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DISMANTLING RAPE CULTURE: THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE
EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

by

CHASE HALSNE

Under the Direction of Christie Hartley, PhD

ABSTRACT

The perpetuation of rape culture is a central issue for feminist theory. In this paper, I argue for a comprehensive educational approach for undermining rape culture. I begin by outlining the reliance of rape culture on problematic social norms, particularly dominant conceptions of sexuality. I then briefly sketch a comprehensive educational approach and its advantages. Included in this sketch are critiques of two other feminist strategies for undermining rape culture: feminist legal reform and feminist self-defense training. I conclude by considering possible objections and attempt to provide solutions to foreseeable problems with my approach.

INDEX WORDS: Rape Culture, Social Norms, Comprehensive Education, Feminist Theory

DISMATLING RAPE CULTURE: THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE
EDUCATIONAL APPROACH

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CHASE HALSNE

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Master of Arts

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2019

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Mike and Trish, for always supporting me and providing me with the opportunity to pursue my passions. Without you none of this would have been possible.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In early 2018, Catharine MacKinnon wrote an op-ed for the *New York Times* entitled, “#MeToo Has Done What the Law Could Not.” In this article, MacKinnon outlines the positive impact the #MeToo movement has had on addressing the problem of sexual harassment. She states that while sexual harassment law “created the preconditions for this moment,” the law alone cannot overcome the “two biggest barriers” to eliminating sexual harassment: “the disbelief and trivializing dehumanization of its victims.”¹ Dismantling these barriers requires that deeply entrenched social norms change. That is, addressing sexual harassment necessitates that women are believed when they come forward and treated as equals to men; women are human too.

With MacKinnon’s insights about changing the problem of sexual harassment in mind, I turn to the problem of sexual assault. The power of law and legal reforms is necessary to ending sexual assault but focusing on law alone is not enough. I argue that the key to ending sexual assault is ending rape culture.² Rape culture is based on social norms that normalize and perpetuate sexual violence. It relies on harmful conceptions of sexuality, acceptance of rape myths, and tolerance of problematic sexual behavior, among other factors. Some feminist theorists have proposed strategies focused on self-defense training as a supplement to legal reforms. Though they are a valuable asset, self-defense strategies fail to sufficiently address the underlying norms that constitute rape culture. I argue that to undermine the entrenched norms and practices of rape culture, we should consider incorporating a third, and often underutilized, strategy in the feminist literature: comprehensive educational approaches. In particular, children need sex education and gender socialization programs before they fully internalize the norms of rape culture. I contend

¹Catharine A. MacKinnon. “#MeToo Has Done What the Law Could Not.” *The New York Times*, February 4, 2018.

²In this paper, I focus mostly on the gendered aspects of rape culture. Though I recognize that other factors (race, class, etc.) affect the impacts and expressions of rape culture, my aim here is to outline its general gendered nature and how it is expressed in gendered interactions.

that a comprehensive educational approach focused on promoting gender egalitarian conceptions of sexuality and requiring a critical examination of the background culture is a vital supplement to current strategies for dismantling rape culture. This approach will reach a widespread audience, circumvent the issues of changing habitual behaviors and beliefs, and provide a way of disrupting the reproduction of rape culture's norms before they become too entrenched.

2 RAPE CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Rape culture refers to the collection of social norms and practices that normalizes and encourages sexual assault. In other words, rape culture “condones physical and emotional terrorism against women and presents it as the norm.”³ It is a collection of practices and social attitudes that “makes it difficult to see the damage of rape because for us to appreciate its damage, rape has to stand out as an anomaly against a background which in fact normalizes rape.”⁴ Rape culture produces not only the expectation that sexual assault will occur, which has negative repercussions on how women interact with the world,⁵ but it also *perpetuates and sustains harmful norms* about what distinguishes “normal” sex from sexual assault. It is within a rape culture that a sexual assault can occur every 98 seconds, yet only 6 of every 1000 instances of assault leads to incarceration.⁶ Katherine Jenkins argues that rape culture includes the acceptance of rape myths that define rape as necessitating excessive force and as being committed only by strangers.⁷ If the victim did not physically resist, or knew her attacker, then according to these myths a rape did not

³ Emilie Buchwald, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth, “Preamble,” in *Transforming a Rape Culture* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2005), XI.

⁴ Louise du Toit, *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape: The Making and Unmaking of the Feminine Self* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 5.

⁵ See Cahill's *Rethinking Rape* for more on this.

⁶ “The Criminal Justice System: Statistics,” RAINN, accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.rainn.org/statistics/criminal-justice-system>

⁷ Katherine Jenkins, “Rape Myths and Domestic Violence Myths as Hermeneutical Injustices,” *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 34, no. 2 (February 2017): 192.

occur. The norms of rape culture, including acceptance of rape myths and dominant conceptions of sexuality, allow us to superficially condemn sexual assault while actively ignoring, and often indirectly contributing to, the problem of sexual violence. In the context of rape culture, “we claim to deplore the sexual violence that characterizes our culture, yet we rear our sons and daughters in such ignorance of their sexuality that many confuse pleasure with pain and domination.”⁸

2.1 Social Norms and Rape Culture

A culture is constituted by shared social norms, beliefs, and practices; rape culture is no different. Its force is not necessarily formalized in laws; in fact, it is the prohibition of rape in the law that lends rape culture a significant amount of its power. The codification of laws in the U.S. against sexual assault obscures the issues of rape culture and diverts our attention away from the social norms that perpetuate its harms. To dismantle rape culture, we must first understand the norms that structure it. To begin, I follow Cristina Bicchieri in her definition of a social norm:

A social norm is rule of behavior such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people expect to their reference network conform to it (empirical expectation), and (b) that most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it (normative expectation).⁹

A social norm’s power to influence behavior has two facets: most people in our community conform to the norm, and it is expected and desirable to conform to that norm. For a behavior to function as a social norm, it must be both generally practiced and carry normative weight. For example, the practice of tipping servers at restaurants functions as a social norm. The norm of tipping meets both conditions: most people in the US tip their servers (empirical expectation) and most people believe that one *should* tip (normative expectation). If this norm is not met, a negative

⁸ Emilie Buchwald, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth, “Introduction,” in *Transforming a Rape Culture* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2005), XIV

⁹ Cristina Bicchieri, *Norms in the Wild: How to Diagnose, Measure, and Change Social Norms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 35.

judgment is levied against the individual failing to conform to the norm.¹⁰ Due to the normative weight social norms have, they often impact the practical effects the law can have in addressing the problem of sexual assault. That is, the law provides structural definitions of sexual assault, but the social norms individuals adhere to shape how they view accusations, victims, attackers, evidence, sentencing, and more.¹¹ While a behavior may theoretically meet the legal definition of sexual assault, judges and juries do not always see the behavior as falling under the legal definition. In a significant number of instances, victims themselves do not see their experience as meeting the criteria of assault.¹² As Linda Alcoff explains, rape cultures create an environment “in which the intelligibility of claims is organized not by logical argument or evidence, but by frames that set out who can be victimized, who can be accused, which are plausible narratives, and in what contexts rape can be spoken about.”¹³ Further still, social norms play a significant role in determining consequences if an accusation leads to a conviction. The law can provide the structure necessary for cases of sexual assault to be considered, but social norms can significantly influence how these cases proceed.¹⁴

2.2 Norms of Sexuality

Consider the norms that constitute dominant conceptions of masculine and feminine sexuality. Catharine MacKinnon argues that “sexuality is whatever a given culture or subculture defines it as.”¹⁵ Sexuality is not a merely natural fact of human attraction but is necessarily tied to

¹⁰ This judgment need not be a strong one. Simple insults such as “jerk,” “rude,” or “asshole” serve as enough of a judgment to show that there is a normative expectation in place.

¹¹ For more on this see Katherine Jenkins, “Rape Myths and Domestic Abuse Myths as Hermeneutical Injustices” (2017).

¹² RAINN reports that more than 30 percent of assaults are unreported for reasons including seeing the assault as a personal matter, not important enough to report, or believing that the police could not do anything to help.

¹³ Linda Martín Alcoff, *Rape and Resistance: Understanding the Complexities of Sexual Violation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 3.

¹⁴ Jenkins, “Rape Myths and Domestic Violence Myths as Hermeneutical Injustices,” 201-203.

¹⁵ Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 130.

socially constructed norms, beliefs, and behaviors; it is defined by social structures and practices. That is not to say that there are no biological elements of sexuality. Rather, social norms define how sexuality is expressed and what is viewed as sexual rather than determining its most basic elements. The social norms of sexuality can be categorized in two ways: norms constitutive of male/masculine sexuality and norms constitutive of female/feminine sexuality. These norms create and support rape culture in many ways. They encourage problematic sexual behaviors, contribute to the mistrust of women's experience, encourage behaviors that increase the likelihood of sexual assault, reward men for sexual conquests, etc. These norms shape how we view assaulters and survivors, as well as shaping our conceptions of what "rape" is compared to "normal" sex. As long as these norms remain unacknowledged and unchallenged, strategies like legal reform cannot do the work necessary to eradicate the problem of sexual assault because sexual assault is often perceived as "normal" sex.¹⁶

First, consider two general norms constitutive of dominant conceptions of male sexuality: men initiate sex and male promiscuity is natural and grants status.¹⁷ Psychologist Nicola Gavey refers to this type of discourse as the "male sex drive discourse."¹⁸ Gavey argues that dominant conceptions of masculine sexuality *normalize* sexual aggression; these conceptions "[set] up a heterosexual dynamic where sex is something *done to women by men*" (emphasis mine).¹⁹ Louise du Toit echoes this in her analysis of normal conceptions of sexual intercourse. She argues that "normal sexual intercourse entails 'a man engaging in sexual intercourse with a woman' ...[e]ven

¹⁶ I take it that when MacKinnon refers to "society" as defining sexuality it is more accurate to read her as claiming that those with "power in society" define "normal" sexuality. That is, perspectives that are assumed to be "objective" (the male perspective for MacKinnon) are those that define the social aspects of sexuality. Thus, to claim that "normal" sex and sexual assault are not mutually exclusive is to claim that the "objective"/dominant idea of "normal" sex often looks similar to "non-dominant" ideas of sexual assault.

¹⁷ I do not intend this to be a comprehensive list, but I do take the norms addressed to be a good representation of the harmful aspects of dominant conceptions of male sexuality.

¹⁸ Nicola Gavey, *Just Sex?: The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 122

if such a one-sided action is accompanied by force or threat of force, it does not yet constitute rape.”²⁰ Because normal intercourse is taken to be an dominant-submissive interaction where men hold the aggressor role of initiating sexual activity and women the one whose “defenses” must be overcome, some degree of force is expected and that force can come in many forms.

C.J. Pascoe argues that aggressive sexual behaviors are not just a part of masculine sexuality, but boys claim their masculinity through these behaviors.²¹ Pascoe explains that masculine sexuality often operates as a type of conquest; to assert their masculinity boys make advances toward girls until they finally give in.²² Boys must constantly display their heterosexuality to be viewed as men. In fact, it is abnormal for men not to want sex. Aggressive male sexual behavior is often explained as “boys being boys.”²³ The dominant conceptions of male sexuality as necessitating sexual aggression are doubly harmful: they encourage men to be sexually aggressive and *act as a defense* for those exact aggressive behaviors. Recalling Bicchieri’s definition of social norms, it is expected that most men *are* sexually aggressive and that they *should be* the sexual aggressors.²⁴

Coupled with the dominant construction of masculine sexuality as naturally aggressive and promiscuous is the conception of feminine sexuality as submissive and innocent.²⁵ Du Toit argues that in dominant discourses “normal sex presumes the man to be dominant and the woman to be

²⁰ du Toit, *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape*, 37.

²¹ C.J. Pascoe, “Compulsive Heterosexuality: *Masculinity and Dominance*”, in *The Politics of Women’s Bodies* eds. Rose Weitz and Samantha Kwan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 346-348.

²² *Ibid.*, 349.

²³ A recent example of this explanation’s effect on sexual assault cases is the Brett Kavanaugh hearing. Kavanaugh’s alleged behavior was excused by many as immature teenage behavior. Among these apologists is Sen. Orrin Hatch who claimed that Kavanaugh was “an immature high schooler. That he wrote or said some stupid things does not make him a sexual predator.”

²⁴ For more on this, see Karen G. Weiss “‘Boys Will Be Boys’ and Other Gendered Accounts: An Exploration of Victims’ Excuses and Justifications for Unwanted Sexual Contact and Coercion.”

²⁵ Unfortunately, this term does not fully capture the reality that dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality expect women to maintain a balance between being a “prude” and being “too easy.” That being said, the expectation places women in a double bind in which they are often negatively affected regardless of their behavior.

the rather passive object of sex.”²⁶ She further claims that Western conceptions of feminine sexuality are property-based. She argues that the rape law often implies that women’s sexuality is something “owned” by them and given away through consent. Once consent is given, “ownership” transfers to the man, and he is free to act accordingly.²⁷ In dominant sexuality, the role of the woman is to provide or deny consent; after the initial consent she is now at the mercy of masculine sexuality. Catharine MacKinnon extends this perception of “ownership” from one interaction to all future interactions. She argues that in current rape law “[i]f sex happened, or if a woman had ever had sex before, especially with the accused consent is effectively assumed. She has to disprove it.”²⁸ Under the terms of dominant sexuality, a woman who has consented to sex with one man in one instance can be perceived as having consented to dominant sexuality in general.

It must be noted here that dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality include a double-bind that is enforced against women. This double-bind, often referred to as the Madonna-Whore Dichotomy/Complex, creates a binary of female sexuality through which women are seen either as “chaste” saints or “promiscuous” sluts. Women and adolescent girls who embrace their sexuality often face repercussions, both social and physical, for their “dishonorable,” impure,” or “shameful” behavior. Leora Tanenbaum highlights the narrow margins of this dichotomy. In her observations of high school students, she found that the term “slut” could be used both in a laudatory and pejorative fashion.²⁹ One wants to be a “good slut” but must be wary of becoming labeled a “bad slut.” She writes that becoming a “good slut” is compulsory in some social circles; “a girl must behave like a ‘good slut’ whether she wants to or not.”³⁰ Moreover, Tanenbaum writes

²⁶ Du Toit, *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape*, 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 41-43.

²⁸ Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Butterfly Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 286-287.

²⁹ Leora Tanenbaum, *I Am Not a Slut: Slut-Shaming in the Age of the Internet* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2015), 49-52.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

that the categories of “good slut” and “bad slut” are determined by peers and constantly being redefined.³¹ These labels convey assessments of a woman’s social worth yet remain outside of her control and present a target in constant motion.

The Madonna-Whore Dichotomy often functions as a reward-punishment system that reinforces social hierarchies. One study found that not only do men exhibit more “benevolent” forms of sexism toward “chaste” women and more “hostile” sexism toward “sluts,” but also that the expression of benevolent forms of sexism likely operates as a way to “reward women who are categorized into subtypes that conform to male-dominated social hierarchies.”³² In addition to men punishing “promiscuous” women, evidence suggests that other women also judge sexually adventurous women negatively. Another study, utilizing investment games based on trustworthiness, found that while men were less generous to “sexually-accessible” women, women participants actively punished “sexually-accessible” women.³³ Thus, women are encouraged through social pressures to adhere to restrictive conceptions of feminine sexuality that serve as a pillar of rape culture. This Madonna-Whore dichotomy often operates as an evaluation of sexual purity *and* an assessment of the moral worth of individual women.

The Madonna-Whore Dichotomy is not detrimental just to women; all individuals reap negative effects from its existence and endorsement. One study conducted on a group of men suggests that endorsement of the Madonna-Whore Dichotomy leads to lower relationship satisfaction; men who endorse this dichotomy are more likely to view women as either emotionally

³¹ Ibid., 52.

³² Chris G. Sibley and Marc Stewart Wilson, “Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexist Attitudes Toward Positive and Negative Sexual Female Subtypes,” *Sex Roles* 51, Nos. 11/12 (December 2004): 693.

³³ Naomi K. Muggleton, Sarah R. Tarran, and Corey L. Fincher, “Who punishes promiscuous women? Both women and men are prejudiced towards sexually-accessible women, but only women inflict costly punishment,” *Evolution and Human Behavior* 40, no. 3 (2019): 262–264.

available and nurturing or sexually appealing but not both together.³⁴ Because this dichotomy defines women through a binary categorization of “feminine and pure” or “promiscuous and tainted,” it appears contradictory to love a woman and experience sexual pleasure with her simultaneously.³⁵ Relationships, thus, become incomplete as men seek either the love of a “pure” woman or the sexual excitement of a “slut.” The double-bind of dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality harm not just the women subjected to it; dominant conceptions of sexuality contribute to incomplete conceptions of “good” relationships.

Dominant sexuality also situates women as “gatekeepers” of sex; men initiate and women either reject or submit to men’s advances.³⁶ Women’s submissiveness here lies in the fact that they are assumed to merely respond to a man’s advances; they react to what is initiated by men. The norms of feminine sexuality as passive and submissive help inform the myth that a rape did not occur if the woman did not fight back. This myth affects not only the perception of others concerning whether a rape occurred but can also affect the victim’s perception of an assault as well. Women may be less likely to consider their own experience rape if they did not actively resist and that it is only rape if the woman resists.³⁷ As dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality assume submissiveness, sex that does not involve resistance is seen as normal and expected; lack of resistance from women *is* “normal” sex. Compounding this is the myth that women often want to be forced or pressured into sex. The idea is that women are naturally submissive, they enjoy being forced to have sex and any resistance is perceived as a type of pretending. In other words,

³⁴ Orly Bareket et al., “The Madonna-Whore Dichotomy: Men Who Perceive Women’s Nurture and Sexuality as Mutually Exclusive Endorse Patriarchy and Show Lower Relationship Satisfaction”, *Sex Roles* 79, no.9/10 (November 2018): 527.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 527.

³⁶ The widespread popularity of erotic media centered on a dominant male character and a submissive female character (for example, *Fifty Shades of Grey*) show that these dominant conceptions of sexuality are not just accepted but sometimes seen as desirable.

³⁷ Zoe D. Peterson and Charlene L. Muehlenhard, “Was It Rape? The Function of Women’s Rape Myth Acceptance and Definitions of Sex in Labeling Their Own Experiences”, *Sex Roles* 51, no.3/4 (December 2004): 138.

“she *would have* consented to it even if she didn’t because she *wanted it*.”³⁸ The norms of dominant feminine sexuality work to deny that unwanted sex happens.³⁹

Any contemporary discussion of dominant conceptions of sexuality must address pornography. Pornography is pervasive in US culture and it functions to further entrench and enforce problematic norms of dominant sexualities, as well as instruct viewers about sex. In fact, many teenagers use pornography as a way of learning about sex.⁴⁰ The accessibility of pornography, coupled with its use as a source of information about sex, grants it a significant role in shaping conceptions of sex and sexuality. Rae Langton’s work on pornography supports this view. She argues that in the domain of sex “it may be that pornography has all the authority of a monopoly.”⁴¹ The depictions of sex in pornography “represent” normal sex and, therefore, are worthy of imitation; however, much of pornography expresses the harmful norms of dominant sexuality. A.W. Eaton argues that inegalitarian pornography (pornography that objectifies women) “endorses and recommends women’s subordination and degradation.”⁴² Langton supports this view, claiming that evidence showing pornography consumption leads to increased likelihood of viewing women as inferior, accepting rape myths, and other negative outcomes are “better explained by supposing that pornography presents its norms as possible; and that pornography has legitimized these normative beliefs.”⁴³ Pornography serves as another source of conceptions of sexuality. Thus, the depictions of sex in pornography are often not seen as sensationalized but are accepted as what sex *is*.

³⁸ Ibid., 141-144.

³⁹ Other examples of this include the idea that “no means yes” or that women really want sex but do not want to appear impure.

⁴⁰ Eric W. Owen et al., “The Impact of Internet Pornography on Adolescents: A Review of the Research,” *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity* 19 (April 2012): 107.

⁴¹ Rae Langton, *Sexual Solipsism: Philosophical Essays on Pornography and Objectification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 46.

⁴² A.W. Eaton, “A Sensible Antiporn Feminism,” *Ethics* 117, no. 4 (July 2007): 681.

⁴³ Langton, *Sexual Solipsism*, 111.

2.3 How Norms Change

Given that social norms often encourage and perpetuate sexual assault, we should consider how social norms change. Bicchieri describes two types of norm change: norm abandonment and norm creation. Both forms of change require four features: “people must face a collective action problem, they must have shared reasons to change, their social expectations must collectively change, and their actions have to be coordinated.”⁴⁴ It is not enough for small groups to advocate for change; action must be undertaken across society. Bicchieri argues that, despite these shared features, norm abandonment and norm creation follow different procedural orders. Norm abandonment requires people first stop engaging in a behavior, which leads to the normative expectation being abandoned. Norm creation begins with a normative expectation that encourages behaviors to spread.⁴⁵ To eliminate harmful conceptions of sexuality, most individuals must stop adhering to the norms that constitute these conceptions. Creating widespread non-compliance often requires instating a new norm, whether it comes from legal or social sources. To end rape culture, both norm abandonment and norm creation must take place. Harmful norms of rape culture must be abandoned, and new conceptions of sexuality and sexual assault must be promoted.

3 EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND RAPE CULTURE

To end rape culture, I argue the best strategy for the abandonment of problematic norms and the adoption of new norms is a comprehensive educational approach instituted in schools. This approach offers an important supplement to more widely implemented strategies, such as feminist legal reform. In this section, I highlight what such a strategy would entail and its aims. I also explain the necessity of this strategy as a supplement to legal reform.

⁴⁴ Bicchieri, *Norms in the Wild*, 111.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

3.1 A Sketch of Educational Programs

How would a comprehensive educational approach to ending rape culture be structured? Here I only provide an outline, and I stress from the outset that curricula may need to be catered to specific communities. Even so, there will be important similarities in any approach. The National Association of Services Against Sexual Violence suggests six standards for constructing effective primary prevention programs. These six standards are:

1. Using coherent conceptual approaches to program design
2. Demonstrating the use of a theory of change
3. Undertaking inclusive, relevant, and culturally sensitive practice
4. Undertaking comprehensive program development and delivery
5. Using effective evaluation strategies
6. Supporting thorough training and professional development of educators⁴⁶

These six standards represent the base conditions that educational programs directed at preventing sexual violence should meet. Programs should rely on well-supported theoretical concepts, seek comprehensive implementation, and provide educators with the necessary tools to utilize these programs to their fullest extent. In addition, they should incorporate methods of measuring progress and norm acceptance. Programs will not be effective if we cannot know if they are working. While these standards do not specify much in the way of content, they do help direct structural concerns. The content of these programs will vary, but I provide a general account of content below.

A comprehensive educational approach should be implemented throughout primary and secondary education. The comprehensive educational system currently implemented in the Netherlands provides a good model.⁴⁷ Beginning at age four, students are taught about healthy

⁴⁶ Moira Carmody et al. "Framing Best Practice: National standards for the primary prevention of sexual assault through education," *University of Western Sydney* (2009): 23.

⁴⁷ See Haberland and Rogow (2015) and Kirby (2008) for evidence on the efficacy of comprehensive sex education programs.

types of communication, respect for others wishes, gender stereotypes, and many other issues related to sexual health. Rather than focusing sexual education on abstinence-only approaches or risk prevention, a comprehensive educational approach should present a holistic view of sexual health. Curricula for younger children need not discuss sexuality itself but can focus on positive forms of communication, healthy expression of feelings and desires, and equality-driven gender socialization. Activities including, but not limited to, games aimed at discussing respect and consent, role-playing strategies for teaching healthy communication, and interactive activities can be incorporated into building healthy and ethical behaviors. Once individuals reach adolescence, content can become more explicitly directed at sexuality. Programs should focus on both risk prevention (birth control, condoms, etc.) and healthy sexuality (positive discussion of desire, caring for your partner's needs, proper communication, etc.). Most importantly, these programs should encourage critical examination of dominant conceptions of masculine and feminine sexuality. Students should be taught to reject problematic and narrow conceptions of sexuality; they should be taught to view sex as an activity between equals.

To be clear, a comprehensive educational approach should not institute a state-determined conception of ethical sex. That is, this approach should not seek to establish a singular ideal of acceptable sexual behavior but should focus on more general attitudes and behaviors. Curricula must be grounded in general behaviors and beliefs that help promote more gender egalitarian conceptions of sexuality and sexual health rather than instilling specific ideals or practices. Sharon Lamb's work on sex education as moral education proves useful in avoiding this critical error. She suggests that sex education programs should "emphasise capacities or virtues (both behavioural and emotional) such as empathy, the ability to take the other's perspective, concern for the other

and self-reflection.”⁴⁸ Lamb expands her sketch of educational programs, arguing that educators must, among other things, “speak of sexual pleasure in more gender equitable ways,” “teach about gender role socialisation patterns and speak of the harm to each gender such patterns cause,” and “have open discussion about harm and consent.”⁴⁹ Thus, educational programs aimed at preventing sexual assault should focus on promoting ethical sexual attitudes rather than specific sexual practices.

In addition to content, the target age groups of these programs must also be considered. Most primary prevention programs target boys and girls in high school or college and often do not last more than a semester. Moira Carmody and Kerry Carrington, in their overview of anti-rape education programs, found that most educational programs last anywhere from one-hour to four months in length.⁵⁰ As a result, these programs often prove to be marginally effective at best in dismantling rape culture.⁵¹ I maintain that this ineffectiveness should be taken seriously in constructing future educational strategies. More specifically, an effective educational program should target elementary school-age children and continue through secondary education (at least).

Extending the length of educational programs is vital. Short-term programs are ineffective at changing norms. As long as the norms of rape culture remain intact, individuals will always be vulnerable to relapsing into acceptance of those norms. They may be aware of the problems but are unlikely to change their behaviors until those harmful norms are eliminated. Conformity to social norms is expected and often beneficial for those who conform. Clare Chambers points out the pervasiveness of this discontinuity between knowledge and action. Speaking about the

⁴⁸ Sharon Lamb, “Sex Education as Moral Education: teaching for pleasure, about fantasy, and against abuse,” *Journal of Moral Education* 26, no.3 (1997): 313.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 312.

⁵⁰ Moira Carmody and Kerry Carrington, “Preventing Sexual Violence?,” *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 33, no. 3 (December 2000): 341-361.

⁵¹ See Carmody and Kerrington (2000) for more on the ineffectiveness of current programs.

entrenchment of beauty norms, she writes that “[e]ven if they have read and agreed with key feminist texts, most women do not stop wearing makeup, taking the lion’s share of the housework and childcare, wearing restrictive and uncomfortable clothing...”⁵² Recognition of the harm or inequality of norms does not necessitate, and often does not result in, the rejection of those norms if conformity is beneficial in other ways. Extending Chambers’ analysis to the norms of rape culture, short-term programs will not produce the desired effects of significantly reducing sexual assault; awareness is not enough, and for the situation to change, radical changes in social norms must take place. A comprehensive educational program can be conducive to eliminating the benefits of conforming to the norms of rape culture. Students will be taught to condemn these harmful norms and approach rape culture critically, thus reducing, and perhaps fully removing, the benefits conformity to them might produce. As conformity to the norms becomes less tolerated, the appeal of conforming will dissipate.

3.2 The Advantages of a Comprehensive Educational Approach

A comprehensive educational approach has many advantages compared to other strategies. One major advantage is that it disrupts and conflicts with dominant conceptions of sexuality in the background culture. This disruption can prevent, or at least limit, the internalization of norms that constitute rape culture. Though empirical data is limited, it suggests that educational programs produce positive outcomes in attitudes and behavior. In short, an educational approach is a primary prevention strategy; it seeks to prevent sexual violence before it occurs. The importance of confronting rape culture at its early stages cannot be overstated. Nan Stein argues that “schools may in fact be training grounds for domestic violence: Girls learn that they are on their own, that the adults and others around them will not believe or help them when they report harassment or

⁵² Chambers, *Sex, Culture, and Justice*, 47.

assault.”⁵³ Without comprehensive sexual education programs, children act out the problematic gender norms; these problematic behaviors are rarely corrected or addressed, either by administrators or by school policy, implying to students that these represent acceptable forms of interaction. Stein continues: “[t]he harassers find that their conduct is treated with impunity, sometimes even glorified,” and bystanders learn that “sexual harassment is a public performance which is normalized, expected, and tolerated.”⁵⁴ A comprehensive educational program can encourage critical examination, and rejection, of unequal conceptions of sexuality before they become fully ingrained.

Recall Bicchieri’s claim that norm change requires four features: confrontation with a collective action problem, shared reason to change, collective change in social expectations, and coordinated action.⁵⁵ Education programs aimed at dismantling rape culture are conducive to the features concerning collective change in social expectations and coordinated action. Even if programs are introduced only in public schools, more than 90 percent of students enrolled in elementary and secondary schools in 2014 were enrolled in public schools.⁵⁶ As individuals impacted by these programs enter adulthood, they will carry with them social expectations that subvert problematic conceptions of masculine and feminine sexuality. These programs also account for the requirement of coordinated action. Utilizing a set of general standards and goals for educational programs, while still allowing for necessary amounts of specificity in communities, would allow for similar end products across the country. With proper oversight, the necessary coordination can be achieved with relative ease.

⁵³ Nan Stein, “Still No Laughing Matter: Sexual Harassment in K-12 Schools,” in *Transforming a Rape Culture* eds. Emilie Buchwald, Pamela R. Fletcher, and Martha Roth (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2005), 61.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁵ Bicchieri, *Norms in the Wild*, 111.

⁵⁶ U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Chapter 1, in *Digest of Education Statistics, 2016* (NCES 2017-094). Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/ch_1.asp

How a comprehensive educational approach factors into the other two requirements required for norm change (a collective action problem and shared reasons for change) may be less clear. For Bicchieri, a collective action problem is a case in which “it may be collectively beneficial to change behavior, but it is individually more convenient and less risky to embrace the status quo, provided one expects others to embrace it as well.”⁵⁷ A society faces a collective action problem if most people would benefit from change but it is either easier or advantageous, or both, for individuals to continue conforming to the behavior. Considered in this way, rape culture and dominant sexuality surely represent a collective action problem. Most individuals would benefit from changes in behavior (reduction in the threat of sexual assault, healthy sexual relationships, etc.) but women and men both face negative consequences for breaking from what is expected.

Men who do not conform to the norms of hegemonic male sexuality are often perceived as weak, socially awkward, gay, or, in many cases, not “real” men. A rejection of dominant male sexuality is seen as the rejection of masculinity as a whole; a rejection of masculinity leads to the stripping away of (some of) the privileges hegemonic masculinity provides. Women’s non-conformity to dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality subjects them to the double bind of being perceived as either a prude or a slut. If she does not express sexual interest in men, she is seen as uptight, frigid, a lesbian, or in need of a “good lay”; if she is sexually assertive or promiscuous, she will be labeled easy, a slut, a whore, and deserving of less respect. Dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality expect women to desire sex while at the same time remaining “pure.”⁵⁸ If individuals face negative consequences for non-conformity, then the second condition

⁵⁷ Bicchieri, *Norms in the Wild*, 110.

⁵⁸ Deborah Tolman (2014) discusses the issue of maintaining a “good reputation.” She finds that despite differences in beliefs about sexual desire between girls in urban schools and girls in suburban schools, both groups were concerned about whether expressing their sexual desires would give them a “bad reputation.”

of a collective action problem is satisfied; it is more convenient for individuals to continue behaving in accordance with problematic norms as long as it is expected by most people.

Shared reasons for change are likely included in the existence of a collective action problem, though in the case of rape culture these reasons may not be obvious. Most Americans consider sexual assault and harassment to be a problem. A 2017 Gallup poll found that more than two-thirds of Americans think sexual harassment is a major problem.⁵⁹ However, the belief that harassment and assault are problems may not be enough to prompt social change. Citizens can hold that assault is a social problem without considering it serious enough to provoke action. Consider the leniency often granted to individuals accused of sexual misconduct. Even when allegations are believed, little concrete action results.⁶⁰ If the negative consequences of problematic norms do not directly affect the individual, they may not feel there are shared reasons to change.

Yet problematic norms are not just harmful at the societal level. As shown above, acceptance of problematic norms of sexuality can lead to concrete disadvantages for the individual. The presence of problematic norms may lead to limited relationship satisfaction. I take it that most individuals value relationship satisfaction highly. As stated above, a majority of Americans see sexual harassment as a problem. If we grant that sexual harassment stems, at least in part, from problematic norms of sexuality, then individuals should also recognize that certain norms of sexuality are harmful. In addition, I take it that most individuals place a high value on relationship satisfaction. Therefore, individuals who recognize that sexual harassment as a problem should also recognize that they have a personal stake in eliminating the norms that provoke and condone it.

⁵⁹ Lydia Saad, “Concerns about Sexual Harassment Higher than in 1998”, *Gallup*, last modified November 3, 2017, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/221216/concerns-sexual-harassment-higher-1998.aspx>.

⁶⁰ Examples of this phenomenon include Brock Turner, Brett Kavanaugh, Louis C.K., R. Kelly, and many more.

Dismantling rape culture requires both the abandonment of harmful norms and the creation of new, gender-equal conceptions of sexuality. A comprehensive educational approach is well-equipped to produce both norm creation and norm abandonment. By starting at a young age, norm creation can occur before harmful norms are deeply entrenched in individuals. Programs create normative expectations, and the empirical expectations are more likely to follow because there are fewer competing expectations. The creation of positive and healthy norms will, thus, be less impeded by the need to overcome already existing beliefs and behaviors concerning sexuality. In turn, the empirical expectations will change as more individuals engage in these educational programs. Norm creation can, as a result, bleed into norm abandonment. As the number of individuals who have participated in a comprehensive educational program increases, the empirical expectations concerning sexual behavior will gradually shift. Norm abandonment can occur without focused efforts, produced as a by-product of the norm creation approach of a comprehensive educational approach. Given a widespread acceptance of new positive norms, behaviors based on harmful norms will lose the empirical expectation (fewer individuals will express harmful norms) and the normative expectation will be lost as well.

3.3 The Limits of Legal Reform

Using Bicchieri's criteria as a guide, we see that other proposed strategies for dismantling rape culture suffer from crucial deficiencies in their ability to change social norms. First, consider legal reform strategies. One flaw of legal reform approaches is that they take it for granted that norm creation will necessarily produce abandonment of harmful norms. In theory, if the new norms directly contradict old norms, then the uptake of those new norms should lead to the renunciation of old norms. However, for creation to lead to abandonment the benefit of conforming to new norms must outweigh the cost of following the old norms. For legal reform strategies, the problem

is that the law is expected to accomplish creation and abandonment through the power of punishment as a deterrent.

The reliance on punishment as a deterrent is codified in the US code for criminal procedure. The code holds that the purposes of sentencing include “promot[ing] respect for the law” and “afford[ing] adequate deterrence to criminal conduct.”⁶¹ The belief is that individuals will recognize that certain behaviors lead to negative legal consequences and will not engage in those behaviors as a result. However, this process relies on the actuality of lawbreakers being punished; if punishment does not represent a significant threat it cannot function as a deterrent. Unfortunately, sexual assault is rarely punished. As stated above, only 7 of out of every 1000 assaults ends in conviction with only 6 of those convictions leading to incarceration.⁶² Less than one percent of assaults are punished through the legal system. Whether punishment actually deters criminal behavior is irrelevant; legal reform assumes punishment is a deterrent. Thus, the lack of punishment undermines the basic project of legal reform.

The reliance on the communicative power of punishment is not the only obstacle to legal reform strategies; the application of law, especially in the trial setting, is subject to the influence of social norms.⁶³ The norms of rape culture often condition how evidence and testimony is understood. Two ways in which social norms infect the legal setting are excessive sympathy toward alleged assaulters and denial that a rape took place. These two barriers to the proper application of law are not meant to be exhaustive, but they represent two ways in which the application of law is corrupted by social norms.

⁶¹ 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a)(2)(A-D).

⁶² “The Criminal Justice System: Statistics.” RAINN, accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.rainn.org/statistics/criminal-justice-system>

⁶³ Sally Haslanger’s distinction between manifest and operative concepts provides a helpful framework for understanding this phenomenon. Laws offer only formal definitions while the application of law often relies on how individuals put the concepts of law in to practice. Unfortunately, individuals often do not regard instances of sexual assault as falling under the legal definition.

Beginning with the first phenomenon, described as “himpathy” by Kate Manne, men accused of assault often benefit from heightened concern for any ill effects guilt might have on their future prospects as well as a sympathetic perception of their past character.⁶⁴ Manne argues that this form of sympathy is “frequently extended in contemporary America to men who are white, nondisabled, and otherwise ‘privileged golden boys.’”⁶⁵ Manne highlights the case of Brock Turner as an exemplary instance of “himpathy.”⁶⁶ Turner, a Stanford swimmer accused of sexually assaulting an unconscious woman, was convicted but only sentenced to a six-month jail term. The judge defended the short sentencing citing a number of considerations: Turner’s past character, the influence of alcohol, and the lack of physical force as part of the assault.⁶⁷ Two of these three considerations represent instances of Manne’s account of “himpathy.” She holds that two reasons for incredulity toward the accusation against Turner were that he did not fit the mythologized image of a rapist (one of his peers wrote that “he is not a *monster*”) and that he had no history of this type of behavior.⁶⁸ But it was not just Turner’s past that served to stoke sympathy for his situation; his potential future was also invoked in support of a reduced sentence. Turner’s father pleaded with the judge that his son’s future not be jeopardized over “20 minutes of action.”⁶⁹

In the case of victims, however, an inverse phenomenon often takes place; rather than benefitting from heighten sympathy, victims are more often viewed with increased scrutiny. Specifically, victims’ pasts are scoured for anything that could undermine their credibility. A

⁶⁴ Not all men benefit from “himpathy” though. Race and class play a significant role in how accused are perceived and what types of prejudices are held toward them. Power and fame are important factors in producing this phenomenon as well.

⁶⁵ Kate Manne, *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 197.

⁶⁶ Turner’s case represents the most notable case, though other recent cases exemplify this phenomenon as well. One other instance is the case of Austin James Wilkerson. After admitting to assaulting an intoxicated classmate, he was sentence to two-year probation with no jail time. The judge justified his decision claiming that “we all need to find out whether he truly can or cannot be rehabilitated.”

⁶⁷ Marina Koren, “Why the Stanford Judge Gave Brock Turner Six Months”, *The Atlantic*, June 16, 2017.

⁶⁸ Manne, *Down Girl*, 198.

⁶⁹ Koren, “Why the Stanford Judge Gave Brock Turner Six Months”, *The Atlantic*.

woman's past sexual history and her relationship to her attacker are two paradigmatic examples of attempts to undermine the creditability of accusations. The effect these two conditions has on judgments about sexual assault cases relies on their relation to rape myth acceptance. Katherine Jenkins defines rape myths as "as inaccurate conceptions concerning rape."⁷⁰ Common rape myths include beliefs that rape is only committed by strangers, consent is automatically present if any consensual sex act occur prior to the assault, and that promiscuous or sexually provocative women either cannot be raped or deserved to be raped.⁷¹ Rape myth acceptance plays a large role in how individuals perceive accusations and evidence of assault.⁷² If accusers are seen as sexually promiscuous or shown to have had a prior relationship with their attacker, their accusations are given less credence. Not only are they granted less credibility, but, in the context of dominant conceptions of sexuality, women who are perceived as promiscuous are also granted lower moral status. Legal reform cannot completely eliminate the influence of rape myth acceptance on the judgment of accusations without a radical restructuring of the legal system (which is unlikely to occur any time soon). Even with reforms made in the admissibility of sexual history as evidence, a woman's sexual history is still viewed as relevant to the credibility of her story. The foundation of this denial of credibility is problematic social norms about what constitutes a "real" rape, about *who* can commit rape, and about *who* can actually be raped. Unfortunately, the influence of these problematic social norms is often one-sided. Men are exonerated by past behavior; women are condemned by it. The future potential of men grants them mercy; the importance of justice for victims of assault pales in comparison.

⁷⁰ Jenkins, "Rape Myths and Domestic Abuse Myths as Hermeneutical Injustices", 192

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁷² See Klement et al. (2018) and Nason et al. (2018) for empirical evidence of this influence.

3.4 The One-sidedness of Self-Defense

A comprehensive educational approach also holds advantages over self-defense strategies for dismantling rape culture. The most notable argument for self-defense training as a strategy is put forth by Ann Cahill. Cahill's account of the utility of feminist self-defense is meant to counter what she describes as the "pre-victim" comportment of feminine bodies. She defines self-defense training as explicitly feminist when it "reject[s] the givenness of both sexual violence and the feminine body."⁷³ Cahill argues that feminine bodies are *constructed* by the threat of rape. More broadly construed, I take Cahill to argue that norms of sexuality dictate what an "ideal" feminine body can be. She claims that "the feminine body is treated by the woman as an object, a thing that exists separate from (and often opposed to) the aims of the woman as subjects."⁷⁴ This description aligns with dominant conceptions of feminine sexuality as submissive or property-based. She further argues that the body is both "active and passive, a site where those discourses are taken up in varying degrees of loyalty, a site that is always in the process of becoming."⁷⁵ Thus, the socially constructed notion of feminine bodies as naturally weak and fragile does not persist indefinitely; it can be reshaped and reformed.

Self-defense training is meant to counter rape culture in two important ways: by placing the means of resistance within women themselves, and by giving potential rapists reason to fear retaliation from women. The first of these is straightforward and, therefore, I will not devote much space to a discussion of it; feminist self-defense courses teach women to fight back against attackers. Cahill holds that self-defense course will show women that their bodies are capable of resistance.

⁷³ Ann J. Cahill, "In Defense of Self-Defense," *Philosophical Papers* 38, no.2 (2009): 367

⁷⁴ Ann J. Cahill, *Rethinking Rape*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001): 154.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 201.

Cahill further argues that self-defense undermines rape culture by giving men a reason to fear women. Rather than women being perceived as easy targets, potential rapists will have reason to perceive women as a threat to them. Moreover, Cahill claims, because women trained in self-defense no longer view their bodies as the cause of assault, they will be less likely to blame themselves for any assault they may suffer. The result of shifting “embodied strength” from male bodies exclusively to include female bodies, Cahill argues, is that “it may be that sexual violence itself would no longer be committed so disproportionately against women by men.”⁷⁶ By demonopolizing strength through self-defense training, Cahill claims that rape will likely lose its heavily gendered nature.

Self-defense strategies suffer from many of the same failings that legal strategies do in dismantling rape culture. To be clear, I do not deny that feminist self-defense training is an important strategy in reducing instances of rape and providing women with a means of thwarting attempted assault. In fact, it is likely the case that dismantling rape culture will require structural approaches, such as legal reform and educational programs, and individual approaches. My claim here is that self-defense strategies, even when combined with legal reform, cannot achieve the results Cahill claims. Self-defense strategies contain critical deficiencies that limit their effectiveness in combatting rape culture. As I argued above, rape culture relies on social norms, with a heavy reliance on norms surrounding traditional sexuality. Both Bicchieri and Chambers show that changes in social norms require large-scale collective change. Cahill’s approach targets only women, and as a result only norms of feminine sexuality; it makes no direct effort to reform conceptions of masculine sexuality. Even granting that Cahill is correct, and self-defense strategies will teach women to view their bodies as capable of resistance, self-defense strategies do not carry

⁷⁶ Ibid., 206.

the normative weight necessary to challenge problematic aspects of masculine sexuality. Moreover, the types of gains Cahill envisions would only occur if most women engage in self-defense training. However, not all women will, or even can, participate in self-defense training. Compounded with the lack of attention given to male sexuality, self-defense strategies, without other programs, may have the detrimental effect of further harming the most vulnerable women; potential assaulters may avoid targeting women who can fight back, instead targeting those women who either do not have access to training programs or are physically incapable of participating in them.

Cahill's suggestion also fails to recognize the discontinuity between knowledge and action as mentioned above. Women who take self-defense classes may develop the strength to prevent an attempted assault, and they may know that this is the case, yet that does not guarantee that their bodily comportment will change. The social norms surrounding sexuality are constantly represented and reinforced through media, interpersonal interactions, and other conduits of culture. The issue, in all likelihood, is often not that *knowledge* is lacking but that a social *advantage* of the behavioral change is; women and men often do not change their actions even if they "know" they should because conforming to the norm is more beneficial.

4 POSSIBLE PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

In conclusion, I consider two objections to my view. First, some may worry that a comprehensive educational approach will not be enough to dismantle rape culture given the pervasiveness of dominant sexuality in US culture. Individuals are bombarded with dominant sexuality in most facets of life. Mainstream music, tv shows, movies, video games, and other forms of media often communicate dominant conceptions of sexuality, whether implicitly or explicitly. Even with a comprehensive educational program, children and adolescents will be

exposed to harmful norms constantly. As discussed above, adolescents often learn about sex from pornography in some capacity. The increased accessibility of the internet means that individuals can view pornography at almost any time. Much of pornography relies on dominant sexuality and expresses those norms in its production. If a comprehensive education approach cannot limit exposure to dominant sexualities, it will be ineffective in dismantling rape culture.

Admittedly, this is a strong objection. A comprehensive educational approach cannot possibly protect children and adolescents from the impingement of dominant sexuality in entirety. However, a comprehensive educational approach provides the best approach possible without committing to outright censorship. In a liberal society, a comprehensive educational approach can confront media representations, pornography, and other sources of harmful norms head on without censoring media or speech. Though an educational approach cannot stop exposure to these types of media, it can incorporate a critical approach to viewing media. Curricula can easily include critical analyses of sexuality as it is represented in media and pornography. On this approach, educators would discuss with students how media may express gender inequality and dynamics of domination and subordination as it relates to sexuality. Students will be exposed to the expression of harmful norms, but a comprehensive educational approach can accept this and still have a significant impact. Short-term educational approaches have already shown potential to reduce harm and harmful behaviors. One study found that adolescents who participated in educational programs about rejecting sexual advances, among other forms of sexual education, are less likely to experience sexual assault in college.⁷⁷ Another study, conducted by Gidycz et al., found that college men who engaged in 1.5 hr. prevention programs grounded in an understanding of social norms were, on average, less likely to associate with their sexually

⁷⁷ John S. Santelli et al., “Does sex education before college protect students from sexual assault in college?,” *PLOS One* (2018): 14.

aggressive male peers and believed their friends would be more likely to intervene in situations where problematic behavior was occurring which suggests that they will also be more likely to intervene.⁷⁸ These studies are not meant to be exhaustive or conclusive, but they do provide positive indications that programs directed at undermining and reforming problematic norms can be successful. On a comprehensive educational approach, more of these programs will be instituted and more individuals will benefit.

Another issue a comprehensive educational approach might face is rebound effects. Carmody and Kerrington describe situations where boys are more likely to accept harmful norms and sexual misconduct after participating in prevention programs.⁷⁹ In some cases, participants show positive changes in attitudes and behaviors immediately after the prevention program but return to original attitudes, or even experience negative changes in attitudes, as time passes. Exposure to education does not guarantee that behavior changes; individuals will still be subjected to conflicting expectations from their peer group, family environment, and media intake.

A comprehensive educational approach may be able to avoid the problem of rebound effects, or at least significantly reduce the likelihood that they will occur. Carmody and Kerrington suggest that rebound effects are more likely to occur after “quick-fix” approaches than after long-term programs.⁸⁰ A comprehensive educational approach can be designed to constantly reevaluate attitudes and dispositions to recognize and counter rebound effects. Moreover, it is less likely that peers will hold radically differing attitudes toward sexuality if all students are participating in these programs. Students will still be exposed to conflicting norms

⁷⁸ Christine A. Gidycz, Lindsay M. Orchowski, and Alan D. Berkowitz, “Preventing Sexual Aggression Among College Men: An Evaluation of a Social Norms and Bystander Intervention Program,” 734-735.

⁷⁹ Carmody and Kerrington, “Preventing Sexual Violence?,” 353.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 353.

and expectation from media and their parents, but a comprehensive approach offers a systematic countermeasure to the internalization of harmful norms.

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