse gender stereotypes and rape myths, lack gender and sexual violence education, minimize the problem of male sexual aggression, and are resistant to engaging in sexual violence prevention. They

suggest coaches as targets for sexual violence prevention programs because they did find coaches as influential adults or "opinion leaders" for high school students (Lyndon et al., 2011). Instead of imparting negative gender stereotypes and reinforcing rape myths coaches could influence positive and healthy sexuality and dating, but that premise needs to be researched in more depth.

McMahon (2010) conducted in-depth interviews and focus groups with high school athletes to determine if they endorsed rape myths and if so, which ones. Male and female athletes endorsed the "some girls ask for it" myth by dressing or acting provocatively. Male athletes alone endorsed the myths that girls falsely claim rape out of revenge or regret, and sometimes rape is "accidental" (McMahon, 2010). The first two rape myths are common, but the third myth is interesting because it incorporates elements of the "women ask to be raped" myth, which is an issue of consent, and victim blame. Tannen (1992) posited the "miscommunication model" of rape in which men claim a misunderstanding concerning consent. This echoes the old British law that said men only had to believe they had consent, and it places responsibility on the victim instead of the perpetrator (Hansen, O'Byrne, & Rapley, 2010; Crawford, 1995). Katz (1995) argues for the effectiveness of the Center for the Study of Sport in Society's Mentors in Violence Project (MVP), which places the onus of responsibility on empowered bystanders. The program teaches athletes how to intervene in abusive situations and act as role models for younger athletes (Katz, 1995; Lyndon et al., 2011).

A disturbing study by Mallet and Herbe (2011) found that in France rape myths are prevalent by the time kids enter high school. In their pretest survey (based on the U.S. survey by Davis, Peck, & Storment, 1993) of 248 adolescents with a mean age of 14 years eight months, 66 percent of boys and 57 percent of girls agreed that it is acceptable for a boy to force sex on a girl

if she gets him sexually excited (p. 373). The next highest scoring myth was "they have had sex before," with 56 percent of boys and 52 percent of girls saying that makes it okay for a boy to force sex on a girl.

A second test was conducted six months later on the same students with only a slight drop in percentages. "She gets him sexually excited" dropped to 59 percent of boys and 48 percent of girls agreeing. "They have had sex before" dropped to 48 percent of boys and 37 percent of girls agreeing. It is important to note that an hour-long debrief/prevention program was conducted for the students after they completed the second test, so the drop in numbers cannot be correlated to any prevention measures (Mallet & Herbe, 2011; Davis et al., 1993). The authors hypothesized that sexual knowledge increases in adolescence, which decreases beliefs in gender stereotypes and rape myths. However, the authors tested a sexual knowledge variable and found only a two percent increase in sexual knowledge in the six-month gap between tests, and were unable to correlate increased sexual knowledge with decreased gender stereotypes and rape myths. Mallet and Herbe (2011) suggest that this increase is cumulative over the span of adolescence, and admit that more longitudinal studies need to be conducted to test this claim.

The two important things to take away from these studies is that both Davis et al. (1993) and Mallet and Herbe (2011) found that RMA is higher in boys than in girls, and that adolescents perceive rape as a function of sexuality in which men are dominant and women are submissive. In fact, Davis et al., (1993) showed that 60 percent of American middle school males agreed that it is acceptable for boys to force sex on girls in one or more situations. Additionally, Cowan and Quinton (1997) correlated stereotyping of male sexuality with victim blaming, equating rape with men's inability to control their sexual desires.

Sutton, Brown, Wilson, and Klein (2002) say that adolescents "in Western societies are

exposed to a pervasive flow of explicit sexual information, especially conveyed by television, magazines, and the Internet" (p. 25). A content analysis conducted of primetime television shows popular among adolescents revealed that men are frequently portrayed as being overcome by sexual urges, and forcefully engaging women in sex (Kim, Sorsoli, Collins, Zylbergold, Schooler, & Tolman, 2007). The overarching theme researchers observed is men and women (or boys and girls) "thinking, feeling, and behaving in relational and sexual encounters in ways that sustain power inequalities between men and women'' (Kim et al., 2007, p. 145).

Mallet and Herbe (2011) think this constant flow of sexual information reinforces adolescents' beliefs that rape is acceptable in certain situations because it relies strongly on gender stereotypes. If adolescents (and adults as well) are bombarded with sexual information that reinforces gender stereotypes and rape myths, then how is the counter-flow of prevention media depicting men and women? The following campaigns compare and contrast social and cultural gender stereotypes and rape myths in order to foster a better understanding of existing prevention messages.

Israel

Israel's rape prevalence rate is similar to the U.S. at 20 percent (Moor, 2009, 2011). Moor's (2011) study of prevention education in Israel provides insights into the success or failure of specific message components. The Association of Rape Crisis Centers in Israel (ARCCI) is composed of nine regional offices that provide prevention education and rape counseling. This particular study took place at the ARCCI office in the Sharon region of Central Israel in 2009.

The ARCCI's mission includes bringing about a decline in sexual violence through

education emphasizing the importance of consent and mutuality in sexual relationships, providing information about sexual violence to foster changes in rape supportive attitudes and myths, pointing out inappropriate dating behavior, and increasing empathy for victims (ARCCI, 2009). The prevention materials are based on the assumption that attitude change leads to behavior change, which is a common assumption of prevention programs across the board. The ARCCI (2009) estimates that 60 percent of all rape crisis calls come from adolescents or younger children, so their prevention program targets teens because that is when they "develop dating scripts and are exposed to cultural misinformation" (Moor, 2011, p. 284).

Moor (2011) conducted a survey of 394 11th graders with a mean age of 17. Each student was given a pretest, required to attend a two-hour prevention education workshop, and then complete a posttest. The author calls this particular prevention program an "intervention approach" and evaluated its effectiveness. The programs goals include providing accurate information about coercion to promote adequate dating and sexual norms, fostering the ability to recognize coercion from norms, dispelling common rape myths and sex-role socialization with accurate information, expanding behavioral choices, strengthening the ability to withstand peer pressure, discussing the effects of alcohol, drugs, and pornography, assigning responsibility to the perpetrator instead of the victim, and enlisting men as victim supporters rather than potential perpetrators (ARCCI, 2009; Moor, 2011).

Two problems already exist with this prevention program before even considering the study results. One, that is a lot of goals for one two-hour prevention workshop with 17-year-olds near the end of adolescence. Davis et al. (1993) and Mallet and Herbe (2011) showed that children as young as twelve have already developed gender stereotypes, rape myths, and dating scripts. Two, the author uses the term "norms" to describe non-coercive sex. This term is too

broad and abstract to be useful and could even imply gender stereotypes as normal. The study did yield some interesting results despite its flaws.

On the posttest, both sexes showed a significant improvement in interpreting women's sexual intent, although boys scored lower than girls on both the pretest and posttest. The same results emerged for understanding what constitutes rape. Boys blamed the victim more than girls on both tests, but neither sex showed any improvement on the posttest. The only significant behavior change indicated by boys was the inclination to examine a partner's reaction when touched before proceeding, and boys showed a higher tendency to sexually touch to "test the water" (Moor, 2011). However, they also showed a lower tendency than girls to stop sexual activity if they were already aroused. And finally, Moor (2011) found that boys endorsed rape as a function of uncontrolled sexual desire.

What's interesting about the Israeli study is that the results support Mallet and Herbe's (2011) study in France, Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1994) and Davis et al.'s (1993) studies in the U.S., and even Burt's original RMA study in 1980. The point is that in 30 years rape myths and gender stereotypes have remained largely unchanged, in the U.S. and abroad.

Korea

The South Korean government did not begin taking sex crimes seriously until nearly the end of the 20th century. In 1994, they passed the Punishment of Sexual Crimes and Protection of Victims Act, and have since amended it nine times to expand the legal rights of victims and provide more victim's assistance programs (Lee, Jinseok, & Hyunsung, 2010). At the time the law was passed, only 12 rape counseling centers existed in the entire country, but by 2002 the country had added 88 new counseling centers (Kim, Cho, Kim, & Kim, 2002). The problem is

that the number of rape crisis centers is increasing in proportion to the number of reported sexual assaults.

The Supreme Prosecutors' Office of the Republic of Korea reported that between 1996 and 2006, incidents of sexual violence rose from 15.1 per 100,000 to 27.7 per 100,000, an increase of 83 percent (Kim, Kim, Kim, Cho, Kim, & Lee, 2008). They also admit that this is merely the reported cases, and suspect that the actual number of incidents is much higher (Kim et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2010). A survey by Shim, Yun, Park, Cho, Kim, and Kang (1990) of residents in Seoul, South Korea found the report rate for sexual violence at only 1.8 percent. A later survey was conducted nationally by Kim et al. (2008) and found the report rate at 7.1 percent. The later data is marginally better, but still leaves the report rate abysmally low and shows that sexual violence is a legitimate problem in South Korea.

Lee et al. (2010) examined RMA among Korean college students with the assumption that rape myths "reflect the cultural values and norms of each individual society" (p. 1200-01). Hence, Korean rape myths would differ from Western rape myths based on differences in social and cultural values. The authors used the Korean Rape Myth Assessment Scale-Revised (KRMAS-R) developed by Oh and Neville (2004) to assess how attitudes toward women and sexual double standards affect the relationship between gender and rape myths (Lee et al., 2010; Oh & Neville, 2004). This scale differs from Burt's (1980) original RMAS and Payne et al.'s (1999) IRMAS scale based on both Korean law and culture, but it is relevant because most of the overarching concepts are the same. A brief overview of Korean rape laws, then a brief look at cultural variations, will help explain the significance of this study.

In Korea, rape must meet four criteria before it is considered a crime (Shin, 2007):

1. Sexual intercourse with a woman by a man

2. Must be against her will
3. The man must use force or threat of force
4. The woman must use the utmost resistance

Utmost resistance means that a woman must "resist to the edge of death to protect her virginity or chastity" (Lee et al., 2010, p. 1203). This means only women who are nearly killed while being assaulted are considered rape victims and deserve legal protection (Lee et al., 2010; Chang, Kim, Park, Ahn, Lee, & Lee, 2003; Shin, 2007). Future research might attempt to correlate the "utmost resistance" law with the low report rates in Korea.

The cultural differences stem from the country's dominant religion: Confucianism. In Confucianism female sexuality is suppressed and subject to a husband's pleasure and desire for procreation (Lee et al., 2010; Abraham, 1999; Gil & Anderson, 1999). According to Krahé, Scheinberger-Olwig, and Kolpin (2000) social and cultural perceptions of the male as dominant and the female submissive trivialize and/or justify male sexual coercion toward women. Lee et al., (2010) use this to illustrate specific cultural differences between Korea and other nations. However, male dominance and female submission is also a cultural influence from Christianity in the West. Great Britain and the U.S. both have "evidence of physical force" laws and murky marital rape laws. Korean rape myths are not much different than Western myths.

Briere, Malamuth, and Check (1985) did a factor analysis on Burt's (1980) RMAS scale and discovered four dimensions:

1. Disbelief of rape claims
2. Victim responsible for rape
3. Rape reports as manipulation
4. Rape only happens to certain kinds of women

These four are the core rape myths discussed earlier. Oh and Neville (2004) used these factors to create a four-factor structure for the KRMAS:

1. Rape survivor myths
2. Rape perpetrator myths
3. Myths about the impact of rape
4. Rape spontaneity myths

Despite different wording these myths are more alike than not.

The rape survivor myths contain items that posit women are responsible for being raped. Rape perpetrator myths and rape spontaneity myths are closely related in that they refer to stereotypical ideas about perpetrators, their age, education, class, and marital status, and the belief that rape occurs spontaneously because of men's uncontrollable sex drive (Oh & Neville, 2004). The impact of rape myth focuses on the consequences for women who lose their virginity (Lee et al., 2010; Oh & Neville, 2004). This one is unique to the KRMAS, but victim blame and rape as a function of uncontrolled male sexuality are common themes that keep emerging across countries and cultures.

Lee et al.'s (2010) research exposes the "sexual double standard" concept, which is absent from much of the Western literature, but makes sense in terms of rape myths. It states that a sexual double standard is a "different evaluation of sexual behavior depending on whether a man or a woman engages in it" (p. 1204). Studies by Choi and Kim (1998) and Shim et al. (1990) reported a significant relationship between the sexual double standard and RMA. Cowan and Quinton (1997) found a significant relationship between male sexual stereotypes, specifically the "uncontrolled sexuality" stereotype and victim blame myths. In Korean society the term "sexual urges" is used to describe the motivation and justification for rape. In the West it is the women

ask to be raped myth, but it is the same principle claiming rape as a sexual act that shifts responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim.

Lee's (2006) study examined the effects of the sexual violence counselor program of the ARCCI and found a positive correlation between increasing sexual violence knowledge through community counselors and decreasing RMA. Oh and Neville (2004) evaluated a random sample of Koreans and found that those who never received any sexual violence education showed a greater endorsement of rape myths. Again, these studies report findings similar to Moor's (2011) Israeli study and Mallet and Herbe's (2011) French study. Increased education in the form of prevention programs is correlated with lower RMA.

Prevention campaigns for men

Australia

In the late 1990's and early 2000's several sexual assault complaints were brought against players of the Australian National Rugby League (Dimitrov, 2008). One player admitted that it was common for multiple teammates to participate in sex with one woman, not always with her consent, and none of these charges were actually prosecuted. Australian football (rugby) fans were appalled and concerned that their favorite sport was quickly becoming linked to sexual assault (Dimitrov, 2008; FFASA, 2004).

One group of fans started a website called "Footy Fans Against Sexual Assault" (FFASA) in 2004, which quickly spread across the country and brought about social change in the sport. This group of disgruntled men and women became "fan activists," as opposed to "expert activists," by immersing themselves in sexual violence literature, forging an online presence, and putting economic pressure on the league. Grossberg (1992) suggests the success in

fan advocacy comes from the fact that fans are active participants, rather than passive consumers. "Even if the text is a game, fans engage with the text. They co-create it, invest and gain through it a sense of their place in the world" (Dimitrov, 2008, p. 91). FFASA members took a new and radical (at the time) approach that made violence against women a men's issue (Katz, 2006).

Advocates used their consumer power to boycott games and stop buying merchandise in order to push their agenda. According to Dimitrov (2008) "FFASA's behavioral objective was to assist in building positive, ethical and empowered sexual and sport cultures" (p. 93). The fans aimed to educate players about the line between consent and assault, and create positive peer pressure not to cross that line. They created positive peer pressure by having players, fans, victims, and social agencies speak out against sexual violence, and essentially placing everyone on the same side (Dimitriv, 2008). FFASA got the National Rugby League to adopt education and prevention programs that are mandatory for players to take called *Towards Champions: A Better Culture, a Better Game* (FFASA, 2005), and the league implemented penalties for inappropriate sexual behavior and sexual assault.

The biggest success for FFASA is an annual sporting event called "The Purple Armband Games," in which hundreds of teams compete while wearing purple armbands that stand for women's rights. Many rape crisis centers use these games as fundraising events. They promote respect for women, highlight the destruction of sexual violence, and protest all forms of violence against women. The FFASA managed to make football (rugby) associated with women's rights instead of violence against women (FFASA, 2004).

The relevant thing for this study is that fan activists used the Internet to relay their messages. The Internet offered a cost-effective way to disseminate information and interact with geographically separated fans. Dimitrov (2008) calls this model of communication more

"democratic, open, public, equitable, receiver-oriented," and "in tune with humanity's multiple communication practices" (p. 92). While the effectiveness of the Internet as a medium certainly makes a compelling question, it is outside the scope of this study. The FFASA case study is relevant because fans used the Internet as an initial mode of communication before branching out and partnering with the Rugby League and rape crisis centers.

Canada

Canada's White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) is similar to Australia's Purple Armband Games in that it makes violence against women a men's issue and raises money for women's rights organizations and rape crisis centers. The campaign is comprised of men and women committed to educating boys and men on ending violence against women (WRC, 2012). Thanks in part to the Internet, the WRC spread beyond Canada and can now be found in public and private educational programs in 55 countries around the world.

The WRC (2012) focuses on five tenets to advance its cause:

1. Challenge everyone to speak out; to think and be responsible for their own beliefs, language and actions.
2. Educate youth, especially young men and boys, on the issue using educational resources.
3. Raise public awareness of sexual violence.
4. Work with women's organizations, businesses, the media and other partners to create a future with no violence against women.
5. Support White Ribbon Campaigns around the world through experience, resources and networks.

Originally, the campaign in Canada ran from November 25, the International Day for the Eradication of Violence Against Women, until December 6, Canada's National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women. Some countries now run campaigns for 16 days, from November 25 to December 10. However, the organization now supports other country's campaigns any time of the year. WRC educational and fundraising materials are available on the website (WRC, 2012).

Both of these campaigns are useful to this study because they target men as perpetrators and they use websites to do it. The Australian campaign grew from fan concerns about their beloved sport, but the founders quickly started a nonprofit organization that is currently in operation. The Canadian WRC is also run by a nonprofit organization. This researcher could find no evidence of international campaigns targeting men that are governmentally operated.

Theoretical Framework

The basic unit of study in these campaigns is language, so it is critical to understand the language of sexual violence and determine concrete definitions of key terms. For example, political correctness dictates that the language used to describe sexual violence become more gender neutral. Rape, domestic abuse and sexual harassment against both sexes are often lumped together under the label "gender violence" in the literature. In Canada, rape crisis centers have to make the language of their missions and campaigns gender neutral in order to receive government funding (Beres, Crow, & Gotell, 2009). Even the term "sexual assault" implies violence of a vague nature against men or women, but this consolidation of offenses does a disservice to each individual problem. Politically correct language masks the fact that rape is still committed mostly by men against women they know (Beres, et al., 2009; Campbell, Baker, &

Mazurek, 1998). In order to be clear, this study adopts the most recent CDC (2012) and NSVRC (2012) term "sexual violence" to refer to any coercive sexual act by a man against a woman. Clearly sexual violence by men against men and by women against men occurs, but that is too broad for this study. Hence the focus here is sexual violence perpetrated by men against women.

The terms "gender" and "sex" are also often used interchangeably in the literature. Since this study deals largely with traditionally masculine, feminine, and androgynous language these terms must be clearly defined as well. The term "sex" is used only to describe the biological attributes of male and female. The term "gender" describes the social and cultural constructs of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. "Sexuality" is a dynamic and complex concept that requires thousands of studies to adequately address its numerous variations. Certainly sexual violence affects men, women, and children, heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, and transgendered. However, this research focuses solely on heterosexual, male-female sexuality because that is the focus of current prevention programs and the theoretical framework for this study.

Theoretical problems

Sexual violence prevention programs, research, and literature spans a variety of disciplines, which means many different theories have been used to design and test their effectiveness. For example, Cox, Lang, Townsend, and Campbell (2010), in the field of social work, tested the CDC's Rape Prevention and Education (RPE) program using what they called a "social ecological" approach by combining the community level theories of community readiness and diffusion of innovations with individual level theories of reasoned action, planned behavior, and the health belief model. This theory assortment is so complicated that prevention

team members were confused, and the coordinator of the New Jersey EMPOWER program (a RPE project) called for more concrete strategies so the theory could be more useful to those implementing it (Cox et al., 2010).

A 2004 report by Morrison, Hardison, Mathew, and O'Neil for the U.S. Department of Justice reported that Sexual Assault Prevention Interventions (SAPI) lack a strong theoretical framework, even though most programs cite various theories. Psychological studies offer the "empowerment evaluation" approach to individual-level prevention programs, which empowers women to defend themselves and empowers men to respect women. Rich's (2010) "InterACT" model of prevention calls on the community to stop being passive witnesses and start actively preventing rape, and involves men in prevention. Feminist psychology suggests an "emancipated sexuality" education program that targets independent young women with messages that tap their potential as self-protectors (Senn, 2011; Rich, 2010; Rozee, 2011; Rozee & Koss, 2001). Despite all these approaches and theories, the prevalence of rape in the U.S. has remained at a steady average rate of 15 percent, meaning 15 percent of women will experience a completed rape at sometime during their lives. Rozee (2011) admits that "after a quarter century of rape prevention research we have discovered that it is not serving the intended purpose of preventing rape" (p. 257).

What is interesting about the literature across disciplines is that almost all research (Cox et al., 2010; Rozee, 2011; Singh, Orwat, & Grossman, 2011; Morrison et al., 2004; Oh & Neville, 2004; Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Shim et al., 1990; Burt, 1980):

1. Discusses rape myths
2. Assumes that attitude change leads to behavior change
3. Agrees that single-sex prevention programs are more effective in alleviating RMA

4. Agrees that males score higher on RMA scales than females

Since this study is designed as a first step toward understanding rape prevention messages from a specific medium, these four concepts guide the theoretical framework. RMA is the overarching theory used because it is the common theme throughout rape prevention research. The one slight deviation is that this study makes no assumption that attitude change leads to behavior change. In fact, this research is only concerned with attitudes and communication, and makes no claims about actual behavioral changes.

Rape myth acceptance

This project began using gender schema theory, but it quickly became apparent to this researcher that gender schema theory was too narrow by itself to deal with anti-sexual assault messages. During initial inquiries rape myth acceptance theory emerged as a more inclusive theory that combined gender stereotypes with rape myths and sexual violence. Therefore, rape myth acceptance theory became the lens for this study. It is broad enough to encompass the political, cultural, and sexual aspects of rape. Rape myth acceptance came from the field of psychology, but can be applied to other social sciences like sociology and communication. This study was a good exercise in interdisciplinary work.

Burt (1980) defines rape myth acceptance as a quantifiable degree of adherence to rape myths in differing known groups in the population, like police officers, the general public, perpetrators, etc. (p. 217). In other words, the degree to which certain people accept rape myths and how that acceptance predicts rape attitudes and behavior. It can be applied to prevention campaigns to address the question of whether or not media campaigns, in this case websites, succeed in the CDC's (2012) directive of creating messages that promote cultural norms and

shared beliefs about healthy sexual relationships, or whether they perpetuate rape myths. Thus, it serves as the theoretical framework for this research.

Burt's (1980; 1991) original hypothesis that RMA could predict men's perpetration of sexual violence was supported by her research. She used a series of correlates (her term) to determine and measure rape myth acceptance. Attitudinal correlates included the concepts sex-role stereotyping (discussed previously), sexual conservatism, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. "Sexual conservatism refers to restrictions on the appropriateness of sexual partners, sexual acts, conditions or circumstances under which sex should occur" (p. 218). This is not the same as sex-role stereotyping in that it deals directly with actual sexual behavior instead of gendered roles (Burt, 1980). Adversarial sexual beliefs refers to the idea that all relationships are exploitative to some degree, and acceptance of interpersonal violence means the belief that force is a legitimate means of coercion in a relationship (Burt, 1980).

Sex-role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs, and acceptance of interpersonal violence positively predicted rape myth acceptance. "Only sexual conservatism failed to affect rape myth acceptance significantly" (p. 225). She was successful in correlating low self-esteem with higher gender stereotype acceptance, and gender stereotype acceptance to RMA (Burt, 1980). She also found gender stereotyping as a precondition for choosing women as victims (adversarial sexual beliefs). This groundbreaking study led Burt (1980) to conclude that "Rape is the logical and psychological extension of a dominant-submissive, competitive, sex role stereotyped culture" (p. 229).

Payne et al. (1999) reconceptualized the RMA scale based on Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1994) redefinition of RMA. One criticism the authors offer about Burt's (1980) research is that

the RMA's holistic approach fails to account for "important and differential effects" (p. 32). For example, they identified the two most prominent themes in rape myth functions as denial and justification (Payne et al., 1999), but instead of lumping them together as a function of adversarial sexual beliefs they suggest a multidimensional approach that accounts for variation within categories. Payne et al. (1999) also sought to provide clarity of items and definitions and eliminate colloquial words and phrases that both outdate the scale and limit cross-cultural applicability (Payne et al., 1999; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

In response, they created the *Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale* (IRMAS). After considerable pretesting and eliminating and consolidating factors, Payne et al. (1999) came up with a 45-item scale measuring seven rape myth categories:

1. She asked for it
2. It wasn't really rape
3. He didn't mean to
4. She wanted it
5. She lied
6. Rape is a trivial event
7. Rape is a deviant event

The scale was created using some of Burt's (1980) original RMAS scale (*adversarial sexual beliefs* and *sex-role stereotyping*), components from Check, Malamuth, Elias, and Barton's (1985) *Hostility Toward Women Scale*, and Rombough and Ventimighlia's (1981) *Sexism Scale*. Fearing that 45 items may make the scale too long to be useful in certain situations, the authors also created an IRMAS short form consisting of 20 items from the original scale (Payne et al., 1999). Researchers used a self-reported survey of men and women in separate groups with 7–

point Likert scales, 1 being "not at all agree" and 7 being "very much agree" (Payne et al., 1999). The survey found that people who scored higher on the IRMAS and the IRMAS-SF were more likely to (p. 55):

1. Hold more traditional sex role stereotypes
2. Endorse the notion that the relation of the sexes is adversarial in nature
3. Express hostile attitudes toward women
4. Be relatively accepting of both interpersonal violence and violence more generally

Eyssel, Bohner, and Siebler (2006) and Gerger, Kley, Bohner, and Siebler (2007) agree that the RMAS and IRMAS are useful, but point out a few flaws in each design. For example, Gerger et al. (2007) criticize the RMAS and IRMAS because "participants' answers are often close to the low endpoint of the response scale, producing RMA distributions that are severely positively skewed" (p. 424). Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter (1995) suggest that like racist beliefs, sexist beliefs have become "subtle and covert." Gerger et al. (2007) offer two explanations for the change: respondents today are more aware of the politically correct answers to the blunt and obvious questions on each scale, and the content of rape myths may have changed over time.

The authors then updated Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1994) definition of rape myths and developed the *Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression* (AMMSA) scale to address the issue (Gerger et al., 2007). They define rape myths as "descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about sexual aggression (i.e., about its scope, causes, context, and consequences) that serve to deny, downplay, or justify sexually aggressive behavior that men commit against women" (p. 425). Again, denial and justification remain the two main functions of rape myths, hence they will be two variables studied here.

The AMMSA, as opposed to both the RMAS and IRMAS, uses subtler language from modern sexism research (Swim et al., 1995; Gerger et al., 2007) to analyze classic rape myths, current gender stereotypes, and modern sexual politics, and thus serves as the model for this study's rape myth explication. The authors began with a broad 60-item questionnaire in their native German that was organized into the following categories (Gerger et al., 2007):

1. Denial of the scope of the problem
2. Antagonism toward victims' demands
3. Lack of support for policies designed to help alleviate the effects of sexual violence
4. Beliefs that male coercion forms a natural part of sexual relationships
5. Beliefs that exonerate male perpetrators by blaming the victim or the circumstances

The items were then translated into English and four studies in both languages were conducted to determine content validity and reliability. A final 30-item scale was created and an Internet survey was administered to 848 international participants in both German and English. Reliability analysis for all four studies yielded high internal consistency and satisfactory test-retest reliability scores (p. 431). The four studies also supported the scale's convergent and discriminant construct validity (p. 433).

This study is not claiming any causal relationships, but three key concepts can be extracted from the literature.

Figure 1:Three key constructs

The questions from the AMMSA can be translated to fit the three key constructs from the literature. McLindon and Harms (2011) studied mental health workers who treat sexual assault victims. They began with survey questions and narrowed them down in order to conduct a content analysis on interview data (p. 4). This reduction model is used to transform the AMMSA survey scale into concepts for this content analysis. Table 1 lists the original questions from the AMMSA survey and this researcher's classification of each question as a gender stereotype (GS), rape myth (RM), or sexual violence (SV) concept.

Table 1: AMMSA & Concept Categorization
GS = Gender Stereotypes; RM = Rape Myths; SV = Sexual Violence

No.	*Item*	*Group*
1	When it comes to sexual contacts, women expect men to take the lead.	GS
2	Once a man and a woman have started ‘‘making out’’ a woman’s misgivings against sex will automatically disappear.	RM
3	A lot of women strongly complain about sexual infringements for no real reason, just to appear emancipated.	RM
4	To get custody for their children, women often falsely accuse their ex-husband of a tendency toward sexual violence.	RM
5	Interpreting harmless gestures as ‘‘sexual harassment’’ is a popular weapon in the battle of the sexes.	RM
6	It is a biological necessity for men to release sexual pressure from time to time.	SV
7	After a rape, women nowadays receive ample support.	RM
8	Nowadays, a large proportion of rapes are partly caused by the depiction of sexuality in the media as this raises the sex drive of potential perpetrators.	SV
9	If a woman invites a man to her home for a cup of coffee after a night out this means that she wants to have sex.	SV
10	As long as they don’t go too far, suggestive remarks and allusions simply tell a woman that she is attractive.	GS
11	Any woman who is careless enough to walk through ‘‘dark alleys’’ at night is partly to be blamed if she is raped.	RM
12	When a woman starts a relationship with a man, she must be aware that the man will assert his right to have sex.	RM/SV
13	Most women prefer to be praised for their looks rather than their intelligence.	GS
14	Because the fascination caused by sex is disproportionately large, our society’s sensitivity to crimes in this area is disproportionate as well.	RM
15	Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.	GS/RM
16	Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence.	RM
17	When a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape.	GS/RM
18	When a single woman invites a single man to her flat she signals that she is not averse to having sex.	SV
19	When politicians deal with the topic of rape, they do so mainly because this topic is likely to attract the attention of the media.	RM
20	When defining ‘‘marital rape’’ there is no clear-cut distinction between normal conjugal intercourse and rape.	RM
21	A man’s sexuality functions like a steam boiler—when the pressure gets to high, he has to ‘‘let off steam.”	GS/SV
22	Women often accuse their husbands of marital rape just to retaliate for a failed relationship.	RM

23	The discussion about sexual harassment on the job has mainly resulted in many a harmless behavior being misinterpreted as harassment.	SV
24	In dating situations the general expectation is that the woman ‘‘hits the brakes’’ and the man ‘‘pushes ahead.”	GS
25	Although the victims of armed robbery have to fear for their lives, they receive far less psychological support than do rape victims.	RM
26	Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman.	RM
27	Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a ‘‘sexual assault.”	RM/SV
28	Nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women’s shelters, therapy offers, and support groups.	RM
29	Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence society should rather attend to more urgent problems, such as environmental destruction.	RM
30	Nowadays, men who really sexually assault women are punished justly.	RM

Some items correspond to two categories, which indicates the subtlety of the scale. The previous literature has identified denial and justification as two central variables relevant to this study. Burt (1980), Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald (1999), and Gerger et al. (2007) agree that victim blame is a core variable that has persisted throughout the last 30 years, and it is closely related to denial and justification. The final variable in this group is miscommunication, which Tannen (1992) posited as a model of justification.

Figure 2 is a descriptive outline of how these variables flow from the three key constructs.

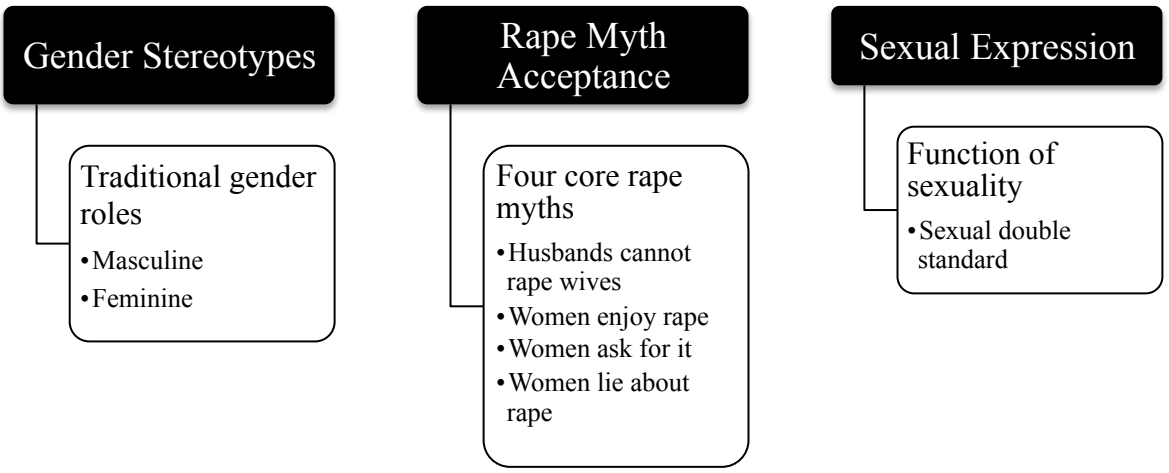

Figure 2: Outline of key constructs

Burt's (1980) gender stereotypes are still relevant today and yield the traditionally masculine variables of aggression and dominance, and the feminine variables submission and empathy. These are particularly important because all four variables have been used as organizing principles for prevention campaigns (Masters, 2010). The final two variables are uncontrolled sexuality and emancipated sexuality. These serve functions of sexual expression, but it could be argued that they serve traditional gender roles and denial and justification roles. This researcher has chosen to code them in a separate category, but they can still be compared to other functions. This leaves a total of 10 core variables in three functional groups.

A – Gender Stereotypes	**B – Rape Myths**	**C – Sexual Expression**
1. Aggression	5. Denial	9. Uncontrolled Sexuality
2. Dominance	6. Justification	10. Emancipated Sexuality
3. Empathy	7. Victim Blame	
4. Submission	8. Miscommunication	

These ten variables can now be applied to the questions from the AMMSA scale in Table 2.

Table 2: Concept Explication

GS = Gender Stereotypes; RM = Rape Myths; SV = Sexual Violence

No.	*Item*	*Concept*	*Group*
1	When it comes to sexual contacts, women expect men to take the lead.	Dominance, Submission	GS
2	Once a man and a woman have started ‘‘making out’’ a woman’s misgivings against sex will automatically disappear.	Justification	RM
3	A lot of women strongly complain about sexual infringements for no real reason, just to appear emancipated.	Denial	RM
4	To get custody for their children, women often falsely accuse their ex-husband of a tendency toward sexual violence.	Justification, Denial	RM
5	Interpreting harmless gestures as ‘‘sexual harassment’’ is a popular weapon in the battle of the sexes.	Denial	RM
6	It is a biological necessity for men to release sexual pressure from time to time.	Uncontrollable Sexuality	SV
7	After a rape, women nowadays receive ample support.	Empathy	RM
8	Nowadays, a large proportion of rapes are partly caused by the depiction of sexuality in the media as this raises the sex drive of potential perpetrators.	Uncontrollable Sexuality	SV
9	If a woman invites a man to her home for a cup of coffee after a night out this means that she wants to have sex.	Miscommunication	SV
10	As long as they don’t go too far, suggestive remarks and allusions simply tell a woman that she is attractive.	Miscommunication	GS
11	Any woman who is careless enough to walk through ‘‘dark alleys’’ at night is partly to be blamed if she is raped.	Victim Blame	RM
12	When a woman starts a relationship with a man, she must be aware that the man will assert his right to have sex.	Justification, Uncontrollable Sexuality	RM/ SV
13	Most women prefer to be praised for their looks rather than their intelligence.	Miscommunication	GS
14	Because the fascination caused by sex is disproportionately large, our society’s sensitivity to crimes in this area is disproportionate as well.	Denial	RM
15	Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.	Victim Blame	GS/ RM
16	Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence.	Denial	RM
17	When a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape.	Dominance, Uncontrollable Sexuality	GS/ RM

18	When a single woman invites a single man to her flat she signals that she is not averse to having sex.	Miscommunication	SV
19	When politicians deal with the topic of rape, they do so mainly because this topic is likely to attract the attention of the media.	Denial	RM
20	When defining ‘‘marital rape’’ there is no clear-cut distinction between normal conjugal intercourse and rape.	Justification	RM
21	A man’s sexuality functions like a steam boiler—when the pressure gets to high, he has to ‘‘let off steam.”	Uncontrollable Sexuality	GS/SV
22	Women often accuse their husbands of marital rape just to retaliate for a failed relationship.	Justification, Denial	RM
23	The discussion about sexual harassment on the job has mainly resulted in many a harmless behavior being misinterpreted as harassment.	Miscommunication	SV
24	In dating situations the general expectation is that the woman ‘‘hits the brakes’’ and the man ‘‘pushes ahead.”	Aggression, Submission	GS
25	Although the victims of armed robbery have to fear for their lives, they receive far less psychological support than do rape victims.	Empathy	RM
26	Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman.	Justification	RM
27	Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a ‘‘sexual assault.”	Denial, Miscommunication,	RM/ SV
28	Nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women’s shelters, therapy offers, and support groups.	Empathy	RM
29	Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence society should rather attend to more urgent problems, such as environmental destruction.	Empathy	RM
30	Nowadays, men who really sexually assault women are punished justly.	Denial, Justification	RM

These more concise variables can now be applied to the constructs.

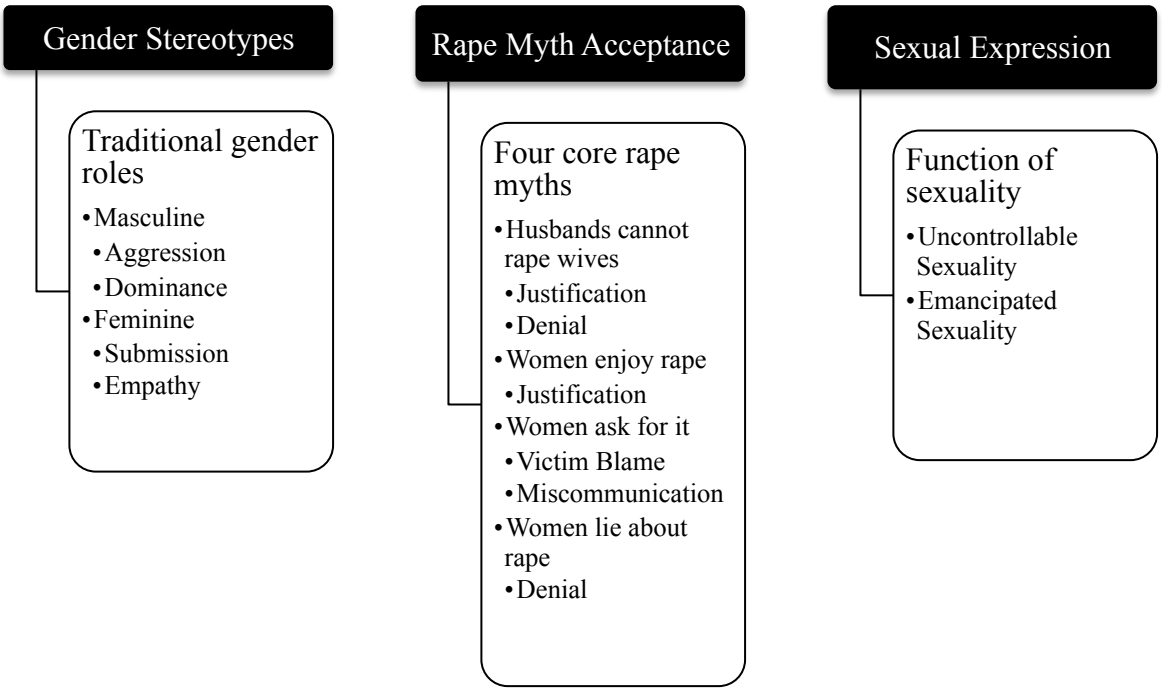

Figure 3: Final outline of constructs and variables.

Research questions

The research questions can now be fleshed out based on the literature.

1. What messages do anti-sexual violence websites for men convey?

   RQ 1: Do these websites convey gender stereotypes?

   a. Which gender stereotypes do each website convey?

   b. What relationships exist between gender stereotypes on each website?

   RQ 2: Do these websites convey rape myths?

   a. Which rape myths do each website convey?

   b. What relationships exist between rape myths on each website?

   RQ 3: Do these websites convey sexual expressions?

   a. Which sexual expressions does each website convey?

b. What relationships exist between sexual expressions on each website?

RQ 4: Do any differences exist between the four websites?

a. Traditionally Masculine v. Androgyny Advocacy?

b. Nonprofit v. Governmental?

2. Do anti-sexual violence websites for men perpetuate rape myth acceptance?

RQ 5: Do traditionally masculine websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through masculine stereotypes?

a. Through rape myths?

b. Through sexual expression?

RQ 6: Do androgyny advocacy websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through feminine stereotypes?

a. Through rape myths?

b. Through sexual expression?

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative methodology was chosen because it allows for a deeper investigation into specific phenomena than quantitative analysis. According to Denzin (2013) "qualitative research is about making the world visible in ways that implement social justice goals" (p. 392). In this case, the latent content of each website was as important as its manifest content, so a qualitative epistemology was more useful than aggregate data. Lincoln (2010) wrote that qualitative studies "often come with stories, stories that help listeners understand what the theory means to flesh and blood people" (p. 6). This study examined rape myth acceptance, an unquestionable issue of social justice, and attempted to explain what stories anti-sexual assault websites tell.

"Content analysis is the most commonly utilized method of analyzing text documents in the social sciences" (Edwards et al., p. 205). Content analysis also provides a more rigorous and systematic examination of the material than a textual or document analysis. Therefore, this study used a qualitative content analysis to study the websites as "texts," or the units of analysis. The data was descriptive at the nominal level. As stated earlier, the study design made no assumptions about behavioral effects, and as Neuendorf (2002) warned did not make inferences about the source or receiver of these messages. This study sought only "to describe substance characteristics of message content, and to describe form characteristics of message content" (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 52). The variables identified were precisely defined in the codebook as to be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. For the complete codebook see Appendix A.

Sampling

The universe of content was websites because the impetus for this research was Masters (2010) textual analysis of anti-sexual assault websites targeting men. Further research revealed the Australian and Canadian campaigns for men that relied heavily on message dissemination through websites. Hence this study focuses on the messages conveyed specifically through the medium of websites. A multi-stage purposive method was employed to determine the sample. First, an Internet search for websites using the key words "men," "rape," and "prevention" was conducted. Four websites were selected based on three criteria: gendered approach, governmental or nonprofit status, and whether they provided ample content for study. Two websites with two approaches, traditional masculinity and androgyny advocacy, were chosen for the content analysis. Each category contains one non-governmental organization (NGO) site and one governmental site in order to provide balance to the study. The four websites that make up the units of analysis are:

1. Mencanstoprape.org – traditional masculine, nonprofit
2. Mystrength.org – traditional masculine, governmental
3. Walkamileinhershoes.org – androgynous, nonprofit
4. Pcar.org/MASV – androgynous, governmental

The traditionally masculine websites use phrases like "my strength is not for hurting," and "real men don't rape." A central goal of these messages is to separate masculinity from sexual violence. In other words, power and manliness are measured by restraint, rather than by violence. Mencanstoprape.org is a national nonprofit organization that seeks to create cultural change by educating men to eliminate violence from their lives. Mystrength.org is a

governmental campaign operated by the California Department of Health Services and the California Coalition Against Sexual Assault (CALCASA).

Androgynous messages focus on empathy by prompting men to view sex and violence from a woman's perspective (Dimitrov, 2008). The Walkamileinhershoes.org website is a nonprofit campaign that targets men by promoting fundraisers in which men get pledges and literally walk a mile in high heels. The money raised is then donated to women's advocacy groups and sexual violence resource centers. The Men Against Sexual Violence website is a governmental initiative, operated by the Pennsylvania Coalition Against Rape (PCAR), that urges men and women to collaborate on anti-sexual violence projects. The central goal of each approach is to loosen the rigid protocols of traditional masculinity to foster cultural change.

The second stage of the purposive sampling method was determining the pages for analysis within each website. Some pages within the sites were not relevant, like board directories and donor lists. Therefore, this researcher chose the units of analysis by navigating through the website. For example, Mystrength.org ➔ Home page, was one unit of analysis, but a further breakdown was Mystrength ➔ Who We Are ➔ Mission Statement, in which the mission statement was the unit of analysis. The websites' contain static messages and programs, so organizations do not update them often. Even news stories included in the sample remain the same for extended periods of time. Since each site contained varying numbers of news stories or press releases this author chose to code the five most recent articles from each site. The individual Headings (H), Paragraphs (P), and Images (I) were the recording units. Headings (H) were any text used as a label. Paragraphs (P) defined longer strings of text made up of one or more sentences. Sometimes a single sentence could be used as a heading, so classification was at the discretion of the coder. Images (I) were any graphic art, pictures, or cartoons on a page. In

any case where text appeared with graphics the two were coded separately. Screen shots were taken of each recording unit on the same day and a coding sheet was filled out for each. This resulted in total recording units of N=102.

Codes

The goal of this study was to assess whether or not these four websites contain gender stereotypes, rape myths, or sexual expressions. In order to achieve that goal, coders must be able to determine if the recording units contain the 10 core variables identified in the concept explication. The coding scheme was a tool designed to help coders easily identify and label variables during content analysis. Table 3 lists the 10 variables identified previously and supplies each with a label that contains the group it belongs to and its number on the list. The content analysis focused on whether or not headings (H), paragraphs (P), and images (I) contained one or more of the 10 variables previously identified. The coding scheme is depicted in Table 3.

Table 3: Coding Scheme

Label	*Variable*	*Group*
A1	Aggression	Gender Stereotypes
A2	Dominance	
A3	Empathy	
A4	Submission	
B5	Denial	Rape Myths
B6	Justification	
B7	Victim Blame	
B8	Miscommunication	
C9	Uncontrolled Sexuality	Sexual Concepts
C10	Emancipated Sexuality	

The following list contains each variable's group, label, definition from the literature, and a concrete example from the recording units.

Gender stereotypes

A1. *Aggression*

Rape myth literature defines aggression as a character trait associated with masculinity, and in this context coupled specifically with sex. Mallet and Herbe (2011) and Edwards et al. (2011) define sexual aggression as forceful physical or verbal coercion by men against women, hence it serves a behavioral function. For example, Mallet and Herbe (2011) used the phrase "it is acceptable for a boy to force sex on a girl" (p. 373) followed by 10 unique situations, and respondents answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). For this study, a good example is the slogan of mystrength.org, "My strength is not for hurting." In this case aggression is a masculine behavior of sexual strength or force. An example of this is an image or textual description of a man using physical force against a woman.

A2. *Dominance*

This is considered a masculine character trait in most RMA research. Mallet and Herbe (2011) define it as a male having social or physical control over a female. They go a step further by saying men are conditioned to think positively about dominance and women are conditioned to be attracted to that dominance. The MASV tool kit provides a good example. "We need desperately to begin collectively and in a comprehensive and strategic manner to act on the knowledge that we live in a society that values male dominance, and that places great emphasis on the importance of the strong and stoic, or macho man" (MASV, 2012, p. 5). A concrete example is an images on mystrength.org in which a man is in the foreground looking directly at the camera and towering over a woman while the woman looks at him.

A3. *Empathy*

Gerger et al. (2007) defined empathy as being emotionally affected by other's problems and experiences. Walkamileinhershoes.org uses the headline "Put Yourself in Her Shoes," which encourages men to empathize with women. It also brings sexual violence to a personal level by saying "someone you know, someone you care about, has been or may become the victim of sexual violence." An example is an image of a man wearing high heels.

A4. *Submission*

This is considered a feminine character trait in which women are physically or emotionally compliant to men. Mallet and Herbe (2011) say women are socially conditioned to be submissive and attracted to dominance in men. The same example for dominance works for submission as well. The woman in the image on the Mystrength.org page is in the background, lowered, and looking at the man instead of the camera.

Rape myths

B5. *Denial*

Burt (1980), Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994), Payne et al. (1999), and Gerger et al. (2007) considered denial as a central function of rape myths. It reduces women's feelings of vulnerability as potential victims and excuses both men and women from acknowledging that rape is a problem. For example, the MASV tool kit begins a paragraph with a sentence that reduces the seriousness of sexual violence. "According to the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, serious violent crime levels have continued to decline since 1994" (MASV, 2012, p. 7). The sentence implies that since rape is a violent crime it must be on the decline, which is not true. Other examples of denial are risk reduction words and images that portray women not engaging

in behaviors that make them vulnerable. A picture of a woman refusing alcohol is an example of denial because it depicts non-drinkers as non-victims, therefore if you do not drink you are not a possible victim. This thinking denies vulnerability and the scope of the issue.

B6. *Justification*

As with denial, justification is considered one of the central functions of rape myths, from Burt (1990) through Mallet and Herbe (2011). It is defined in most surveys as situations in which sexual violence is acceptable. Mallet and Herbe (2011) recently found that 66 percent of high school boys think it is acceptable to rape a woman if she gets him sexually excited. An example comes from the quote section of mystrength,org. "Like the guys who label their girlfriend 'my bitch' or 'my ho.' I didn't think it was a problem because the women acted like it was ok." An example of justification is words or images that portray a woman who is too intoxicated to consent to sex.

B7. *Victim Blame*

This variable refers to the idea that women provoke rape through behavior, thus making them responsible for their own victimization. The most common examples in the literature include dressing provocatively, acting seductively, and walking alone at night, but the literature also includes being responsible for rape prevention by not engaging in these behaviors. An example from this study's content is a line from the Primary Prevention section on mencanstoprape.org. "Usually we as a society assume that the burden of preventing rape, domestic violence, and dating violence largely falls on the shoulders of women and girls." Hence the clearest definition of victim blame is female responsibility for rape. A concrete example of this is an image of a provocatively dressed woman. The "she asked for it" rape myth encompasses most instances of justification and victim blame.

B8. *Miscommunication*

This variable deals with consent. Mallet and Herbe (2011) address it with the question "She agrees to go home with him," as a sign that she wants to have sex (p. 373). Gerger et al. (2007) address is as: "Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex" (p. 439). Again, the headlines on mystrength.org provide an example with "So when she wanted to stop, I stopped." This is actually an example of clear communication, but it remains a function of miscommunication. A concrete example of this is the phrase her mouth said no, but her eyes said yes. Date rape specifically is often attributed to miscommunication, whether real or imagined by the perpetrator.

Sexual Expression

C9. *Uncontrolled Sexuality*

Lee et al. (2010) define uncontrolled sexuality as a motivational factor for rape in which men are not in control of their sexual urges. Mallet and Herbe (2011) tested the variable by asking respondents if rape is acceptable if a woman sexually excites a man (p. 373). Mencanstoprape.org address this by including the sentence "Men Can Stop Rape's pioneering work embraces men as vital allies with the will and character to make healthy choices and foster safe, equitable relationships." In other words, one of the campaign's goals is to teach men to control their sexuality. A concrete example is referring to a woman as a tease.

C10. *Emancipated Sexuality*

This variable is considered a positive feminine character trait in which women have the sexual freedom of choice (Gerger et al. 2007). An example is an image or text depicting a woman making independent sexual choices. The mystrength,org website includes running

headlines on it's homepage saying "So when she changed her mind, I stopped, " and "When she said no, I said OK." Both imply respect for women's sexual choices that were not dominated by men.

Reliability & validity.

Neuendorf (2002) states that a good codebook is not rigid but a result of deductive and inductive coding. Analyzing rape myth acceptance literature and distilling it into three groups -- gender stereotypes, rape myths, and sexual expression -- served as the base for this codebook. Ten variables were further extracted from the literature to make up the coding scheme. Variable definitions came directly from the literature and examples came from anti-sexual assault campaigns, including the ones used in this study. Three separate communications professors assessed the codebook's face validity during the proposal defense. This researcher coded 100 percent of the content. Then, a codebook training session and a practice coding session were held with a second coder to determine intercoder reliability. This researcher and the second coder coded the same 10 percent of the content and reliability was calculated, using Krippendorf's alpha, at .83.

RESULTS

All data were entered into SPSS prior to analyzing. Descriptive statistics were run for each recording unit – heading, image, and paragraph. The total for all recording units coded from four websites was N=102: MASV = 13, MCSR = 21, MS = 18, WMS = 50. Table 5 shows the frequency of each variable on each website.

Table 4: Sample Frequencies

Variable	**Yes**	**No**	**Percentage**	**Total N**
Empathy	44	58	43.1%	102
Dominance	36	66	35.3%	102
Submission	22	80	21.6%	102
Victim Blame	15	87	14.7%	102
Emancipated Sexuality	12	90	11.8%	102
Uncontrolled Sexuality	11	91	10.8%	102
Aggression	11	91	10.8%	102
Denial	9	93	8.8%	102
Justification	5	97	4.9%	102
Miscommunication	3	99	2.9%	102

Table 5: Frequencies per Website

Web site	**Agg**		**Dom**		**Emp**		**Sub**		**Den**		**Just**		**Victim**		**Miscom**		**Uncon Sex**		**Eman Sex**	
	Y	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**N**
MCSR	2	19	14	7	0	21	9	12	0	21	2	19	6	15	1	20	4	17	4	17
MS	4	14	14	4	1	17	3	15	0	18	1	17	1	17	1	17	5	13	3	15
WMS	2	48	6	44	37	13	9	41	7	43	1	49	1	49	1	49	1	49	4	46
MASV	3	10	2	11	6	7	1	12	2	11	1	12	7	6	0	13	1	12	1	12

Agg=Aggression; Dom=Dominance; Emp=Empathy; Sub=Submission; Den=Denial; Just=Justification; Victim=Victim Blame; Miscom=Miscommunication; Uncon Sex=Uncontrolled Sexuality; Eman Sex=Emancipated Sexuality

As a whole, the websites contained the most instances of empathy and the least of miscommunication. Table 6 shows the overall distribution of variables.

Table 6: Distribution of Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Empathy	.43	.498	.248
Dominance	.35	.480	.231
Submission	.22	.413	.171
Victim Blame	.15	.356	.127
Emancipated Sexuality	.11	.324	.105
Uncontrollable Sexuality	.11	.312	.097
Aggression	.11	.312	.097
Denial	.09	.285	.081
Justification	.05	.217	.047
Miscommunication	.03	.170	.029

Gender Stereotypes

The first overarching question in this study was what messages do anti-sexual assault websites for men convey? RQ 1 asked if these websites convey gender stereotypes, if so which gender stereotypes, and whether any relationships exist between the gender stereotypes on each website. Gender stereotypes were found on all four websites, with slight differences between the traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy approaches. Mencanstoprape.org (MCSR) showed dominance as its most common variable at 67 percent, followed by submission at 43 percent. Aggression was found at 10 percent, and empathy was not found at all. Dominance was also the most common variable on Mystrength.org (MS) at 78 percent. Submission was present but at a lower rate of 17 percent. These results support Mallet and Herbe's (2011) conclusion that "gender stereotypes, learned early in childhood by way of parents and peers, prepare children to

view heterosexual relationships as characterized by power inequality between the sexes" (p. 373).

Walkamileinhershoes.org (WMS) contained the highest amount of empathy at 74 percent, with submission at 18 percent, dominance at 12 percent, and aggression at eight percent. Pcar.org/MASV also contained more empathy at 46 percent, followed by aggression at 23 percent, dominance at 15 percent, and submission at eight percent. Gender stereotypes and power inequalities were found on all four websites, but the masculine stereotype of dominance was found most often on the traditionally masculine sites MCSR and MS. The feminine stereotype of empathy was found most often on the androgynous sites WMS and MASV. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) stated, "one of the most commonly suggested functions (of rape myths) in the literature is oppression and social control of women" (p. 137). Both approaches confirm this idea by presenting a masculine or feminine variable more prominently, either supporting oppression (masculine) or denying it (feminine).

Rape Myths

RQ 2 asked if these websites convey rape myth, if so which rape myths, and whether any relationships exist between the rape myths on each website? All four websites contained rape myths. MCSR contained victim blame at 29 percent, justification at 10 percent, miscommunication at five percent, and denial was not found. MS contained an even six percent of victim blame, justification, and miscommunication, but denial was not found. "Turning to specific functions that RMA serves for men, …rape myths may be used to rationalize and justify men's own tendencies to engage in sexual aggression" (Gerger et al., 2007, p. 424). This explains why justification was found on the traditionally masculine sites instead of denial.

Denial was found most on WMS at 14 percent, followed by victim blame, justification, and miscommunication at only two percent. MASV revealed similar results with denial appearing at 15 percent and victim blame, justification, and miscommunication appearing at eight percent. “The belief that only certain types of women are raped functions to obscure and deny the personal vulnerability of *all* women by suggesting that only *other* women are raped” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 136; italics in the original). This represents another difference between the traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy approaches. The masculine sites contained more instances of victim blame and justification, which the literature suggests serves rape myth functions for men. The androgyny advocacy sites contain mostly denial, which the literature defines as a rape myth function for women.

Sexual Expression

RQ 3 asked if these websites convey sexual expressions, if so which sexual expressions, and whether any relationships exist between the sexual expressions on each website? All four websites contained sexual expressions. Uncontrolled sexuality and emancipated sexuality were found equally at 19 percent on MCSR. Uncontrolled sexuality appeared on MS at 28 percent, followed by emancipated sexuality at 17 percent. Similar results were found on the androgyny advocacy websites. WMS showed emancipated sexuality at eight percent, and uncontrolled sexuality at two percent. MASV showed uncontrolled and emancipated sexuality tied at eight percent.

Lee et al. (2009) found “participants revealed the highest degree of agreement with beliefs that rape occurs spontaneously because of men’s uncontrollable sexual drive” (p. 1210). Gerger et al. (2007) found participants agreed that women lied about being raped just to appear

emancipated. These two variables came from the literature and associate uncontrolled sexuality with men, and emancipated sexuality with women. They appear on all four websites, but their distribution is not as defined as gender stereotypes and rape myths. The 28 to 17 percent difference between uncontrolled and emancipated sexuality on MS, along with the eight to two percent difference between emancipated and uncontrolled sexuality respectively on WMS, suggests that a difference exists between traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy approaches. However, the tied percentages on MCSR and MASV negate that idea and mean much more research needs to be conducted before a conclusion can be drawn.

Masculinity v. androgyny; nonprofit v. governmental

RQ 4 asked if any differences existed between traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy websites, or between governmental and nonprofit websites? The two traditionally masculine sites, MCSR and MS, both showed dominance and submission as first and second most frequent variables. Dominance is a masculine trait in which a male has social or physical control over a female (Mallet & Herbe, 2011). The two androgynous sites showed empathy and submission, which are traditionally female gender role beliefs. Both are exemplars of traditional gender role beliefs that reinforce a power imbalance between the sexes, and over the last 30 years gender stereotypes have remained the single best predictor of rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, 1995; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999; Gerger et al., 2007; Mallet & Herbe, 2011).

The same is true for the rape myth functions denial and justification. The androgynous sites contained more instances of denial than any other rape myth. The traditionally masculine sites showed more justification, which is the masculine counterpart. “Such justification is

achieved by shifting the blame for the crime from the rapist to his victim. This protects individuals" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 136). The two approaches showed a masculine/feminine split in gender stereotypes and rape myths, but the results for sexual expression were too ambiguous to confidently suggest a difference.

The results for the second overarching question in this study (Do anti-sexual violence websites for men perpetuate rape myth acceptance?) that encompasses RQ's 5 and 6 will be addressed in the following discussion section.

DISCUSSION

Gender Stereotypes and Rape Myth Acceptance

The content analysis showed that all four units of analysis (websites) contained gender stereotypes. Burt (1980) drew from earlier feminist analysis of rape to theorize that rape myth attitudes do not exist independently from other supporting beliefs (Weis & Borges, 1973; Brownmiller, 1975; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Burt, 1980). "Feminist analyses of rape maintain that other attitudes and beliefs are also part of a pervasive ideology that effectively supports or excuses sexual assault" (p. 218). Burt (1980) concluded that altering people's adherence to rape myths was difficult because they are "so closely interconnected with other strongly held and pervasive attitudes" (p. 229). She suggested that a long-term strategy for combating rape myth acceptance would be to challenge traditional sex role stereotypes in young children (Burt, 1980).

Payne et al. (1999) replicated these findings while devising their IRMAS scale by combining Burt's original sex role stereotyping scale with Check, Malamuth, Elias, and Barton's (1985) Hostility Toward Women Scale, and Rombough and Ventimighlia's (1981) Sexism Scale. They reconceptualized gender stereotyping to eliminate colloquialism that quickly outdates the scale and limits its cross-country viability (Payne et al., 1999). Gerger et al. (2007) also found strong positive correlations between gender stereotypes and rape myth acceptance when designing the AMMSA scale to account for more sophisticated and politically correct respondents. According to Mallet and Herbe (2011), who used the AMMSA to test rape myth acceptance in high school students, belief in traditional gender stereotypes was the number one predictor of rape myth acceptance.

RQ 5 asked if traditionally masculine websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through

gender stereotypes? MCSR and MS (traditionally masculine) contained dominance and aggression, two masculine gender stereotypes. RQ 6 asks if androgyny advocacy websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through gender stereotypes? WMS and MASV (androgyny advocacy) contained empathy and submission, two feminine gender stereotypes. Research in the past 30 years has shown an inextricable link between gender stereotypes and rape myth acceptance. The more a person believes in sex role stereotypes, the more he/she will adhere to rape supportive beliefs. The idea that combating rape myth acceptance by eliminating sex role stereotypes from children at young ages also supports the connection between the two. Gender stereotypes predict rape myth acceptance, and rape myth acceptance predicts rape. Therefore, the websites in this study perpetuate rape myth acceptance by containing gender stereotypes. Any campaign that seeks to eradicate rape and rape myth acceptance must also eliminate its pervasive supporting ideology as well.

Rape Myths and Rape Myth Acceptance

Men use victim blame as a means to justify sexual assault, and Krahe (2008) found a positive correlation between victim blame and rape myth acceptance. Cahill (2000) captures the rationalization process of the perpetrator through victim blame. “In the specific moments and movements of the body are written the defense of the sexual offender: she was somewhere she should not have been, moving her body in ways that she should not have, carrying on in a manner so free and easy so as to convey an utter abdication of her responsibility of self-protection” (p. 56). Edwards et al. (2011) found that 16 percent of men believe that women secretly want to be raped, which is a version of the “women enjoy rape” myth and predicated on victim blame. The “women ask to be raped” myth also relies on victim blame, and both myths

play a part in miscommunication. The difference for men is between obtaining verbal consent and reading the "signs" a woman is sending.

Women use victim blame as a function of rape myth acceptance to minimize their own vulnerability as potential victims. The denial function comes from the "women ask to be raped" and "women lie about rape" myths (Edwards et al., 2011; Carmody & Washington, 2001; Johnson et al., 1997). "The widespread belief (is) that women are responsible for preventing bodily violations and that women who are sexually victimized are culpable" (Edwards et al., 2011, p. 767). Kahlor and Morrison (2007) found that college women believe 19 percent of rape accusations are false. The actual percentage of false rape claims is between two and eight percent. Women minimize risk by trivializing the problem.

All four websites contained victim blame. RQ 5a asked if traditionally masculine websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through rape myths? MCSR and MS (traditionally masculine) also contained justification and miscommunication, with no instances of denial. RQ 6a asked if androgyny advocacy websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through rape myths? WMS and MASV (androgyny advocacy) contained mostly denial with only small traces of justification and miscommunication. Therefore, the websites contained rape myths that perpetuate rape myth acceptance. The content analysis found rape myth functions that support three of the core rape myths: Women enjoy rape, women ask to be raped, and women lie about rape. This research found no evidence of the "husbands cannot rape their wives" myth in the content.

Sexual Expression and Rape Myth Acceptance

Uncontrolled sexuality and emancipated sexuality were found on all four websites. Gerger et al. (2007) included uncontrolled sexuality and emancipated sexuality in the AMMSA scale in order to "assess both less obvious myths about rape and myths about less severe forms of sexual aggression" (p. 425). Mallet and Herbe (2011) later used the AMMSA to find that 66 percent of high school students believe it is okay to force sex on a woman if she sexually excites a man. Jozkowski and Peterson (2013) found that college students still perceive men as sexually aggressive and women as sexual gatekeepers. "Despite increased efforts toward gender equity in regard to sexual expression and increased rape education, it appears that contemporary young people still ascribe to traditional beliefs regarding women's and men's sexual roles (p. 520). They also acknowledged that media representations of women were more "sexually assertive and autonomous" (p. 520) since the sexual revolution, which made the findings surprising.

This dichotomy may account for the findings in this study as well. RQ 5b asked if traditionally masculine websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through sexual expression? One traditionally masculine website, MS (traditionally masculine), contained more instances of uncontrolled sexuality than emancipated sexuality, which suggests beliefs in the traditional sexual script of men as aggressors and women as gatekeepers (Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013). RQ 6b asked if androgyny advocacy websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance through sexual expression? WMS (androgyny advocacy) contained more instances of emancipated sexuality than uncontrolled sexuality, which portrays women as "sexually assertive and autonomous" (p. 520). The other two websites, MCSR (traditionally masculine) and MASV (androgyny advocacy), contained an even amount of uncontrolled and emancipated sexuality. This suggests a more egalitarian approach to sexual expression, which is a deviation from traditional sexual

roles. Cowan and Quinton (1997) found "that those who believe that men are not in control of their sexual desires were more likely to attribute rape to female victims" (p. 242). This means that MS's use of uncontrolled sexuality perpetuates the "women ask to be raped" myth. However, the other three websites did not contain enough evidence to conclude that they use sexual expression to perpetuate rape myth acceptance.

Suggestions

A follow-up study to this could be a quantitative effects study that mirrors Mallet and Herbe's (2011) pretest/posttest design using the AMMSA to see if these websites lower rape myth acceptance in a similar way to anti-sexual assault workshops. Bradley et al. (2009) found using a pretest/posttest design that an anti-sexual assault workshop lowered rape supportive beliefs in men and increased empathy in men and women. On the other hand, Moor (2011) found no differences between the pretest and posttest results of Israeli students and showed high levels of victim blame among men and women. It would be interesting to see the results of using these websites as an anti-sexual assault intervention, and to find out if any effects differences exist between the traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy approaches.

All four websites contained the phrase "alternative masculinity," but none of the websites explain what alternative masculinity is or what it might look like. An implication exists that it means males who do not rape females, but nowhere is this explicitly explained to the audience. This research found that these websites contained gender stereotypes, which precludes the existence of an alternative definition of masculinity. This raises a question about the efficacy of providing a context of change with a subtext of "stay the same." A more in-depth examination of "alternative masculinity" is in order. For example, how does alternative masculinity align with a

traditionally masculine approach? In this case a discourse analysis would be the best starting point for examining what exactly "alternative masculinity" means in gender studies literature. Those ideas and definitions can then be applied to the websites' use of the term to determine what it means in that specific context.

Another troubling observation was that each site lacked substance beyond the superficial. For example, the text on MCSR mostly explained that they provide programs to promote "cultures free from violence" that teach young boys to use their strength, but the site never says how they do this. The site tells you how to contact them if you are interested in hosting a program at your school or organization, but it never says what these programs actually do. The WMS site says that its fundraisers support women's organization without saying what those organizations are or what they do. Most pages on the site contain several pictures of men in high heels with banners supporting an end to violence against women, but again the site sight never says how they are actually working toward that goal. Men walking in high heels are supposed to create empathy, but how does that translate into empathy with victims of violence? Overall, the websites were most notable for lacking messages on how to actually be nonviolent. A usability study is a good first step for finding out how actual audience members interact with the site and its messages. Then, a subsample from the usability study can be recruited for focus groups to find out what users expect from websites like these. What do they like? What don't they like? What suggestions do they have about reaching them with these messages? The literature identified single sex groups as more effective for prevention workshops because people are more comfortable talking openly with members of the same sex. Focus groups should adhere to this principle as well in order to make participants more comfortable for optimal open discussion.

Limitations

The limitations of this study include its qualitative epistemology. Masue, Swai, and Anasel (2013) write, "qualitative research thus envisages gaining a deep understanding of a specific case (such as an organization, a group or a small number cases); rather than a superficial description of a large sample of a population" (p. 212). These results are specific only to four websites with anti-sexual assault messages targeting men. This study examines what messages these four websites convey through culture and context. The results and conclusion in this study are not generalizeable. "Being interpretative, qualitative research strives to understand outcomes in 'individual cases'" (Masue et al., 2013, p. 212).

The analysis of the websites is subjective and interpretive. "Interpretivist inquiry, consequently, pleads for a metaphor that is "thick"—replete with multiple levels of understanding; assembled from many 'ingredients'; and patched together to form new patterns, new images, new languages, rather than extracting what are believed to be a priori patterns" (Lincoln, 2010, p. 6). Lincoln (2010) states that interpretivist inquiry is not statistically logically and rarely purely rational. In this study the data set in SPSS is nominal and only designed for descriptive analysis. It contains no statistical significance, and the tables merely indicate frequencies. Qualitative epistemology "applies methods that seek to provide in-depth views on how society is thought to operate and the related historical, cultural, social, and political influences that affect how decisions are made" (Masue et al., 2013, p. 212). These questions can only be answered about the four websites in this study.

This study is a snapshot of one very specific aspect of these websites from this researchers subjective viewpoint. It should not be overlooked that these websites are attempting to bring awareness to women's issues and prevent rape. Targeting men as perpetrators is a

positive trend in anti-sexual assault messaging, and these websites are trying to raise men's awareness of rape while reducing their proclivity for violence. It is this researcher's opinion that the gender stereotypes and rape myths contained within the websites perpetuate rape myth acceptance, thus defeating the websites' overall rape reduction goals. She is not suggesting that attempts to reach men with anti-sexual assault messages are a bad idea, or that the projects should be abandoned. She is merely suggesting that messages should be more carefully tailored so they do not perpetuate rape myth acceptance and work against themselves. For example, instilling empathy in men for sexual assault victims would be more effective if it wasn't accompanied by dominant/submissive stereotypes.

In the interest of full disclosure it is important to include that this researcher has not been a victim of sexual assault, nor participated in any legal actions pertaining to sexual assault.

CONCLUSION

This study found gender stereotypes, rape myths, and sexual expression on all four websites. Gender stereotypes and rapes myths perpetuated rape myth acceptance on both traditionally masculine and androgyny advocacy websites. Sexual expression was only found to perpetuate rape myth acceptance on Mystrength.org. No differences were found between the governmental and nonprofit websites. The four websites that made up the units of analysis perpetuated three of the four core rape myths: women enjoy rape, women ask to be raped, and women lie about rape. The websites did not perpetuate the myth that husbands cannot rape their wives.

This study used Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1994) definition of rape myths as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p. 134). Gender stereotypes comprised the largest percentage of variables across the websites. However, gender stereotypes do not exist separately from rape myths but form an important part of pervasive rape supportive beliefs. "Although stereotypes were originally thought simply to represent false or overgeneralized beliefs, two more recent conceptualizations emphasize their nature as beliefs shared by a community or broader society. This emphasis on shared beliefs is reflected in the first part of the rape myth definition, specifying that they are 'widely and persistently held'" (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999, p. 30). All four websites presented widely and persistently held false beliefs.

All four sites contained victim blame, miscommunication, justification and denial. Edwards et al. (2011) describes these functions as a combination of victim blame and perpetrator absolution that minimizes or rationalizes sexual violence. They serve a cultural function in RMA

theory that explains "why otherwise good people hold such harmful ideas about rape" (Payne, Lonsway, and Fizgerald, 1999, p. 30). They include "maintaining cognitive economy by simplifying incoming information; protecting self-esteem with downward comparison and the derogation of others; and helping people 'fit in and identify'' with social and cultural groups" (Snyder & Miene, 1994, p. 36). The traditionally masculine websites simplify information and create an inclusive group for men to belong to by maintaining gender stereotypes. Androgyny advocacy websites do the same thing using feminine stereotypes. For example, one man probably won't walk around in high heels, but he might walk a mile in them if 100 men are doing it too.

The problem is that by reinforcing traditional sex roles and including rape myth functions these websites are really perpetuating rape myth acceptance, which is the best predictor of rape. They do not serve their intended purpose. Anti-sexual assault programs need to address men as perpetrators instead of exclusively approaching women with risk reduction strategies, but they need to do it using Burt's (1980) strategy of altering traditional sex role expectations in young children. In 30 years, research has not proved Burt (1980) wrong. Perhaps anti-sexual assault campaigns should finally heed her advice about how to actually lessen this country's instances of sexual violence.

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APPENDIX A

Codebook

Units of Analysis: Four websites targeting men with anti-sexual violence messages:

- Mencanstoprape.org (MCSR)
- Mystrength.org (MS)
- Walkamileinhershoes.org (WAMIHS)
- Pcar.org/men-against-sexual-violence (MASV).

Coder ID: Fill in the coder ID number.

Recording Units: Check the box that corresponds with the item.
□ Heading (H), □ Text (P), □ Image (I). Headings (H) are any text used as a label. Paragraphs (P) define longer strings of text made up of one or more sentences. Sometimes a single sentence can be used as a heading, so classification is at the discretion of the coder. Images (I) are any graphic art, pictures, or cartoons on a page.

Variables: 0 = No, 1 = Yes

A. Gender Stereotypes

A.1 Aggression - a character trait associated with masculinity, sexual forceful physical or verbal coercion by men against women.

A.2 Dominance - a masculine character trait in which a male has social or physical control over a female.

A.3 Empathy

Gerger et al. (2007) a feminine character trait defined as being emotionally affected by other's problems and experiences.

A.4 Submission - a feminine character trait in which women are physically or emotionally compliant to men.

B. Rape Myths

B. 5 Denial - reduces women's feelings of vulnerability as potential victims and excuses both men and women from acknowledging that rape is a problem.

B.6 Justification - situations in which men think sexual violence is acceptable.

B.7 Victim Blame - the idea that women provoke rape through behavior, thus making them responsible for their own victimization.

B. 8 Miscommunication - when a man thinks a woman really means yes when she says no. Also known as "token resistance."

C. Sexual Expression

C.9 Uncontrolled Sexuality - a motivational factor for rape in which men are not in control of their sexual urges.

C.10 Emancipated Sexuality - a positive feminine character trait in which women have the sexual freedom of choice.

Coding Scheme

Label	*Variable*	*Group*
A1	Aggression	Gender Stereotypes
A2	Dominance	
A3	Empathy	
A4	Submission	
B5	Denial	Rape Myths
B6	Justification	
B7	Victim Blame	
B8	Miscommunication	
C9	Uncontrolled Sexuality	Sexual Expression
C10	Emancipated Sexuality	

APPENDIX B

Coding Sheet

Unit of Analysis: PCAR/MASV (Example)

Unit of Observation: _____

Coder ID: _____

Recording Unit:

□ Heading
□ Text
□ Image

Place a check next to each variable. Y if it is present and N if it is not present.

Label	*Variable*	*Y*	*N*
A1	Aggression		
A2	Dominance		
A3	Empathy		
A4	Submission		
B5	Denial		
B6	Justification		
B7	Victim Blame		
B8	Miscommunication		
C9	Uncontrolled Sexuality		
C10	Emancipated Sexuality		