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THE EFFECT OF PERPETRATOR REMORSE, VICTIM GENDER, AND
PHOTOGRAPHER ON VICTIM BLAME IN A CASE OF NONCONSENSUAL
PHOTOGRAPH SHARING

by

Katlin Jo Rhyner
Master of Arts, University of North Dakota, 2014

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

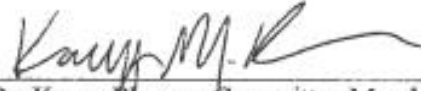
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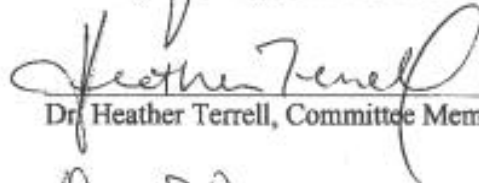
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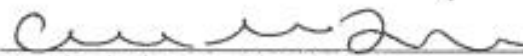
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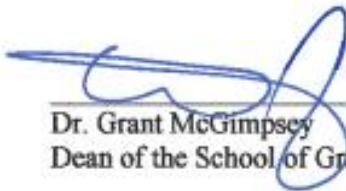


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This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.



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Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

May 10, 2017

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Title The Effect of Perpetrator Remorse, Victim Gender, and Photographer on
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May, 9, 2017

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Abstract

Emotional expression is often used as a way to determine a person's intent for social situations. In a courtroom, when a perpetrator expresses (or fails to express) remorse, not only the perception of the perpetrator may be altered, but also the perception of the victim. This difference may especially be the case in a situation where the victim is viewed as having a high level of culpability for the crime, such as if the victim took the picture and sent it. Furthermore, the gender of the victim of the crime may influence how the victim is perceived, such that women may be viewed as more culpable for their victimization than men. In recent years, an increase in technology use has led to an increase in cyber-crimes. Although some states have passed laws in an attempt to police these crimes, many states have been unable to keep up with the occurrence of these new crimes. One of these cyber-crimes is when a nude photograph of an individual is shared on the Internet without the pictured person's consent, which is also known as nonconsensual pornography. Victims of nonconsensual pornography may face problems such as stalking, harassment, job loss, and depression. When perpetrators are assigned a punishment for this crime, perceptions of the situation may impact the outcome of the trial. The current study examined the impact of remorse, victim gender, and victim culpability on both victim and perpetrator blame in a case of nonconsensual pornography. Results indicated victims are blamed less and the perpetrators are blamed more in the remorse condition when compared to the control condition. Additionally, the victim was

attributed more blame when he or she took the photograph than when the perpetrator took the photo. Lastly, Men were more likely than women to blame the victim. Implications and future directions are discussed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Effect of Perpetrator Remorse, Victim Gender, and Photographer on Victim Blame in a Case of Nonconsensual Photograph Sharing

Every day, humans read the emotional expression of other people and use these expressions to draw inferences about the individuals (Van Kleef, Van Doorn, Heerdink, & Koning, 2011). In a courtroom, emotional expression may work to alter how a person is perceived, and these perceptions in turn may influence the outcome of the trial and sentencing. Specifically, one of the most common emotional expressions used (whether genuine or not) by defendants is remorse, and the displays of this emotion may work to influence how defendants are perceived by juries. When defendants exhibit remorse, it may decrease perpetrator blame, which could have implications for verdicts and sentencing. Additionally, defendant remorse may work to increase blame toward the victim, and raise the victim's perceived culpability for the crime.

Perpetrator remorse is commonly examined within the context of the effect it has on how the perpetrator is perceived by others. However, little to no research has been conducted on the effect perpetrator remorse has on perceptions of the victim. It is possible that when perpetrators are believed to be remorseful, victims are perceived more negatively and at fault for the situation. If this is in fact the case, victims may be less

likely to receive justice for the crimes committed against them. Further, most research examining the impact of remorse on decision-making, focus on crimes with lower victim culpability, such as rape (Kleinke, Wallis, & Stalder, 2001) or murder (Corwin, Cramer, Griffin, & Brodsky, 2012). It is likely that in cases where perpetrator remorse is shown, if the victim is perceived as being culpable, the blame assigned to the victim is exacerbated.

The sharing of nude photographs without consent (also known as 'revenge porn') (National Conference of State Legislature, 2014), which usually features female victims, is becoming easier due to the increase in the use of smart phones and other media sharing devices. The non-consensual sharing of photographs may lead to the humiliation, intimidation, and harassment of the individual in the photograph (Citron & Franks, 2014). Additionally, the victim may be fired, lose professional and educational opportunities, and be stalked (Citron & Franks, 2014). Perceptions of the culpability of the individual in the photograph may change depending on how the perpetrator acquired the photograph. For example, if a victim took the picture and willingly sent it to the perpetrator, he or she may be seen as more culpable than a person who had the photograph taken by someone else. The perception of culpability may then lead to an increase or decrease in the blame of the victim.

When an offender's actions are justified by directly blaming the victim, offender culpability is often decreased, while victim culpability is increased (Weiss, 2009). Similarly, in cases where male perpetrators fail to show remorse, the likelihood of a guilty sentence can be decreased if the perpetrator justifies his actions, or denies that harm was done because no harm was intended (Jehle, Miller, & Kimmelmeir, 2009; Presser, 2003). This difference in sentencing suggests that when a victim is directly

blamed, and the perpetrators actions are ‘justified,’ it may lead to an increase in victim blame. This may especially be the case in cases where the victim may be perceived as completely or partially responsible for his or her situation, due to his or her actions.

Nonconsensual pornography represents an interesting context in which to examine the effects of expression of perpetrator remorse. In some nonconsensual pornography cases it is easy to assign some culpability to the victim. This is especially likely if the victim was active in the photograph creation by taking the photograph or allowing the photograph to be taken. This willingness to create the photograph may lead others to perceive the victim as contributing to the situation. In many cases, the expression of remorse by perpetrators decreases blame assigned to perpetrators. Furthermore, when a victim can be assigned culpability and the perpetrator expresses remorse, blame may be shifted away from the perpetrator and to the victim. This shift in blame may subsequently allow the perpetrator to not be held responsible for his or her actions, thus influencing verdicts and sentencing.

The goal of this project is to better understand attributions of blame made by laypeople in cases involving the nonconsensual distribution of explicit images. More specifically, this project aims to examine how perpetrator remorse may impact blame. Increasing the information available on the possible effects of remorse will help to fill gaps in the knowledge of remorse, and provide this information within the context of the relatively new phenomenon known as nonconsensual pornography. This research may help to influence future laws by providing information on how observer perceptions vary depending on case, victim, and perpetrator characteristics. Additionally, this study may help to better understand perceptual differences depending on emotionality and

culpability, which may help to identify victims who are being disproportionately blamed due to the emotions that the perpetrators are expressing within the courtroom.

Emotionality

Emotional expression plays a key role in communication between people. Emotions are often used to draw inferences about both people and situations so that appropriate reactions are possible (Van Kleef et al., 2011). The reading of emotional expression is often used within the courtroom to assess whether a perpetrator regrets his or her actions, or whether the individual is likely to repeat those actions (Hess, Blairy, & Kleck, 2000; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). Research on displays of emotionality in the courtroom has shown that the emotions portrayed by the perpetrator have a significant influence on how he or she is perceived, as well as how harshly he or she is sentenced.

For example, in murder cases, defendants who fail to show emotion, and are instead blank and emotionless, are more likely to receive a guilty sentence and are perceived as being less credible. This in turn leads to harsher sentencing (Heath, Grannemann, & Peacock, 2004). Further, the inferences made about the individuals displaying emotion can be influenced by the gender of the expresser (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). When men and women show the same expression it may not lead to the perception of the same emotion or the same intensity of emotion (Becker, Kenrick, Neuberg, Blackwell, & Smith, 2007). Additionally, when women express emotions, people are more likely to attribute these emotions to internal causes, whereas male expressions of emotions are more likely to be attributed to external causes (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008).

Displaying emotions can have a different impact on perceptions depending upon the gender of the person displaying those emotions. For example, generally, men are thought to express anger and pride more than women, while women are thought to express other emotions, such as fear and love, more than men (Fabes & Martin, 1991; Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000). The perceived appropriateness of emotions shown by both perpetrators and victims during a trial may work to alter the blame placed on both the victim and perpetrator. Additionally, this perceived appropriateness of the emotion being shown may influence whether or not onlookers believe a crime worthy of punishment has been committed. One such emotion that may have an impact of perceptions of victim blame is remorse.

Emotional Expressions of Remorse

Remorse has been defined by some scholars as “moral or emotional distress resulting from past transgressions” (Corwin et al., 2012) and may be considered a form of self-punishment (Slovenko, 2006). When a person feels genuine remorse, it is believed that their own behavior is causing them to endure emotional pain which is automatic, unwanted, and unpleasant (Corwin et al., 2012). To many, the expression of remorse may signify that the criminal feels both the pain and reality of the crime that has been committed, and the criminal is motivated to avoid having these feelings again and therefore is unlikely to reoffend (Robinson, Smith-Lovin, & Tsoudis, 1994; Weisman, 2004). As such, when a person expresses remorse, it may be assumed by onlookers that they are suffering from this emotional pain, which in turn may impact sentencing decisions.

Remorseful expression may be expressed both verbally and nonverbally (Pfeifer, Brigham, & Robinson, 1996; Scher & Darley, 1997). For the nonverbal attributes, remorseful individuals generally have downcast eyes and a trembling voice, while someone with no remorse speaks in a monotone voice and maintains eye contact (Jehle, et al., 2009). When considering the verbal expressions of remorse, a person who is remorseful may say "I feel bad about what happened" (Kleinke, et al., 2001) or "I greatly regret the outcome" (Niedermeier, et al., 2001). A person who is verbally expressing no remorse may make a statement such as "I don't feel one way or another about it" (Kleinke, et al., 2001), or state that he or she is at peace with him or herself (Niedermeier et al., 2001).

When a perpetrator displays remorse, observers increase their favorable judgments of the perpetrator and reduce the amount of blame they assign to the accuser (Darby & Schlenker, 1989; Gold & Weiner, 2000). However, while displaying remorse may make the perpetrator look more credible in the eyes of the jury, showing remorse has also been shown to increase the likelihood of onlookers believing the perpetrator is guilty (Jehle et al., 2009). Research that focuses on remorse shown by the perpetrator has been mixed with regard to the effect it has on sentencing. Some scholars believe that acceptance for responsibility of the crime plays a role in remorse (O'Hear, 1997). In some cases, showing remorse is viewed as an implicit admission of guilt, and leads to an increased likelihood of the perpetrator being judged to be guilty (Niedermeier, Horowitz, & Kerr, 2001). Most offenders are not expected to show remorse because remorse implies responsibility for either the actions of the crime or the outcome of the situation. Conversely, if the offender believes his or her behavior was warranted, he or she would

have no reason to feel remorse (Jehle, et al., 2009). This difference in perceptions of the origin of the remorse (whether it is because the perpetrator is guilty of the crime, or because the perpetrator feels bad for whatever happened to the victim) may lead to mixed results when looking at the outcome of a trial.

These perceptual differences are such that one person who fails to show remorse when accused of a crime may be punished because it is assumed that person is guilty. Conversely, another person accused of the same crime who does not show remorse may not be punished at all, because it is assumed that person has done nothing to warrant feeling remorse. Finally, in some cases when the offender denies responsibility or claims that his or her actions were justified, remorse is considered unusual or suspicious, because many believe a person who did not commit a crime should have no reason to feel remorse (Jehle, et al. 2009).

Displaying remorse after committing a crime allows the accused to demonstrate that he or she understands the nature of the offense, the implications for the social world, and how the average person behaves (1997; Jehle, et al., 2009). When a perpetrator expresses remorse, not only does it improve perceptions of the perpetrator, but it may also have an impact on sentencing. This impact may be such that, if charged, he or she is assigned more lenient punishments and it is thought to be less likely to recidivate (Brooks & Reddon, 2003; Eisenberg, Garvey & Well, 1997; Gold & Weiner, 2000; Proeve, Smith, & Niblow, 1999). For example, when displays of remorse are convincing, it leads to an increase in empathy and forgiveness from mock jurors, and decreases the likelihood of participants thinking a repeat offense will take place (Davis & Gold, 2011). Heisse and Thomas (1989) suggest a defendant who apologizes is seen as more human by people

making judgements about them. During mock trials on cases concerning rapists, mock defendants who expressed remorse were given less severe sentences than those who did not express remorse (Kleinke, et al., & 2001). Additionally, when the offender shows signs of remorse it leads to more favorable judgments of the offender (Gold & Weiner, 2000) and reduces the likelihood that he or she will be blamed (Darby & Schlenker, 1989). When the perpetrator offers an excuse or justification for his or her behavior, it can lead to reduced responsibility attributions and decreased perceptions of wrongdoing (Schmitt, Gollwitzer, Forster, & Montada, 2004). Taken together, a perpetrator who convincingly appears remorseful and offers an excuse or justification for his or her actions, will most likely be given a much less severe punishment.

Alternatively, when a perpetrator fails to show remorse, it is sometimes assumed the perpetrator is rejecting the social norm that a person is remorseful for a transgression, and is working to separate him or herself from society (Lazare, 2004). In some cases, this lack of remorse may lead to harsher judgments of a perpetrator; however, if a man shows remorse, rather than a woman, it may violate expectations that men should be confident and agentic (Niedermeier, et al., 2001). This violation of expectations may then lead to a harsher judgment of the perpetrator which also, in turn, could lead to a more severe punishment.

Taken together, research on the impact of remorse in the courtroom remains equivocal. The impact remorse has on sentencing and victim blame may have to do with the specific type of crime committed by the perpetrator. That is, for example, with crimes where there is high victim culpability, perpetrators who show remorse may receive less severe sentences and the victims may be seen as more to blame for the situation. An

interesting context from which to examine the impact of remorse on offender and victim culpability are cases involving the nonconsensual distribution of explicit images. In these cases, victim culpability may be viewed as being high, and these differing displays of remorse may be particularly persuasive. That is, the victim may be perceived as an active participant in victimization due to taking or creating the photograph that was distributed. The emotionality then displayed by the perpetrator, may work with this perceived culpability to undermine victimization, and increase blame for the victims while decreasing blame for the perpetrators. Nonconsensual pornography, in particular, provides a context in which the victim may be seen as especially culpable for his or her actions, and therefore this type of crime creates an interesting framework in which to examine the effects of perpetrator remorse on victim blaming.

Nonconsensual Pornography

Nonconsensual pornography has been becoming an increasing problem in today's society, but research examining what influences outcomes for victims of this crime is lacking. With an increasing number of victims, but inadequate laws to deal with the problem, a situation is created in which the lives of victims are severely impacted while perpetrators often go unpunished. For example, in some states malicious intent must be proven before the perpetrator can be charged (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014). Realistically, a victim of nonconsensual pornography suffers, regardless of the intent of the poster, and therefore some victims may not receive the justice they may deserve. Additionally, many victims may send the photograph willingly to their partner. Therefore, consequences that result from this act may thus be perceived as fair retribution for initially sharing the photo.

According to the National Conference of State Legislature, the current definition of revenge porn is:

"the posting of nude or sexually explicit photographs or videos of people online without their consent, even if the photograph itself was taken with consent. A spurned spouse, girlfriend or boyfriend may get revenge by uploading photographs to websites, many of which are set up specifically for these kinds of photographs or videos. The victim's name, address and links to social media profiles are often included with the images, and some websites charge a fee to have the materials removed." (National Conference of State Legislature, 2014).

The term revenge porn has been used to describe many types of nonconsensual photograph sharing. This includes situations in which the victim has taken the photograph and sent it to the perpetrator who then shares it, situations in which the perpetrator has taken the photograph with or without the victims knowledge, and situations in which a third party (such as a new significant other or friend of the perpetrator) finds the photograph and shares it. Because of this wide use in the terms, the two terms are often seen as being interchangeable (Citron & Franks, 2014) although nonconsensual pornography is often preferred.

The nonconsensual distribution of explicit images are usually intended to humiliate and harass the victims, and are considered by many to be an issue that is on the continuum of sexual violence (Powell, 2010). The prevalence of nonconsensual pornography has been steadily increasing, possibly due to the recent highly publicized non-consensual sharing of celebrity pictures such as Pamela Anderson, Paris Hilton (Powell, 2010), and Jennifer Lawrence (Isaac, 2014). Moreover, it has been shown that

the average young adult places a high level of trust in mobile image and video sharing, and believe that what they send to others will remain private (Zemmels & Khey, 2014). This trust may lead to taking the risk of sharing of nude photographs in the assumption that the only person who will see it is the receiver of the message.

In cases of nonconsensual pornography, personal information about the individual in the photograph is often also included, such as full name, telephone number, and e-mail address (Citron & Franks, 2014), thus increasing the potential for negative consequences for the person in the photograph. Specifically, the person in the photograph may feel a potential loss of control and invasion of privacy (Henderson & Gilding, 2004). Additionally, some victims have committed suicide after their photographs were shared, due to the negative effects nonconsensual pornography had on their lives, such as being forced to change their names or being stalked (Zemmels & Khey, 2014).

Another negative effect nonconsensual pornography may have on victims is cyber harassment (Citron, 2009). Furthermore, other forms of harassment may also take place including being harassed, having sexual and offensive comments made, intentionally e-mailing or posting the images, and 'page-jacking' to the sites in which their photographs are posted (Zemmels & Khey, 2014). Page jacking is a practice in which an Internet user believes he or she is clicking on a link for one item, such as a site that is meant to help victims of nonconsensual pornography, but instead is redirected to pornographic or offensive material (Finn & Banach, 2000). Victims may also be cyber stalked, which is a specific form of cyber harassment in which an online course of conduct is meant to cause a person to fear for his or her safety (Citron, 2009). In general, women are victims of cyber-stalking and cyber-harassment at much higher rates than men (Barak, 2005; Finn,

2004). The Working to Halt Online Abuse Survey (2000) reported 72.5% of cyber harassment victims are women. Once a picture is on the Internet, it can be almost impossible to remove due to the ease in which photographs can be shared and copied (Zemmels & Khey, 2014).

Victim Blame

The negative consequences brought about by being a victim of nonconsensual pornography may sometimes be perceived as “deserved,” especially when the victims willingly shared the photos. Therefore, these victims can be blamed for the existence of the photos which led to the situation. After a nude photograph is shared, either on a website, through social media, or through texting, the person in the photograph may be blamed by some for his or her own victimization. Receiving blame for a sexual crime is not a new concept. Increased victim blame has been especially prevalent in cases of sexual assault, which may be comparable to nonconsensual pornography. In fact, nonconsensual pornography has been considered by some to be on the continuum of sexual violence (Powell, 2010) and has also been referred to as “digital sexual assault” (Wilson, 2015). Additionally, with sexual assault, people attribute more blame and assign more negative attributes to victims of rape than they do other crimes (Brownmiller, 1976; Campbell, Sefl, Barnes, Ahrens, Wasco, & Zaragoza-Diesfeld, 1999). Furthermore, different characteristics of the victims may lead to differences in attributions of blame in these cases. For example, in rape cases it has been shown that females are held more responsible when they are attractive, are sexually promiscuous, dress provocatively, are acquainted with the perpetrator, or dated the perpetrator (Brems & Wagner 1994; Deitz & Byrnes 1981; Edmonds & Cahoon, 1986; Whatley, 2005; Workman & Freeburg, 1999).

Moreover, women are more likely than men to be victims of sexual assault and nonconsensual pornography (Rhyner, Uhl, & Terrance, 2016). Therefore, increased blame attributed to women becomes especially problematic.

In addition to receiving increased amounts of blame for sexual crimes, women are also more likely to be objectified (Uhl, Rhyner, Terrance, & Couch, 2016).

Objectification of victims has shown to influence the amount of blame associated with victims. Sexual objectification is perceiving and treating a person as a sexual object (Fredrickson & Roberts 1997, Nussbaum, 1995), and when victims are seen as less human, it may influence perceptions of the amount of moral treatment that the dehumanized person deserves (Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez, & Puvia, 2013). Loughnan and colleagues (2010) found that in a study, that when men and women are sexualized, the moral concern from participants is reduced for the sexualized men and women such that participants are less likely to see the individuals as deserving of being treated in a moral and humane matter (Loughnan et al., 2010). This perception may in turn work to reduce the victim status as less of a victim (Loughnan et al., 2013). Additionally, it has been observed that objectified women are blamed more for their rape and assumed to suffer less than women who have not been objectified (Loughnan et al., 2013). In cases of nonconsensual pornography, the victims are displayed on a website as sexual object, and in turn are dehumanized. This dehumanization may in turn increase the amount of blame assigned to these women.

Overall, when a victim is blamed in a case of sexual assault, responsibility is partially shifted away from the perpetrator, and the perceived severity of the crime may be lessened (Loughnan et al., 2013). For this reason, it is important to closely examine

victim blaming in sexual crimes so that victims can receive deserved support. One theory that may be used to examine misconceptions leading to victim blaming is Script Theory.

Script Theory

Throughout life, people build scripts or guidelines for how individuals should act in each situation. Scripts help to show people which emotions are appropriate to express and which emotions are not appropriate in each situation. When these scripts are violated, the violators may be treated with negative affective reactions and behavior. Being treated with this negative behavior could result in something such as more harsh social sanctions (Van Kleef, Van Doorn, Heerdink, & Koning, 2011). The current study aims to use script theory to explain possible gender differences in perceptions of victims and perpetrators based on the emotions they express.

The Internet is a tool that can be used to sexually exploit and objectify individuals through the use of nonconsensual pornography (Barak, 2005; Hughes, 2002). However, gender stereotypes lead to women in pornographic situations being judged more critically than males in identical situations (Evans-DeCicco, & Cowan, 2001). Script theory acknowledges the social nature of sexuality (Thomson & Scott, 1990) and sexual scripts are considered to be blueprints that help to shape and guide the behaviors of ourselves and others in sexual situations (Kurth, Spiller, & Travis, 2000). Furthermore, sexual scripts define what is considered to be socially acceptable behavior for a person expressing his or her sexual self (Reed & Weinberg, 1984). Scripts are used to provide people with instructions on what the appropriate time, place, and specific actions are for sexual situations (Wiederman, 2005).

Feminine roles are generally based on ideals of behavioral restraint and personal control (Lippa, 2001). Conversely, it is assumed that the role of men is to objectify women and be sexually preoccupied (Kim et al., 2007). One of the reasons this script is thought to persist is because daughters receive more warnings from parents about the risks and dangers of sexual situations (Fisher, 1986), which leads to women having the role of sexual gatekeeper in heterosexual relationships. The role of the sexual gatekeeper is to limit sex and create a barrier that males must overcome before participating in sexual activities (Wiederman, 2005). The media then perpetuates these specific scripts, which help the scripts continue to persist (McCormick, 2010). Engaging in sexual activity is seen as being potentially dangerous to a woman's reputation (Weiderman, 2005). Women who do not follow the sexual scripts are sometimes viewed as being flawed and as having a lack of restraint (Weiderman, 2005), and if a woman chooses to participate in any type of pornography it is believed that the woman was coerced or came from an abusive home and is acting out (Evans-DeCicco et al., 2001). This may lead people to believe any woman who is willing to take nude pictures of herself must have something wrong with her.

When a situation does not follow along with a person's sexual script, it may lead to others placing blame on the individual who is not following the script, for whatever incident has resulted (Wiederman, 2005). Therefore, when a woman is sexually assertive by sending a nude photograph or allowing a nude photograph to be taken, she is likely perceived as not following her role as a sexual gatekeeper and will be judged negatively for these actions (Ryan, 2011). Many times these judgments are in the form of 'slut shaming' or slandering women for presumed sexual activity (Armstrong, Hamilton,

Armstrong, & Seeley, 2014). This slandering may worsen the experiences of female victims of nonconsensual pornography; in addition to the privacy violation that accompanies nonconsensual pornography they may be more likely to be harassed and objectified than male victims.

Sexual scripts can dictate appropriate behavior for individuals depending on the situation in which they are in. The behavior that is perceived as appropriate is often different for men and women, and this creates a condition in which double standards may start to exist. One theory commonly used to examine these double standards in sexual situations is the theory of Sexual Double Standards. Sexual double standards suggest that men have more sexual freedoms than women, in that men are encouraged to act sexually whereas women are discouraged from acting sexually (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991).

Women are often seen as a “gatekeeper” of sexual activity (Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013; Sakaluk, Todd, Milhausen, & Lachowsky, 2014) and it is believed that they should not be sexually assertive (Ussher, 1998), while also being selective about the sexual advances of men. Furthermore, when women do engage in sexual behavior, they are often judged more harshly than men (Sagebin, Bordini, & Sperb, 2013). These differences in judgement may negatively impact victims of nonconsensual pornography, especially in instances where they show sexual assertiveness by taking and sending the picture themselves. This phenomenon can be likened to what may occur in rape cases, where victims may be blamed for their victimization depending on their actions prior to and during the crime. One belief system commonly used to examine these misconceptions that may lead to victim blaming is Rape Myth Acceptance.

Rape Myth Acceptance

Some individuals have shown to endorse the belief that only certain women are likely to be raped. The women who are thought of as being likely to be raped are those who behave contrary to feminine roles, or show other moral deficits (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). These ideas are also known as “rape myths,” which may be defined as “descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about rape (i.e. about its causes, context, consequences, perpetrators, victims, and their interaction) that serve to deny, trivialize, or justify sexual violence exerted by men against women (as cited in Abrams et al., 2003). Rape myths can be conceptualized as stereotypical beliefs about rape that function to put women at a disadvantage (Bohner & Schwarz, 1996).

Some feminists have proposed rape and sexual violence as a tool of social control used by men to keep women in a state of fear (Brownmiller, 1976), and others have suggested rape myths can work to obstruct feelings of vulnerability in women (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Common rape myths include: the way the woman was dressed influenced the attack (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Moor, 2010), women lie about rape (Burt 1980; Hayes-Smith & Levett, 2010), and when a man pays for the date, it is expected that the woman will repay him with sexual intercourse (Basow & Minieri, 2011). Many researchers have found support for blame attributions based on extralegal factors that influence rape myths such as clothing (Johnson, 1995; Vali & Rizzo, 1991), alcohol consumption (Corcoran & Thomas 1991; Scronce & Corcoran, 1995), and the victims past sexual history (Marx & Gross 1995). Rape myths can be problematic because if a victim is seen as suffering less, he or she may receive less support after the

assault, which may in turn lead to psychosomatic symptoms, depression, and re-victimization (Uhlman, 1999).

Victimization is often thought of as an issue specific to females. This idea has been thought to extend from patriarchal views that see women as weaker than men, and therefore, more vulnerable to crime (Hayes et al., 2013). When examining instances of sexual assault, women are more likely to be victims than men (Hayes et al., 2013). For this reason, sexual assault in particular has often been identified as a gendered crime, and may explain why rape myths focus on female behaviors that are perceived as contributing to victimization (Burt, 1980; Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds, & Gidycz, 2011). These behaviors are often notions that depict what “should” or “typically” occurs in a particular situation depending on whether the victim is male or female.

When an individual prescribes to a specific idea in which they believe men and women should act, a situation is created in which sexism may thrive as a result. With sexism, an individual assumes there is a particular way in which women (and men) should act, and when this idea is violated the person holding the sexist beliefs may view the violator in a negative light. Additionally, sexism describes societal roles of men and women as being distinctly different, and does not allow for those roles to be mixed. Sexist beliefs can be held by both men and women, and as such examining the effects of the beliefs on victim blaming is important.

Ambivalent Sexism

Sexist beliefs held by the individuals making judgements about a case may also impact the perceptions of blame assigned to victims. One theory of sexism is Glicke and Fiske’s (1996) theory of ambivalent sexism. Glicke and Fiske (1996) posed the idea of

two different but complementary forms of sexist attitudes (hostile and benevolent) that are combined to create ambivalent sexism. Hostile sexism is typical sexism that is aggressive and hostile. Benevolent sexism is a series of attitudes that seem positive, but view women in restrictive and stereotypical ways (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These forms of sexism have been thought to be used as a way to both maintain and justify male dominance over women (Glick et al., 2000, Jackman, 1994). With ambivalent sexism, women can be classified as “good” or “bad” which creates a situation where violent behaviors towards some “bad” women can be justified by perceivers of the situation (Abrams et al., 2003). Classifying women as “bad” is especially problematic in people who are high in benevolent sexism, because these individuals may perceive female victims as not deserving of protection (Abrams et al., 2003).

Ambivalent sexism has been shown to influence perceptions of sexual assault victims. For example, Abrams et al. (2003) examined victim blame with rape scenarios and ambivalent sexism and found that in cases of acquaintance rape, when compared to individuals who endorse beliefs consistent with low benevolent sexism, people high in benevolent sexism attributed more blame to the victim than they did in cases of stranger rape (Abrams et al., 2003). It has been suggested that people who are high in benevolent sexism may place more blame on victims of acquaintance rape in order to preserve their belief in a just world. When these individuals place more blame on the victim, they assume the woman who enters a sexual relationship with a man accepts the man’s sexual behavior (Abrams et al., 2003). Furthermore, responses to women who have been raped may be influenced by sexist ideas about how women should behave and what roles women should follow when concerning intimate relationships. This leads to the idea that

women who violate gender roles may be blamed more by people who have high benevolent sexism beliefs (Abrams et al., 2003).

Participant Gender

When examining differences between men and women in the amount of victim blame they generally attribute in cases of rape, men tend to place more blame on victims, especially when the victim is female. In addition to instances of rape, men also place more blame on victims in cases of domestic abuse (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Shlien-Dellinger, Huss, & Kramer, 2004). Men are also more likely than women to attribute more weight to the personality characteristics and behavior of the victims when making decisions about the scenario (Anderson, 1999).

In contrast, women tend to place less blame on victims of abuse (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, et al., 2004). This decrease in blame is possibly due to an increased amount of victim empathy (Schult, & Schneider, 1991). When making judgments of responsibility for perpetrators, females generally hold the perpetrators more responsible for their actions (Langhinrichsen-Rohling, et al., 2004). When Angelone and colleagues (2007) conducted a vignette study on perceptions of rape victims, they found that female participants perceived the victim as less culpable for the assault, receiving less pleasure from the assault, and experiencing more trauma from the assault than male participants (Angelone et al., 2007). Additionally, female participants were more likely to consider the assault a rape, suggest higher punishments for the perpetrator, and perceive the offender as being guilty (Angelone et al., 2007). Furthermore, when taking situational factors into account, a study by Macrae and Shepard (1989) found that women are likely to hold a perpetrator of sexual assault accountable regardless of the sexual history of the victim, while men are

more likely to hold the victim accountable for the assault if she was promiscuous, and the perpetrator accountable if the victim was a virgin.

There are many situations in which male participants have shown increased victim blaming. In one study, male participants were more likely than female participants to see the victim as inviting sexual behavior (Schult & Schneider, 1991). Furthermore, it has been found that male participants are more likely to perceive the victim as having felt pleasure from the sexual assault (McCaul, Veltum, Boyechko, & Crawford, 1990) and also are more likely to rate the victim as having provoked the sexual assault (Szymanski, 1993). These differences in perceptions make males more likely to hold victims partially responsible for their victimization (McCaul et al., 1990), which in turn may influence the punishment assigned to perpetrators. One suggested reason for which men tend to assign more blame to victims is that men are less likely to identify with the victim, and identifying with the victim works to reduce victim blame (Aderman, Brehm, & Katz, 1974; Bell et al., 1994). In addition, men have been shown to be more likely to accept rape myths than women (Hayes et al., 2013). These differences may be amplified or moderated by ambivalent sexism beliefs held by participants.

Purpose

There is a growing number of cases where explicit photographs are being shared without the consent of the individuals in the photographs, and laws are being proposed to determine how these situations should be handled. Much of the research on displays of remorse in the courtroom has been focused on the impact it has on perceptions of the offender instead of the possible impact it has on blaming the victim. As such, the current study sought to examine the influence of victim culpability, perpetrator remorse

expression, and gender on victim blaming. This study aimed to address the gap in the literature by examining perceptual variations based on whether the perpetrator expresses remorse for sending the photos out. Additionally, although consequences for victims may be the same regardless of who took the photo, the amount the victim is blamed for the situation may be influenced depending on whom the photographer is. The current study examined this possibility by manipulating perceived victim culpability, which was varied by alternating who took the photo. Past research has shown that female victims of nonconsensual pornography are blamed more than male victims, even in identical situations (Rhyner et al., 2016). The current study examined the possibility of differing victim and perpetrator perceptions based on victim and perpetrator gender. Moreover, the gender of the person making judgements about the case may influence the extent to which the victim and perpetrator are blamed. The current study tested this hypothesis.

The results of the current study may help to develop a better understanding of how the role of the person who took the photograph affects perceptions of culpability, and how the actions of the perpetrator may interact with the blame placed on the victim. In order to seek justice for these victims, either through reparations or perpetrator punishment, it is important to identify variables that may increase the blame assigned to the victims and decrease blame assigned to perpetrators. This project may also help to guide interventions that will help to protect victims from additional negative social harm, such as assuring the victims receive support and assuring perpetrators are encouraged not to repeat their behavior.

To investigate the connection between perpetrator remorse, victim culpability, and blame for both victim and perpetrator, a 3 (remorse expression: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (victim's role in photograph taking: victim took picture vs, perpetrator took picture with victim's consent) X 2 (victim gender) factorial design was utilized.

Specific Aim 1: Remorse

The first objective of the project was to explore how remorse displayed by the perpetrator during the trial impacts victim and perpetrator blame.

Hypothesis 1: It was predicted that when the perpetrator showed remorse, the victim would be blamed more than when the perpetrator showed no remorse, or when there was no mention of emotional expression.

Hypothesis 2: Additionally, it was anticipated that participants would blame the perpetrator most in the condition where the perpetrator showed no remorse, as opposed to when he or she showed remorse or there was no mention of remorseful expression.

Specific Aim 2: Victim's Role in Photograph Creation

The second objective of the study is to explore how the victim's role in creating the photograph affects victim and perpetrator blame.

Hypothesis 1: It was anticipated that when the victim took the photo, he or she would be blamed more and perceived as more culpable than when the perpetrator took the photo.

Hypothesis 2: It was predicted that when the victim took the photo, the perpetrator would be blamed less than when the perpetrator took the photo.

Specific Aim 3: Victim Gender

The third objective of the proposed study was to explore the impact of victim gender on victim and perpetrator blame.

Hypothesis 1: It was anticipated that when the victim was female, she would be blamed more for the situation than when the victim was male.

Hypothesis 2: It was anticipated that when the perpetrator was male, he would be blamed less for his actions than when the perpetrator was female.

Specific Aim 4: Participant Gender

The fourth objective was to explore the impact of participant gender on both victim and perpetrator blame.

Hypothesis 1: Consistent with previous research, it was predicted that males would blame the victim more than females.

Hypothesis 2: It was also anticipated that women would hold the perpetrator more responsible than men when assessing perpetrator blame.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Participants

Responses were collected from a total of 609 participants (men, $n = 295$; women, $n = 303$). An examination of ethnicity revealed that the study consisted of 503 (82.6%) Caucasian participants, 39 (6.4%) black/African American participants, 37 (6.1%) Asian/Pacific Islander participants, 13 (2.1%) Mexican/Mexican American participants, 11 (1.8%) American Indian/Alaskan Native participants, 11 (1.8%) Multi-ethnic participants, 7 (1.1%) Latina/Latin American participants, 3 (.5%) Caribbean Islander participants, and 6 (1.0%) participants who identified as other. The mean age for participants was 32.41 years.

Participants were recruited using the Sona systems research recruiting tool at the University of North Dakota, as well as the Amazon Mechanical Turk recruitment system. Approximately 161 UND students were recruited using the Sona systems recruiting tool and approximately 448 participants were recruited using the MTurk recruitment system. Students from the University of North Dakota received class credit for their participation. MTurk participants received \$0.50 in monetary compensation.

Design

A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) factorial design was used in the current study.

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of the 12 conditions by the Qualtrics survey program.

Data Source

Participants were recruited using both Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and Sona systems. MTurk is an online participant recruitment system which allows the general public to participate in research in exchange for monetary compensation. On MTurk, the researcher, known as the requester, posts a Human Intelligence Task (HIT) which the workers (participants) are allowed to respond to. The HIT included instructions for completing the survey and a link to the Qualtrics site. The site allows for a more diverse participant pool that is more representative of the general public (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). A more representative sample allows for greater generalizability of the findings. Data collected from MTurk has been shown to be data of a high quality (Hauser & Schwarz, 2016; Peer, Vosgerau, & Acquisti, 2013). Data collected from university student pools has shown to be similar to data collected from actual jury pools (e.g., Bornstein, 1999) which suggests data collected from both methods is of a similar quality.

Sona systems is an online participant recruitment system that recruits students from the University of North Dakota. Participants receive extra class credit for their participation in the study. The transcripts and questionnaires were presented on the Qualtrics website for the online participants. Qualtrics is a survey building system that allows for random assignment to one of the conditions of the study. Qualtrics was the tool used to both randomly assign participants to a condition, and randomize the order as to which the questionnaires were presented. In the current study, data collected from Mturk

was compared to data collected from UND students recruited via Sona Systems. Results showed no significant differences between responses.

Materials

Scenario Transcript. The scenario differed based on a 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) design. Participants were first asked to imagine they were on the student association committee, a committee tasked with deciding the outcome of a student accused of misconduct. Participants were next given a transcript to read that coincided with the condition they were randomly assigned. The transcript described a university hearing in which a person is accused of sharing another person's nude photograph without consent, and is being tried for violating the school policy of surreptitious intrusion in the Code of Student Life. Surreptitious intrusion was defined as 'intruding upon or interfering with the privacy of another by secretly or without authorization, gazing, staring, or peeping upon or photographing, recording, amplifying, or broadcasting sounds or events of another'. In creating the transcript, many possible effects of the situation were taken into account.

Transcript Rationale. The transcripts included all aspects of a university hearing, including a letter from the victim and the response of the alleged perpetrator. When looking at the details of the transcript, it has been shown that victims are blamed more and perpetrators less when the two were in a close relationship, such as dating for a long period of time (Krahe, Temkin, & Bieneck, 2007; Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004). Additionally, sexual scripts change depending on the different stages of a relationship (Jones & Hostler, 2001). For this reason, the relationship between the two individuals in

the transcript was held constant, and they were said to have dated for one year. Secondly, in cases where a perpetrator shows remorse, it is sometimes assumed that the perpetrator is making an implicit admission of guilt (Niedermeier et al., 2001). To decrease confounds caused by assumptions of guilt, the offender admitted to sharing the photographs in all conditions. Furthermore, when a person is remorseful and apologizes without identifying what they are apologizing for, it may imply remorse for either the person's actions or the outcome (Jehle et al., 2009). To avoid this ambiguity, the offender in the remorse condition specified what he or she was apologizing for.

Past studies have used both verbal and nonverbal expressions to examine effective portrayals of remorse (Scher & Darley, 1997; Pfeifer et al., 1996). Verbal expressions of remorse have been statements such as "I feel bad about it, I'm sorry for the woman, and I wish it never happened" (Kleinke et al., 2001) and "I greatly regret the outcome of my actions, I'm sorry, and the situation is causing me a depressed state" (Niedermeier et al., 2001). Portrayals of no remorse situations have been successfully shown by having the offenders make statements such as "I feel no remorse for my actions" (Bornstein, Rung, & Miller, 2002) and "I feel no regret and acknowledge the outcome but I am completely at peace with myself (Niedermeier et al., 2001). Control situations have left out any mention of remorse or emotions shown by the perpetrator (Bornstein et al., 2002; Kleinke et al., 2001). The study used verbal variations of the expressions of remorse that have been shown to be effective to ensure the remorse manipulations were portraying the correct emotions. Moreover, justification of the offense, such as stating what the perpetrator did was not illegal, has been shown to affect the perceptions of the perpetrator

(Weiss, 2009). Because of this impact, the perpetrator verbally justified his or her actions in all three conditions (Appendices B and C).

Transcript Manipulation. Within the transcript, the display of remorse was manipulated depending on the condition. In the remorse condition, the perpetrator expressed remorse for his or her actions through saying “I greatly regret the outcome of the situation” and “I am very sorry for sharing the photograph and the pain I may have caused.” In the no remorse condition, the perpetrator expressed a lack of remorse by saying “I don’t think I did anything wrong and I’m not sorry for sharing the photo” and “I feel no remorse from my decisions and I am completely at peace with myself.” In the control condition, all mention of the perpetrator’s feelings were removed completely.

The second manipulation, who took the photograph, was manipulated by the victim saying “I took a nude photograph of myself and sent it” or “I allowed him/her to take a photo.” The perpetrator also indicated who the photographer was by saying either “she/he took the picture and sent it” or “he/she allowed me to take the photo.”

The third manipulation, victim gender, was manipulated by altering the name of the perpetrator and victim depending on the condition. When the victim was female, her name was Sarah and the perpetrator’s name was Brian. When the victim was male, his name was Brian and the perpetrator’s name was Sarah.

¹Manipulation Check. Participants were given a manipulation check after reading the transcript to assure they understood the manipulation. Using multiple choice

¹ A pilot study was conducted to examine whether the scenario successfully manipulated the remorse conditions. A series of T tests were conducted to assess whether the perpetrator was perceived as being remorseful based on the remorse condition. Perpetrators in the no remorse ($t(27) = -6.60, p < .001 (M = 2.04, SD = 1.57)$), and control ($t(26) = -3.17, p = .001 (M = 2.88, SD = 1.80)$) were perceived as not being remorseful

questions, they were asked to identify the gender of the victim and the photographer. Participants who did not correctly identify the manipulations were not included in the final analyses. A pilot study was conducted on the transcripts to ensure that the remorse manipulation was successful. Participants in the pilot study correctly identified whether the perpetrator was or was not expressing remorse. Responses were collected from a total of 643 participants. After examining the manipulation checks, 34 participants were removed due to failing one or more of the manipulations. An examination of the conditions revealed that 21 participants were removed from the conditions where there was a male victim, while six participants were removed from the conditions with a female victim. As such, a total of 609 participants (295, 48.4% Men; 303, 49.8% Women) were utilized in the final analysis. (Appendix D).

Demographics. Participants were given a demographic form that asks basic background information including age, education, gender, ethnicity, marital status, political affiliation, religiosity, if they have ever sent a nude photo, and if they have ever received a nude photograph (Appendix E).

Scenario Perceptions. After reading a transcript of a nonconsensual pornography case, participants were asked to answer a series of Likert-type scale questions regarding their perceptions of the situation. Perceptions included victim blame, perpetrator blame, legal action, victim life impact, believability of the situation, negative affect, victim sympathy, and perpetrator sympathy. All items utilized a Likert-type scale, ranging from

while perpetrators in the remorse condition ($t(23) = .927, p = .364 (M = 4.35, SD = 1.80)$) were not seen as being remorseful nor not remorseful.

1 (completely disagree with the statement) to 7 (completely agree with the situation). (Appendices F, G, and H).

Believability of the Situation. One item was used to measure whether the situation was believable. The question was asked on a one (not at all believable) to seven (completely believable) Likert-type scale. A higher score indicates the situation is believable.

Seriousness of the Situation. One item was used to assess whether participants felt the situation was serious. The question was asked on a one (not at all serious) to seven (very serious) Likert-type scale. A higher score indicates the situation is more serious.

Commonness of the Situation. One item was used to assess whether participants felt the situation was serious. The question was asked on a one (not at all common) to seven (very common) Likert-type scale. A higher score indicates the situation is a very common one.

Victim Blame. Participants were asked to answer three items assessing victim blame (Cronbach's alpha = .80). The items included (a) how much the victim is at fault for the situation, (b) how responsible the victim is for the situation, and (c) how much the victim deserved the situation. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (not at all at fault, responsible, deserved) to seven (completely at fault, responsible, deserved). Higher scores indicate the victim is more to blame for the situation.

Perpetrator Blame. Participants were given five items assessing the extent to which they blame the perpetrator for the situation (Cronbach's alpha = .90). These items

include (a) the extent to which participants believe the perpetrator is responsible for the situation, (b) the extent to which the perpetrator is at fault for the situation, (c) the extent to which the perpetrator is to blame for the situation, (d) the extent to which the perpetrator could have prevented the situation, and (e) the extent to which the perpetrator was wrong to have sent the photos. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (not at all) to seven (completely). Higher scores indicate the perpetrator is more to blame for the situation.

Legal Action. Four items were used to assess the legal actions that should be taken against the perpetrator (Cronbach's alpha = .81). These items include (a) whether the victim should go to the police, (b) what penalties the perpetrator should face, (c) if legal action should be taken against the perpetrator, and (d) whether posting nude photos without consent from the person(s) featured in the photograph should be illegal. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (completely disagree) to seven (completely agree). Higher scores indicate a higher perception that legal action should be taken by the victim against the perpetrator.

Sanctions. If participants had decided the perpetrator's actions had violated the code of student life, they were then asked to identify which sanction(s) they would recommend for the perpetrator. Participants were presented with 11 possible sanctions and were directed to choose as many sanctions as they deemed appropriate. The sanctions included emergency suspension, written reprimand, warning probation, conduct probation, no contact directive, suspension or restriction of use of campus facilities, mental health counseling, mandated community service, mandated educational programs,

suspension, and indefinite suspension. In addition to sanctions, the participants were asked to answer a short answer question about why they chose the sanctions they chose.

Victim Sympathy. Participants were presented with three items assessing sympathy towards the victim (Cronbach's alpha = .87). These items include whether the participants (a) feel sorry for the victim, (b) feel sympathy for the victim, and (c) feel pity for the victim. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (completely disagree) to seven (completely agree). Higher scores indicate higher sympathy towards the victim.

Perpetrator Sympathy. Participants were asked to respond to three items to assess sympathy towards the perpetrator (Cronbach's alpha = .95). These items include the extent to which the participants (a) feel sorry for the perpetrator, (b) feel sympathy for the perpetrator, and (c) feel pity for the perpetrator. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale which ranged from one (completely disagree) to seven (completely agree). Higher scores indicate higher negative affect towards the perpetrator.

Negative Affect Toward Victim. Negative affect toward the victim was measured using three items (Cronbach's alpha = .90). These items include the extent to which participants were (a) angry with the victim, (b) annoyed with the victim, and (c) disgusted with the victim. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (completely disagree) to seven (completely agree). Higher scores indicate higher negative affect towards the victim.

Negative Affect Toward Perpetrator. Negative affect toward the perpetrator was measured using three items (Cronbach's alpha = .89). These items include the extent to which participants were (a) angry with the perpetrator, (b) annoyed with the perpetrator,

and (c) disgusted with the perpetrator. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (completely disagree) to seven (completely agree). Higher scores indicate higher negative affect towards the perpetrator.

Victim Life Impact. Participants were given five items assessing the perceived possible impact this situation will have on the victim's various areas of life (Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$). These items include (a) the extent to which the incident will impact the victim's work life, (b) the extent to which the incident will impact the victim's family life, (c) the extent to which the incident will impact the victim's social life, (d) the extent to which the incident will impact the victim's dating life, and (e) the extent to which the incident will impact the victim's life in general. Questions were measured using a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from one (not at all) to seven (very much). Higher scores indicate higher likelihood that the incident will have a large impact on the victim's life.

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale-Short Form (IRMA). The Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne et al., 1999) is a 20-item measure that assesses participant's level of rape myth acceptance. The scale uses a 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from one (not at all agree) to seven (very much agree). There are seven subscales (she asked for it; It wasn't really rape; he didn't mean to; she wanted it; she lied; rape is a trivial event; rape is a deviant event) and five filler items. Scores range from 40-280, higher scores indicate a greater level of rape myth acceptance. The IRMA Short Form has been used in numerous studies (e.g., Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Girard & Senn, 2008; Palm Reed, Hines, Armstrong, & Cameron, 2015) and has demonstrated adequate reliability and validity by the scale's authors (Payne et al., 1999). (Appendix I)

Ambivalent Sexism. Participants attitudes towards sexism were measured using Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske's (2001) revised scale of Ambivalent Sexist Attitudes. The scale consists of 22 statements in which participants are asked to rate on a scale from 0-5 as to whether they agree or disagree (0 strongly disagree, 5 strongly agree) with each statement. A score is achieved by averaging the scores participants assign to each statement, correcting for reverse scored items. Higher scores are attributed to overall sexist attitudes (Appendix J).

Procedure

Participants first signed up for the study either through MTurk or Sona. Once they signed up for the study, the link to the Qualtrics site was presented to them. MTurk and Sona systems are recruiting tools for participants, and allowed students from the University of North Dakota to sign up for the study in exchange for class credit and non-students to sign up for monetary compensation. After indicating consent (Appendix A), the participants were asked to read a transcript of the school trial that was consistent with the condition in which they were assigned to. Following the transcript, participants were given a manipulation check to determine that they understood the scenario. Participants who passed the manipulation check were then directed to the questionnaires that measure their perceptions of the situation. Participants who failed the manipulation check were removed from the study. Lastly, participants were asked to fill out the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance scale, the Ambivalent Sexism scale, and the demographic questionnaire. After the study had been completed, the MTurk workers received monetary compensation and the Sona participants received class credit.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Participant Demographics

When asked about relationship status, 238 (39.1%) reported being single, 100 (16.4%) reported dating, 17 (2.8%) reported being engaged, 49 (8.0%) reported currently cohabitating, 159 (26.1%) reported being married, 32 (5.3%) reported being divorced or separated, 2 (.3%) reported being widowed, and 1 (.2%) reported other. An examination of explicit photograph sending behavior revealed that approximately 194 (31.9%) had sent nudes while 404 (66.3%) did not send nudes. The average number of nude photographs reported being sent was 54.16. Further, approximately 292 (47.9%) of participants reported receiving at least one nude photograph while 306 (50.2%) reported never receiving nude photographs. See table 1 for complete demographic breakdown.

Scenario Convincingness

A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the three items assessing how believable, serious, and common the participants considered the situation to be.

Results failed to yield a multivariate main effect for remorse, $Pillai = .01, F(2, 570) = 1.04, ns$, photographer $Pillai = .01, F(1, 570) = 1.31, ns$, and victim gender $Pillai = .01, F(1, 570) = 1.27, ns$. A multivariate main effect was indicated for participant

gender, $Pillai = .11$, $F(1, 570) = 18.17$, $p < .001$. Univariate significance was attained for the items assessing how believable the situation was $F(1, 573) = 13.89$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$, how serious the situation was $F(1, 573) = 59.03$, $p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$, and how common the situation was $F(1, 573) = 19.07$, $p > .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Women rated the scenario as being more believable ($M = 6.39$, $SD = 1.03$), serious ($M = 6.34$, $SD = 1.03$) and common ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.35$) than men (believable: $M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.17$; ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.51$; common: $M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.36$).

A series of one sample T-tests were conducted to determine whether participants found the situation to be believable, serious, and common. Overall, participants viewed the situation as believable, $t(610) = 49.33$, $p < .001$ ($M = 6.24$, $SD = 1.12$), serious, $t(610) = 35.29$, $p < .001$, ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.35$) and common, $t(610) = 16.45$, $p < .001$, ($M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.37$).

Blame

Victim Blame. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to assess victim blame. No significance was found for victim gender, $F < 1$. A marginally significant main effect was found for remorse $F(2, 576) = 2.90$, $p = .056$, $\eta^2 = .010$. Post hoc comparisons (Least significant difference, LSD) indicated that the victim was blamed more in the control condition ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.41$) than the remorse condition ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.39$). The no remorse condition did not differ significantly from either the control or remorse conditions.

A significant main effect was also found for photographer $F(1, 576) = 12.67, p > .001, \eta^2 = .022$, such that the victim was attributed more blame when he or she took the photograph ($M = 2.87, SD = 1.43$) than when the perpetrator took the photograph ($M = 2.49, SD = 1.37$). Finally, a significant main effect was also indicated for participant gender $F(1, 576) = 19.98, p < .001, \eta^2 = .034$. Men ($M = 2.93, SD = 1.40$) were more likely to blame the victim than women ($M = 2.44, SD = 1.38$). Interactions failed to attain significance. Overall, the victim was not blamed for the situation $t(610) = -22.84, p < .001 (M = 2.69, SD = 1.42)$.

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict victim blame based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 498) = 24.55, p = .001$, with 28.3% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .283$).

Hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and rape myth acceptance were significant predictors of victim blame. Higher scores on hostile sexism (Beta = .13, $p = .017$), higher scores on benevolent sexism (Beta = .16, $p = .001$), and higher scores on rape myth acceptance (Beta = .32, $p < .001$) were all associated with higher levels of blame being attributed to the victim for the scenario. (See Table 2).

Perpetrator Blame. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess the amount of blame placed on the perpetrator for the situation. A significant main effect was attained for remorse $F(2, 574) = 3.44, p =$

.033, $\eta^2 = .012$. Post hoc comparisons (LSD) indicated that the perpetrator was blamed more in the remorse condition ($M = 6.39$, $SD = 0.90$) than the control condition ($M = 6.16$, $SD = 1.04$). The no remorse condition did not differ significantly from the control condition or from the remorse condition.

No significance was found for victim gender ($F < 1$), but there was a main effect found for photographer $F(1, 574) = 6.92$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .01$. More blame was attributed to the perpetrator when he or she took the photograph ($M = 6.36$, $SD = .92$), than when the victim did ($M = 6.18$, $SD = 1.01$). A significant main effect was also indicated for participant gender $F(1, 574) = 43.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Women attributed more blame to the perpetrator ($M = 6.52$, $SD = 0.74$) than did men ($M = 6.02$, $SD = 1.11$).

There was a significant interaction between participant gender and the victim's role in taking the photograph, $F(1, 574) = 4.56$, $p = .033$, $\eta^2 = .008$ (see Figure 1). Simple effects analysis of participant gender at each level of photographer yielded significance when the victim took the nude photograph, $F(1, 574) = 11.16$, $p = .001$. When the victim took his or her own photograph, male participants were less likely to blame the perpetrator ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 1.14$) than female participants ($M = 6.50$, $SD = .75$).

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict perpetrator blame based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 497) = 25.14$, $p > .001$, with 28.8% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .29$). Rape myth acceptance was a significant predictor of

victim blame. Higher acceptance of rape myths (Beta = $-.45$, $p < .001$) was associated with lower perpetrator blame. See table 3.

Legal Action

A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess whether legal action should be taken against the perpetrator. Neither the main effects for remorse, $F(2, 576) = 2.36$, *ns*, photographer, $F(1, 576) = 2.46$, *ns*, nor victim gender, $F < 1$ attained significance. A significant main effect was found for participant gender $F(1, 576) = 83.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .13$, such that women were more likely to endorse legal action be taken against the perpetrator ($M = 6.06$, $SD = 0.90$) than men ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.27$). Interactions failed to attain significance. Overall, participants endorsed the idea that legal action should be taken towards the perpetrator $t(610) = 34.63$, $p < .001$ ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.18$).

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict the suggestion as to whether legal action should be taken based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. The overall model was significant $F(8, 498) = 18.54$, $p < .001$, with 23% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .23$).

Rape myth acceptance was a significant predictor of legal action. Higher scores in rape myth acceptance (Beta = $-.29$, $p < .001$) was associated with participants being less likely to suggest the victim seek legal action. See table 4.

Sanctions

A Pearson Chi-square was conducted to test whether or not differences in recommending sanctions against the perpetrator existed between the independent variables which include remorse level, photographer, victim gender, and participant gender. There were no significant differences found for remorse, $\chi^2(2) = 1.71, p = .424$; photographer $\chi^2(1) = .000, p = .990$; or victim gender $\chi^2(1) = .950, p = .330$. Results did indicate a significant association between participant gender and whether surreptitious intrusion was violated $\chi^2(2) = 7.65, p = .006$. The odds ratio suggested women were 2.30 times more likely to recommend sanctions than men. See tables 9, 10, 11, and 12 for breakdowns.

Sympathy

Victim Sympathy. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess the amount of sympathy participants assigned to the victim. Neither the main effects for photographer $F(1, 575) = 4.77, ns$, nor victim gender, $F < 1$, attained significance.

Results yielded a marginally significant main effect for remorse $F(2, 575) = 2.99, p = .051, \eta^2 = .94$. Post hoc comparisons (LSD) indicated that participants were more likely to sympathize with the victim in the remorse condition ($M = 5.63, SD = 1.43$) than in the control condition ($M = 5.33, SD = 1.62$). The no remorse condition did not differ significantly from the remorse condition or the control condition.

A significant main effect was indicated for participant gender $F(1, 575) = 33.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$. Women indicated that they had more sympathy for the victim ($M = 5.86,$

$SD = 1.38$) than men ($M = 5.17, SD = 1.51$). Interactions failed to attain significance.

Overall, participants were sympathetic towards the victim $t(609) = 24.98, p < .001$ ($M = 5.51, SD = 1.49$).

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict sympathy for the victim based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 497) = 10.08, p < .001$, with 14% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .14$).

Rape myth acceptance significantly predicted feelings towards the victim. Higher scores on rape myth acceptance (Beta = $-.25, p < .001$) was associated with lower feelings of sympathy towards the victim. See table 5.

Perpetrator Sympathy. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess sympathy towards the perpetrator. Neither the main effects for remorse $F(2,576) = 2.24, ns$, photographer, $F(2,576) = 2.14, ns$, nor victim gender $F < 1$, attained significance. A significant main effect was found for participant gender $F(1, 576) = 40.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. Men were more likely to sympathize with the perpetrator ($M = 2.36, SD = 1.50$) than women ($M = 1.66, SD = 1.10$).

A marginally significant two-way interaction was attained for remorse and participant gender $F(2, 576) = 2.94, p = .053$. Simple effects analysis of remorse at each level of participant gender yielded significance $F(2, 576) = 3.43, p = .033$. Women in the

control condition ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.36$) demonstrated more perpetrator sympathy than women in the no remorse condition ($M = 1.47$, $SD = 0.87$). Overall, participants did not sympathize with the perpetrator of the situation $t(610) = -35.53$, $p < .001$ ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 1.37$). See figure 2.

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict victim blame based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 498) = 18.30$, $p < .001$, with 21.5% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .22$).

Benevolent sexism and rape myth acceptance were significant predictors of perpetrator sympathy. Higher scores on benevolent sexism (Beta = .11, $p = .023$) and higher scores on rape myth acceptance (Beta = .44, $p < .001$) were both associated with higher levels of perpetrator sympathy. See table 6.

Negative Affect

Victim Negative Affect. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess the amount of negative affect participants assigned to the victim of the situation. No significance was found for remorse, $F(2, 576) = 1.29$, ns , nor victim gender, $F < 1$.

Results yielded a significant main effect for photographer $F(1, 576) = 11.75$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Participants expressed higher negative affect when the victim took the photograph ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.64$) than when the perpetrator took the photograph ($M =$

2.23, $SD = 1.46$). A significant main effect was also indicated for participant gender $F(1, 576) = 9.54, p < .002, \eta^2 = .02$. Men reported higher levels of negative affect for the victim ($M = 2.64, SD = 1.57$) than women ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.53$). Interactions failed to attain significance. Overall, participants did not show negative affect towards the victim of the situation, $t(610) = -24.54, p = < .001 (M = 2.45, SD = 1.56)$.

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict victim negative affect based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 498) = 15.12, p > .001$, with 19.5% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .20$).

Benevolent sexism and rape myth acceptance were significant predictors of victim negative affect. Higher scores on benevolent sexism (Beta = .19, $p < .001$) and higher scores on rape myth acceptance (Beta = .27, $p < .001$) were both associated with higher victim negative affect. See table 7.

Perpetrator Negative Affect. A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess negative affect towards the perpetrator. Neither the main effects for remorse, $F(2, 576) = 1.24, ns$, photographer, $F < 1$, nor victim gender, $F < 1$, attained significance. A significant main effect was indicated for participant gender $F(1, 576) = 44.0, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$, such that women reported higher negative affect for the perpetrator ($M = 5.66, SD = 1.56$) than men ($M = 4.78, SD = 1.71$).

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict perpetrator negative affect based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 498) = 6.31, p < .001$, with 9.2% of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .09$). Neither the Rape Myth Acceptance scale, the hostile sexism scale, nor the benevolent sexism scale were significant predictors.

Victim Life Impact

A 3 (remorse: remorse vs. no remorse vs. control) X 2 (photographer: victim took vs. perpetrator took) X 2 (victim gender) X 2 (participant gender) ANOVA was conducted to assess the impact the situation would have on the victim's life. Neither the main effects for victim gender, $F(1,569) = 1.22, ns$, nor photographer $F(1,569) = 1.20, ns$, attained significance. A marginally significant main effect was found for remorse $F(2, 569) = 3.02, p = .050, \eta^2 = .01$. Post hoc comparisons (LSD) indicated that the situation would have more of an impact on the victim's life when the perpetrator displayed no remorse ($M = 2.39, SD = 1.21$) as opposed to remorse ($M = 2.13, SD = 1.06$). The control condition did not differ significantly from either the no remorse or remorse conditions.

A significant main effect was indicated for participant gender $F(1, 569) = 14.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$. Men were more likely to suggest that the situation would have a larger life impact on the victim ($M = 2.45, SD = 1.01$) than women ($M = 2.11, SD = 1.26$). Interactions failed to attain significance. Overall, participants indicated that there would

not be a significant life impact on the victim of the situation $t(602) = -35.84, p = < .001$ ($M = 2.30, SD = 1.17$).

Multiple linear regression was calculated to predict victim life impact based on the independent variables (remorse, photographer, victim gender, participant gender), The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (including hostile and benevolent sexism), and the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. Predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. A significant regression equation was found $F(8, 491) = 6.59, p < .001$, with 9.7 % of the variance accounted for ($R^2 = .10$).

Rape myth acceptance was a significant predictor of victim life impact. Higher scores on rape myth acceptance (Beta = .21, $p < .001$) was associated with a larger life impact for the victim. See table 8.

Qualitative Analysis

After selecting sanctions (see tables 13, 14, 15, and 16 for a breakdown of frequency counts by remorse condition, photographer, victim gender, and participant gender) participants were asked to briefly explain why they had chosen both whether the student violated the code and if so why they chose the sanctions that they had selected. Results were examined for common themes and a content analysis was performed to analyze the specific content and patterns of responses. A total of 6 categories were created. These categories were: 1. victim blamed (direct or indirect), 2. both the perpetrator and victim were blamed, 3. consent (explicitly suggest consent was given; explicitly suggest no consent was given), 4. remorse display mentioned as a reason for the decision, 5. consequences (perpetrator's or victim's) and 6. suggestion that the

perpetrator has mental issues. This classification scheme was derived after reading all of the responses and establishing common themes among them.

Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) was used to create and analyze two patterns of words used in the justifications for punishments chosen. LIWC is a transparent text analysis program which counts words and places words into psychologically meaningful categories (Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007; Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2010). LIWC has been used to analyze qualitative data in relation to attentional focus, emotionality, social relationships, thinking styles, and individual differences. The LIWC program allows for the user to create a dictionary and examine the words in that dictionary in relation to the text being analyzed. For the current study, two word groups were specified. The first is negative words or words of hostility used (mostly) towards the perpetrator. These words were mainly used to express extreme negative perceptions toward the perpetrator for the perpetrator's actions. These include words such as "malicious," "deplorable," "antisocial," "vengeful," "sadistic," and "defamation." See Appendix K for negative LIWC dictionary. The second group included words and phrases which were used to minimize the situation. The phrases in the minimizing group were words and statements used by participants which implied the crime was small, and the victim was catastrophizing the situation more than he or she should be. This group included words and phrases such as "stupid mistake," "slap on the wrist," "life lesson," "not the end of the world," "kids are dumb," "harmless," and "trivial situation." See Appendix L for minimizing LIWC dictionary and tables 17 and 18 for LIWC results breakdown.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

As technology continues to advance and the cyber world becomes ever more prominent in society, it is critical to examine policies and issues surrounding new ways in which cybercrimes are occurring. Additionally, it is important to examine the extra-legal factors that may influence the judgements in these cases. Emotions in particular have shown to obstruct rational decision making and sound judgements. For example, the expression of remorse by perpetrators has been found to both decrease the sentence of the perpetrator (Davis & Gold, 2011; Gold & Weiner, 2000) and increase the likelihood of a guilty verdict for the perpetrator (Jehle et al., 2009; Niedermeir et al., 2001). As such, it is important to understand how both the expression of emotions by the perpetrator, and emotions expressed toward the victim in the scenario impact observers' decision making.

In past years, nonconsensual pornography has been conceptualized by some scholars as a problem of user naiveté, as opposed to an issue of violence (Henry & Powell, 2015). A victim of nonconsensual pornography cannot simply turn off all of their electrical devices and escape the resulting consequences. Once these images are put into cyberspace, they have the ability to remain indefinitely. Consequently, victims of nonconsensual pornography can then be re-victimized repeatedly as more people view, share, and download their photos. Furthermore, communication and new media technologies have become integral aspects of social participation in today's society. If a

victim were to attempt to remove themselves completely from these aspects it could, in turn, isolate the victim from friends, family, and support from those who may have otherwise helped the victim through the situation (Henry & Powell, 2015).

Remorse

The first variable examined, perpetrator remorse, was found to have an impact on the perceptions of both those involved in the situation and the situation itself. It was anticipated that the victim would be blamed more when the perpetrator expressed remorse for sharing the photograph. This hypothesis was partially supported. Remorse did have an impact on the amount of blame attributed to the victim, but it was not in the direction that had been predicted. When examining the impact of remorse on victim blame, marginally significant results were attained when comparing the remorse condition to the control condition. In the control condition, the victim was blamed more than when the perpetrator demonstrated remorse for his or her actions. It may be the case that when the perpetrator expressed remorse for his or her actions, and in so doing acknowledged how these actions impacted the victim, the crime was seen as being especially harmful.

In addition to being attributed more blame, the victim received less sympathy from participants in the control condition, compared to the remorse condition. This finding goes along with the findings of the impact of remorse on victim blame and thus may suggest that when a perpetrator apologizes or expresses remorse for his or her actions the perpetrator is blamed more, and thus the victim is blamed less for the situation. Previous studies have found that apologies and remorse can act as a function of admitting guilt (Jehele, et al., 2009). In the current study, the perpetrator openly admitted

to sharing the photos and therefore guilt for the perpetrator's actions was never in question. Therefore, the results suggest remorse has an impact on blame beyond the presumption of guilt.

Taken together, these findings support the idea that the perpetrator's behavior is working to impact perceptions of the victim. It may be the case that when the perpetrator expresses remorse for his or her actions, and acknowledges the victim's suffering they have caused, the sympathy participants have for the victim is increased which reduces the amount of blame assigned. Participants were least sympathetic and attributed the most blame to the victim in the control condition, where there is no mention of remorse in the perpetrator's response to the committee. Possibly, participants are less likely to be primed to feel sympathy for the victim and therefore assign the victim more blame. This finding is consistent with previous research which has found a connection between feelings of sympathy by onlookers towards the victims. One study found when participants feel more sympathy for the plaintiff, they blamed the defendant more (Bornstein, 1998). Further, it has been found that victim impact statements, when used to induce greater sympathy from jurors, increases feelings of anger toward the perpetrator (Paternoster & Deise, 2011).

These findings are further supported by the qualitative data that was used to examine the type of minimizing language participants used in regards to their decisions about the scenario. Minimizing language was most used in the control condition and least in the no remorse condition. The minimizing language was language used to express the idea that the victim was making the situation out to be of larger significance than they believed it should be. This finding suggests that participants were more likely to write off

both the seriousness of the victimization and possible impact the shared photograph may have on the victim's life within the control condition. If participants minimize the situation, it is possible they are less likely to sympathize with the victim. Further, even in cases where the participants assigned blame to the perpetrator for the scenario, they were also more likely to place blame on both the victim and perpetrator (as opposed to one or the other) in the control condition when compared to the remorse and no remorse conditions. This tendency to share blame instead of just assigning it to the perpetrator may also be related to the reduction in sympathy and increased amount of blame associated with the victim.

No significant differences emerged for the effect of remorse on whether or not the victim should take legal action against the perpetrator. This suggests that, despite the results which showed more victim blame is placed on the victim when the perpetrator was in the control condition, participants are still suggesting legal action be taken against the perpetrator. This finding may suggest that the impact of remorse, while having an impact on perceptions, is minimal when it comes to the outcome of the case.

It was also hypothesized that participants would blame the perpetrator most in the no remorse condition when compared to the remorse and control conditions; however, this hypothesis was not supported. There was a significant difference between the remorse condition and the control condition such that when the perpetrator showed remorse toward the victim, he or she was blamed more than in the control condition. This result supports previous research that found that a perpetrator who displayed remorse was blamed more than a perpetrator who did not (Niedermeir et al., 2001). It is likely that when a perpetrator expresses remorse, the perpetrator is not only admitting fault to the

situation, but also acknowledging an awareness that the behavior was wrong. Overall, this finding may suggest that the expression of remorse by the perpetrator increases perpetrator blame.

The qualitative results did not support the difference between the control and remorse conditions. Instead, the results suggested a difference in regard to the amount of negative language used towards the perpetrator. Participants were most likely to use words such as malicious, cruel, and antisocial towards the perpetrator in the no remorse condition. It is possible that when the perpetrator did not mention remorse for the crime committed, people who viewed the perpetrator negatively did so to a larger extent. As such, it may suggest that the impact of expressing no remorse for a crime only impacts perceptions of the perpetrator if the participants already view the crime as a serious violation against the victim. Future research should examine differences in severity of blame in regards to whether or not the perpetrator is viewed as violating the rights of someone else.

Photographer

A survey conducted by the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative reported that approximately 80% of photos used in nonconsensual pornography are “selfies” or self-taken photos. (Cyber Civil Rights Initiative, 2014). As such, it is critical to examine the impact the photographer may have on decisions about the case. If whether or not the explicit photograph is self-taken impacts decisions about culpability, it may be the case that some victims are less likely to be viewed as victims. If a victim is not being perceived as a “real victim,” the victim may not be receiving the justice or social support they deserve.

It was hypothesized that when the victim took the photo, the victim would be blamed more, and the perpetrator would be blamed less. Both hypotheses were supported; results indicated that when the victim took the photo, the victim was blamed more than when the perpetrator took the photo. Conversely, when the perpetrator took the photo, she or he was blamed more than when the victim took the photo. These findings support the notion that the victim was perceived as being more culpable for his or her victimization and subsequent outcomes. Perceptions of increased victim culpability may have implications for policy designed around nonconsensual pornography cases. If a victim takes a “selfie” and it is distributed without consent, the victim may be less likely to be seen as a victim and therefore less likely to receive social support for the crime which was committed. As such, it is important to include the role of the photographer in definition of what is considered illegal in regard to nonconsensual pornography.

Despite the differences in blame attributed the victim in regards to who took the photograph, there was no difference between whether or not participants indicated that the victim should seek legal action for being victimized by having the photograph shared. This finding suggests that participants were not especially influenced by who the photographer was when they were making an overall decision on whether the perpetrator should be punished. Regardless of the photographer, participants largely indicated through their perceptions of whether this was a violation, that the photograph was something which should have been private. Therefore, sharing the photograph without consent was deserving of repercussions for the perpetrator. Further examination on how participants view consent and how consent may be granted is warranted to explore this idea further.

Victim and perpetrator sympathy failed to vary according to who took the photo, but there was, however, a significant difference in the level of negative affect, or negative feelings such as disgust, toward the victim. Participants expressed more negative affect toward the victim when he or she took the photograph than when the perpetrator took the photograph. It may be the case that the increase in victim blame when the victim was the photographer stems from a place of disgust toward the victim instead of a lack of sympathy for the victim. If victim blame is being increased due to feelings of disgust toward the victim, it is likely that attempting to have participants actively empathize with the victim will reduce victim blame; future research should examine this potential relationship.

Victim Gender

Recent research examining the impact of victim gender in nonconsensual pornography cases has suggested female victims and perpetrators are blamed more than male victims and perpetrators. For example, Rhyner and colleagues (2017) examined perceptions of a case of nonconsensual pornography where the victim communicated about his or her victimization in the form of a written blog. This study found that the female victim was attributed significantly more blame than the male victim. In addition, the male perpetrator was attributed less blame than the female perpetrator (Rhyner et al., 2017). As such, the current study hypothesized that when the victim was a woman she would be blamed more, and when the perpetrator was a man he would be blamed less. Results partially supported both of the hypotheses.

Results from the current study failed to yield significant differences on blame, based on victim gender, for blame. A lack of overall significant differences based on

victim gender in itself may be telling. Despite a lack of differences in blame, the manipulation check revealed that this is a crime which is assumed to happen mostly to women. During the manipulation check, approximately four times as many participants were excluded in the condition in which a man was the victim, as opposed to when a woman was the victim. These participants insisted the victim was a woman, despite being informed that they answered incorrectly and given a chance to change their answer. Although results did not yield a difference between victim genders, it may still be assumed by many participants that nonconsensual pornography is a crime that primarily happens to women as opposed to men. If the crime is assumed to only happen to women, male victims may fail to receive the support and justice that they deserve for the crime.

Furthermore, a failure to detect differences in blame based on victim gender may have been impacted by exposure to this crime via the media. Coverage of nonconsensual pornography has increased dramatically in the past few years, and has been highlighted with some very high profile cases of celebrities such as Jennifer Lawrence (Clare, 2015; Isaac, 2014; McCoy, 2014), Rhianna, Kim Kardashian (Clare, 2015), and Paris Hilton (Powell, 2010). The majority of these cases have a female victim and either a male or unknown perpetrator. If participants were made aware of these gender differences, they may have actively tried to avoid answering in a manner that is socially desirable. If participants were trying to answer in a socially desirable way, the outcome of nonconsensual pornography cases may still be impacted by underlying biases based on victim gender. Future studies should include an assessment of social desirability.

No significant differences for victim gender were detected when examining whether or not this situation was common and whether the situation would have a significant life impact on the victim. Nonconsensual pornography has been shown to impact men and women in different ways, both in prevalence and victim consequences. Not only is it more common for women to be victims (Uhl, et al., 2017), but women are more likely to report experiencing a negative impact on their life (Cyber Civil Rights Initiative, 2014). Additionally, Rhyner and colleagues (2017) found a female victim was judged more harshly than a male victim for the crime. As such, it is likely that female victims, in turn, would experience a larger negative impact.

Despite failing to detect significant differences in perceptions of the victim based on the victim's gender in the quantitative analyses, the qualitative results, which examined participants' reasons for the punishments they assigned, did suggest differences in many areas. Not only did women receive more direct and indirect blame for the situation, but when the victim was a woman, participants were three times more likely to share the blame between the victim and perpetrator. Taken together, these findings suggest women are assigned disproportionately more blame for victimization in nonconsensual pornography cases than men. This finding supports previous research that found an increase in victim blame assigned to women when compared to men (Rhyner et al., 2017). If women are in fact blamed more, they may receive less social support from friends, family, and the community, after their victimization. Future research should examine the type and severity of blame placed on men and women in these cases to examine possible gender differences.

The LIWC analysis that examined the use of minimization language in the reasons for assigning punishments also revealed a difference between the male and female victim. When the victim was male, participants were more likely to use minimizing language, or language where they suggest the situation is “not a big deal,” which in turn reduces the victim’s status as a legitimate victim. In addition, in the analysis of sanction recommendations, fewer sanctions were recommended for the female perpetrator than for the male perpetrator. Although few studies have examined the impact of being a victim of nonconsensual pornography on male victims, it is likely they experience some of the same problems as female victims, such as being harassed or stalked. As such, if men are not seen as being legitimate victims they may be less likely to receive support and justice for the crime that was committed against them. Future studies should attempt to examine possible differences in victim status for male and female victims. Moreover, perceptions of the severity of nonconsensual porn should be examined in relation to the gender of the victim, and what type of picture is shared.

In addition to differences in perceptions of the victim based on victim gender, differences in perceptions of the perpetrator were also found. When the perpetrator was female, strong negative language was more likely to be used to describe the perpetrator, such as antisocial, deplorable, defamation, and disgusting. Further, participants were more likely to suggest the perpetrator had mental health issues when the perpetrator was female, as opposed to when the perpetrator was male. Taken together, these findings suggest the female perpetrator is viewed as more cruel and is more likely to be perceived as having something wrong with her. If participants view the perpetrator as having something wrong, it may dehumanize the perpetrator and lead the onlooker to suggest a

harsher punishment. Future research should examine characteristics assigned to the victim and perpetrator by participants to see if female perpetrators are, in fact, more likely to be dehumanized.

Participant Gender

Previous research has found many differences in how men and women perceive victims and perpetrators of various crimes. For example, in cases of sexual assault men are more likely to place more blame on victims (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2004) while women are more likely to perceive the victim as less culpable for the assault (Angelone et al., 2007). The current study aimed to examine if this difference could also be found in a nonconsensual pornography case. It was hypothesized that men would blame the victim more than women which was supported.

Men were more likely than women to blame the victim in all conditions. In addition, men were more likely to blame the victim in their justification of their punishment decisions through statements such as “it was the victim’s fault” and “well the victim did take the photo”. This finding is consistent with previous research which has found men are more likely than women to hold victims partially responsible for their victimization (McCaul et al., 1990), and, in cases of sexual assault, men are more likely to see the victim as having provoked the situation (Szymanski, 1993).

Previous research has suggested that one reason why men blame victims more is due to a reduced likelihood of identifying with, or feeling empathy towards, the victim (Aderman, Brehm, & Katz, 1974; Bell et al., 1994). The current study supports this idea; men expressed greater negative affect toward the victim, and expressed less sympathy toward the victim than did women. Further, in the qualitative analysis, women were more

likely than men to cite concern for potential consequences the victim may face. This finding further supports the idea that men are less likely to sympathize with the victim. When men sympathize less and view the victim more negatively, they may also increase the amount of blame they place on the victim. If a lack of sympathy is increasing victim blame, attempting to induce sympathy in people who have to make decisions about nonconsensual pornography cases may help to reduce victim blame. Past research has found inducing empathy can impact blame (e.g., Haegerich & Bottoms, 2000; Plumm & Terrance, 2009). As such, future research should examine empathy inductions in cases of nonconsensual pornography.

Another reason men may have blamed the victim more is due to their perceptions of what constitutes consent. In the analysis of explanations for assigned punishments, men were more likely to suggest consent had been explicitly granted for the photograph to be shared. Conversely, women were more likely to suggest no consent had been given for sharing the photo. If men and women view consent regarding the sharing of explicit photographs differently, some men may unintentionally victimize individuals in explicit photographs which have been shared with them by assuming the victim will not care if the photograph is shared. Further, if consent is assumed, it may lead to an increase in victim blame and a decrease in consequences for the perpetrator. Future research should examine possible gender differences in determining what constitutes consent for sharing explicit photographs.

The second hypothesis was that women would hold the perpetrator more responsible than men. This hypothesis was supported; women blamed the perpetrator more than men. In addition, the qualitative analysis revealed women were less likely to

cite potential negative consequences the perpetrator may face if given a harsh punishment. Taken together, these results support previous research that found women are more likely than men to hold a perpetrator responsible for their actions (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2004).

The increase in responsibility attributed to the perpetrator by women may have also influenced the judgement of how the perpetrator was punished. Women were more likely to suggest that the perpetrator had violated surreptitious intrusion, and were also more likely to suggest the victim take further legal action against the perpetrator. Both of these findings are consistent with previous research that has found women hold perpetrators more responsible than men (Angelone et al., 2007). If women suggest harsher punishments for the perpetrator than men, the gender makeup of the people in charge of deciding the outcome of nonconsensual pornography cases may impact the results of the case. This may occur such that some perpetrators will receive lighter or harsher punishments, depending on the gender of the individuals tasked with deciding the punishment of the perpetrators.

The higher assignment of blame and punishment toward the perpetrator may be, in part, explained by the participant's view of both the victim and perpetrator. Women were both more sympathetic toward the victim, and attributed more negative affect toward the perpetrator. These findings are consistent with previous research that found that women are more likely to be sympathetic toward victims (Schult, & Schneider, 1991). When onlookers are more likely to identify with the victim they are more likely to alter their perceptions based on this ability to identify (Aderman et al., 1994).

Finally, there was a marginally significant interaction between remorse and participant gender. Women in the control condition rated themselves as having more perpetrator sympathy than women in the no remorse condition. The qualitative analysis of the reasons participants chose their sanctions supported this, such that, women were more likely than men to directly cite the expression of remorse, or lack thereof, as a reason for their decision. This outcome may suggest that women are particularly susceptible to taking the perpetrators' reactions and emotions into account when making decisions about the situation. If women are more likely to take perpetrator reactions into account, the reactions of the perpetrators may alter how the women decide to punish the perpetrator. If women perceive the perpetrator as being remorseful, they may suggest a more lenient punishment, but if they perceive the perpetrator as being self-centered, they may suggest a harsher punishment.

Overall Case Perceptions

Frequency counts were examined to determine general decisions concerning the case had been. Overall, when examining blame, regardless of the amount of remorse shown by the perpetrator, who took the photograph, and both victim and participant gender, the perpetrator was blamed for the situation while the victim was not. This finding suggests that the victim is successfully being perceived as a victim, and the perpetrator is being perceived as a perpetrator.

Further, participants suggested that the victim seek legal action against the perpetrator in all conditions, and the vignettes were seen as being common, believable, and serious across all versions of the vignette. This suggests that participants felt this situation was a realistic one, and still suggested that the victim seek some form of justice

for what happened. As such, nonconsensual pornography was successfully portrayed as a violation of the victim's rights.

When examining the general impact these cases would have on the victim's life, participants indicated there would not be a significant impact on the victim's life, despite also suggesting legal action should be taken against the perpetrator. This finding suggests that, while labeling the situation as serious, participants were hesitant to assume this situation would have a long term impact on the victim. When a photograph is uploaded into cyberspace, the photograph has the potential to exist indefinitely, which essentially results in the victim being re-victimized every time someone finds the photo. This idea is consistent with previous idea suggested by scholars such as Henry and Powell (2015) who suggest society, at times, may fail to respond to the damages experienced in nonconsensual porn. In fact, when intimate images are shared without consent it can lead to consequences such as humiliation, harassment, losing of professional standing, and stalking (Citron & Franks, 2014). Further, it has been suggested that nonconsensual pornography can cause more damage than other types of harassment due to its lack of a physical nature (Henry & Powell, 2015). Nonconsensual pornography can follow a person via the technology in their pocket instead of having the necessity of a physical presence of the perpetrator. This reality creates a situation in which no place becomes a safe place for the victim (Henry & Powell, 2015).

Participants were overall sympathetic towards the victim, but not toward the perpetrator. Additionally, participants did not report negative affect toward the victim, but report negative affect toward the perpetrator. This further supports the idea that the

victim was seen as being a real victim, and the perpetrator was perceived as being wrong in his or her actions.

Personal Attitudes

Whenever a person makes a judgment about a case, they bring with them previous experiences and biases that may influence them when they make judgements about a case. As such, it is important to try to account for specific attitudes which may impact decisions regarding the case of nonconsensual pornography. In addition, victimization in and of itself has been thought of as an issue specific to females. This idea has been presented as stemming from patriarchal views still held in society, which sees women as being weaker than men and consequently more susceptible to crime (Hayes et al., 2013). As such, the current study examined endorsement of rape myths and ambivalent sexism in relation to judgements made about the case.

Ambivalent Sexism. In the current study, ambivalent sexism, which consists of benevolent and hostile sexism, was examined in relation to the perceptions of the situation. It was predicted that individuals who scored higher in benevolent and hostile sexism would be more likely to blame the victim.

Benevolent sexism successfully predicted victim blame such that participants who scored higher in benevolent sexism were more likely to blame the victim of the situation. It may be the case that nonconsensual pornography is seen as a crime of a gendered nature, or a crime that is more of a feminine issue. Benevolent sexism suggests women should be protected and put onto a pedestal; it may be believed that a good person would never have allowed the situation to happen. As such, participants who were high in

benevolent sexism considered it shameful to have a photograph shared, and thus blamed the victim more.

Participants who were high in benevolent sexism were also more likely to show more perpetrator sympathy, and report increased negative affect toward the victim. It is likely that people high in benevolent sexism endorsed the idea that “classy” individuals would never take photos or allow photos to be taken, thus a victim with an explicit photograph is more disgraceful. If a victim is considered disgraceful, she or he may consequently be thought of as deserving of the crime committed. Future research should examine the idea of whether a victim of nonconsensual pornography is perceived as deserving of the crime committed against them and whether this deservedness is directly related to rape myth acceptance.

Participants who scored higher in hostile sexism were more likely to blame the victim than participants who did not score high in hostile sexism. These participants may not have viewed the victim as having much value, and therefore deserving of blame. If hostile sexism does in fact have an impact on victim blame, screening for this endorsement of beliefs while selecting a jury may help to reduce victim blaming and increase the likelihood the victim receives a fair trial.

Rape Myth Acceptance. Likewise, endorsement of rape myths also predicted increased victim blame. This supports the idea that the victim was somehow asking for, or deserving of, the victimization. When participants endorsed rape myths, they were more likely to directly blame the victim for the victimization. What’s more, this finding supports previous studies that have reported a relationship between rape myth acceptance and victim blame (Frese, Moya, & Megias, 2004; Vrij & Firmin, 2001). In addition,

higher rape myth acceptance was associated with lower perpetrator blame. When the participants perceive the victim to be at fault or deserving of the situation, blame for the crime is likely to be shifted away from the perpetrator and onto the victim.

The endorsement of rape myth acceptance has been shown to play a role in judgements about individuals (Clarke & Lawson, 2009; Clarke & Stermac, 2010; Frese et al., 2004; Vrij & Firmin, 2001) and as such was examined in the current study. It was predicted that because nonconsensual porn is of a sexual nature, individuals who hold more beliefs about victims causing their own victimization would be more likely to blame the victim of the scenario. Overall, endorsement of rape myths altered the perceptions of both the victim and perpetrator of the situation. The victim received less sympathy while simultaneously receiving more negative affect when the participant scored higher in acceptance of rape myths. This is consistent with other studies which have found the endorsement of rape myths is related to how individuals are perceived (Clarke & Lawson, 2009; Clarke & Stermac, 2010; Frese et al., 2004; Vrij & Firmin, 2001). In addition, participants who were higher in rape myth acceptance were more likely to sympathize with the perpetrator. It is likely that these participants believed that the victim in some way deserved the crime, and therefore treating the perpetrator too harshly was unjustified.

Endorsement of rape myths also were evident while making judgements about the case. Rape myth acceptance is associated with participants being less likely to recommend legal action be taken against the perpetrator. This result suggests that endorsement of rape myths influences how much a perpetrator is punished for the crime and how responsible a victim is held. That is, participants who endorsed ideas suggesting

victims of sexual crimes “ask for” or “deserve” the crime to happen are not allowing the victim to seek the justice they deserve, and are allowing the perpetrator to get away with the crimes they have committed.

In the future, the rape myth acceptance scale may be utilized to identify individuals who work with victims of nonconsensual pornography, such as attorneys and police officers, who may exhibit higher levels of victim blaming. This identification may help to reduce excessive amounts of blame that may be placed on victims. In addition, future research may want to further examine the role rape myth acceptance plays in the decision making in regard to cases of nonconsensual pornography.

Limitations and Future Directions

Results notwithstanding, it is worth noting that this study had limitations. For instance, despite finding differences between the remorse condition and the control condition in assessing whether the perpetrator expressed remorse, the no remorse and control situations did not significantly differ from one another. Further, it was revealed that the remorse condition, although being perceived as more remorseful than the no remorse and control conditions, was still not perceived as being completely remorseful. As such, future studies may want to increase the salience of the remorse condition. Moreover, future studies may want to specifically examine if there are differences in how perpetrators who show no remorse and perpetrators who do not mention remorse in any way are perceived. It may be the case that the no remorse and control condition were not strong enough manipulations to detect differences in perceptions of the case of nonconsensual pornography.

Additionally, acceptance of technology may be related to how these crimes are perceived and how much blame victims are attributed. It may be the case that people who accept and understand technology more are more likely to believe the victim has a low level of control over the circumstance than someone who does not accept technology. Furthermore, the age of the observers may impact understanding of technology and crimes which utilize technology. As such, future studies may want to include an examination of acceptance and or understanding of technology as a measure in these cases, as well as compare perceptions based on the ages of the onlookers.

The current study utilized a nonconsensual pornography scenario with a heteronormative relationship. A non-heteronormative couple may face additional biases in judgements about this type of case. As such, future research should also examine perceptions of nonconsensual pornography cases with sexual minority individuals.

The perception of consent in relation to nonconsensual pornography is one that has not yet been widely studied. Some individuals may assume that if they are given the photo, or they took the photo, that consent is automatically granted. With this assumption, individuals may be committing crimes without knowing it. Furthermore, some individuals may share photos with the assumption that they will be kept private, and not specify who they allow the photograph to be shared with. Future studies should examine perceptions of what constitutes consent in cases of nonconsensual pornography.

Lastly, the current study did not explicitly state what body parts were in the photograph that was shared. Some participants may have pictured different levels of nude photographs that were shared (such as a picture showing a butt vs. a picture showing genitals). In picturing different levels of nudity, participants may have also associated

differing levels of severity to the case. As such, future studies should explicitly state what body parts are in the photograph that is shared.

Conclusion

This study highlighted some of the issues surrounding judgments and decisions made about nonconsensual sharing of nude photos. The expression of remorse, or lack thereof, can influence how both victims and perpetrators are perceived. As such whether the perpetrator expresses remorse may impact how much support victims receive following their victimization in addition to how much a perpetrator is punished for committing the crime. Furthermore, observer gender may have one of the largest influences over judgments of these cases. The way in which men and women make decisions about cases of nonconsensual pornography is, in many ways, different. Differences in how men and women attribute blame to the victim and perpetrator of a case of nonconsensual pornography may be important factors to consider in jury selection. If men and women are perceiving cases of nonconsensual pornography differently based on extralegal factors, the gender makeup of the jury may have a large influence on the outcomes of a case. Finally, previously held beliefs and endorsements of rape myth acceptance and ambivalent sexism are influencing outcomes for both victims and perpetrators. This influence may suggest that cases of nonconsensual pornography can be swayed depending on previously held biases by the perceivers of the case.

CHAPTER IV
APPENDICES

Appendix A Informed Consent

TITLE: Determining Fault in a case of Non-consensual Sharing of Photos

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Katlin Rhyner

PHONE #: 777-3921

DEPARTMENT: Psychology

A person who is to participate in the research must give his or her informed consent to such participation. This consent must be based on an understanding of the nature and risks of the research. This document provides information that is important for this understanding. Research projects include only subjects who choose to take part. Please take your time in making your decision as to whether to participate. If you have questions at any time, please ask.

Approximately 600 people, students from the University of North Dakota, and various parts of the country will take part in this study at UND. If you join this study, you will be asked to play the role of a committee member on a university disciplinary committee. As part of the study, you will be asked to read a brief case transcript, and respond to various questions regarding your perceptions. The purpose of this research is to examine how people make judgments concerning similar allegations.

Your participation in the study will last approximately 45-60 minutes. You may experience frustration that is often experienced when completing surveys. The scenario you are being asked to read, and some of the questions may be of a sensitive nature, and you may therefore become upset as a result. However, such risks are not viewed as being in excess of “minimal risk.” If, however, you become upset by questions, you may stop at any time or choose not to answer a question. If you would like to talk to someone about your feelings about this study, please contact a counseling professional of your choice if needed, and at your own cost.

You may not benefit personally from being in this study. However, we hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study because results will provide a better understanding on how people evaluate issues that may occur in relationships.

You will not have any costs for being in this research study. You will receive course credit for participating in the study. The University of North Dakota and the research team are receiving no payments from other agencies, organizations, or companies to conduct this research study.

The records of this study will be kept private to the extent permitted by law. In any report about this study that might be published, you will not be identified. Study results will be presented in a summarized manner so that you cannot be identified. Your study record may be reviewed by government agencies, and the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board (IRB). The only other people who will have access to the data include the primary research investigator (Katlin Rhyner), and student research investigators (all of whom have completed IRB training) conducting the study.

No identifying information about participants will be reported or kept. Confidentiality will be maintained by storing your responses in a password protected file. Your name is not being collected. Data will be stored in a locked file cabinet, separate for consent forms. Data will be stored for a minimum of three years, after which it will be shredded and deleted.

Your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or you may discontinue your participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of North Dakota.

The primary researcher conducting this study is Katlin Rhyner. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research please contact Katlin Rhyner at katlin.rhyner@und.edu. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, or if you have any concerns or complaints about the research, you may contact the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board at (701) 777-4279. Please call this number if you cannot reach research staff, or you wish to talk with someone else.

ONLINE PARTICIPANTS:

If you click continue, this will indicate that this research study has been explained to you, that questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study.

IN-LAB PARTICIPANTS:

Your signature indicates that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study. You will receive a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Appendix B

Transcript (male perpetrator)

The university trial transcript will be as follows (manipulations are showed as: **took a nude picture of herself and sent it to him in bold**, allowed him to take a nude photo of her underlined)

Committee: Thank you for coming in today. For your information, this session is being recorded for legal purposes. For the record, would you please state your full name and what year you are in college?

Accused: Brian Welch, and I'm a Junior.

Committee: Thank you. The reason we are holding this meeting today is because you have been accused of violating (Section 2-4), Surreptitious Intrusion which is defined as intruding upon or interfering with the privacy of another by secretly or without authorization, gazing, staring, or peeping upon or photographing, recording, amplifying, or broadcasting sounds or events of another, in the Code of Student Life. Before we get started, I will read to you the statement we received from the accuser.

“My name is Sarah Jones and I am a current student at the University of North Dakota. I would like to file a complaint against Brian Welch for violating a code of student life. I believe that he has interfered with my privacy by posting a naked picture of me online without my consent. While we were dating, **I took a nude picture of myself and sent it to him** (I allowed him to take a nude photo of me). We broke up a few months later and he posted the photo on a revenge porn website without my consent. In

addition to posting the picture, he included my full name, a link to my Facebook account, and my e-mail address. I never imagined that something like this would happen to me. I would never give permission for anyone else to see a photo like this. Since the picture has been posted, it has had a large negative impact not only on my personal life, but my academic life as well. I'm afraid everyone knows about this and I can't focus at school because I feel like everyone had seen the photo and I am too embarrassed to face them. Additionally, people I don't know have been stalking me online by sending me threatening emails and Facebook messages; some people have also found where I work. The harassment has led me to change my e-mail address and I am afraid to leave my apartment, even to attend my classes, in the fear that someone will recognize me. Because of Brian, my life will never be the same. What he has done to me and how difficult this has made my life is not acceptable and I urge the committee to consider appropriate consequences for this student."

Committee: The committee would like to ask you a few questions in order to better understand the situation. How do you know the complainant and what was the nature of your relationship?

Brian: I met Sarah my sophomore year in college. We dated for about a year, but then we broke up.

Committee: She alleges that you posted a naked picture of her online. Is this accurate?

Brian: Yes, I did.

Committee: How did you obtain the photo?

Brian: **She took the picture of herself and sent it to me** (She allowed me to take the nude photo of her).

Committee: Is there anything else you would like to further elaborate in regards to your previous actions?

Brian (remorse): I greatly regret the outcome of the situation and wish it never happened, but **she did give me the photos/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Brian (no remorse): I feel no remorse from my decisions and I am completely at peace with myself **she did give me the photo/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Brian (control): **She did give me the photo/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Committee: Mr. Welch how do you think we should address this issue, since it could in fact be a violation of the Student Code of Life, and maybe even the law?

Brian (remorse): I am very sorry for sharing the photo and the pain that I may have caused. I greatly regret my actions, but I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Brian (no remorse): I don't think I did anything wrong and I'm not sorry for sharing the photo so I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Brian (control): I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Committee: If that is everything that you would like on statement, a Student Conduct Administrator will consider the complaint from Sarah and the information provided by yourself today and determine what sanctions, if any, are to be filed against you. A decision will be made in the next few days, thank you for your time.

Appendix C

Transcript (female perpetrator)

The university trial transcript will be as follows (manipulations are showed as: **took a nude picture of himself and sent it to her in bold**, allowed her to take a nude photo of him underlined)

Committee: Thank you for coming in today. For your information, this session is being recorded for legal purposes. For the record, would you please state your full name and what year you are in college?

Accused: Sarah Jones, and I'm a Junior.

Committee: Thank you. The reason we are holding this meeting today is because you have been accused of violating (Section 2-4), Surreptitious Intrusion which is defined as intruding upon or interfering with the privacy of another by secretly or without authorization, gazing, staring, or peeping upon or photographing, recording, amplifying, or broadcasting sounds or events of another, in the Code of Student Life. Before we get started, I will read to you the statement we received from the accuser.

“My name is Brian Welch and I am a current student at the University of North Dakota. I would like to file a complaint against Sarah Jones for violating a code of student life. I believe that she has interfered with my privacy by posting a naked picture of me online without my consent. While we were dating, **I took a nude picture of myself and sent it to her** (I allowed her to take a nude photo of me). We broke up a few months later and she posted the photo on a revenge porn website without my consent. In

addition to posting the picture, she included my full name, a link to my Facebook account, and my e-mail address. I never imagined that something like this would happen to me. I would never give permission for anyone else to see a photo like this. Since the picture has been posted, it has had a large negative impact not only on my personal life, but my academic life as well. I'm afraid everyone knows about this and I can't focus at school because I feel like everyone had seen the photo and I am too embarrassed to face them. Additionally, people I don't know have been stalking me online by sending me threatening emails and Facebook messages; some people have also found where I work. The harassment has led me to change my e-mail address and I am afraid to leave my apartment, even to attend my classes, in the fear that someone will recognize me. Because of Sarah, my life will never be the same. What she has done to me and how difficult this has made my life is not acceptable and I urge the committee to consider appropriate consequences for this student."

Committee: The committee would like to ask you a few questions in order to better understand the situation. How do you know the complainant and what was the nature of your relationship?

Sarah: I met Brian my sophomore year in college. We dated for about a year, but then we broke up.

Committee: He alleges that you posted a naked picture of him online. Is this accurate?

Sarah: Yes, I did.

Committee: How did you obtain the photo?

Sarah: **He took the picture of himself and sent it to me** (He allowed me to take the nude photo of him).

Committee: Is there anything else you would like to further elaborate in regards to your previous actions?

Sarah (remorse): I greatly regret the outcome of the situation and wish it never happened, but **he did give me the photo/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Sarah (no remorse): I feel no remorse from my decisions and I am completely at peace with myself **he did give me the photo/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Sarah (control): **He did give me the photo/** I took the photo so I assumed I could do whatever I wanted with it.

Committee: Miss. Jones how do you think we should address this issue, since it could in fact be a violation of the Student Code of Life, and maybe even the law?

Sarah (remorse): I am very sorry for sharing the photo and the pain that I may have caused. I greatly regret my actions, but I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Sarah (no remorse): I don't think I did anything wrong and I'm not sorry for sharing the photo so I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Sarah (control): I do not believe I should be punished. I took down the photo almost immediately and deleted it from my phone and I won't do something like this again.

Committee: If that is everything that you would like on statement, a Student Conduct Administrator will consider the complaint from Brian and the information provided by yourself today and determine what sanctions, if any, are to be filed against you. A decision will be made in the next few days, thank you for your time.

Appendix D

Manipulation Check

Please answer the following questions:

1. What was the gender of the individual featured in the naked photo that was distributed on the web site? (select one)

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Unsure

2. Who took the photo? (select one)

- a. Brian took the photo
- b. Sarah took the photo

3. How did Brian/Sarah feel about the situation on a scale from 1-7?

Very remorseful
remorseful at all

Not

Appendix E

Demographics

1. Age _____

2. Gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Transgendered FTM
 - d. Transgendered MTF
 - e. Other
 - f. Prefer not to respond

3. What is your ethnicity? (check all that apply)
 - a. American Indian/Alaska Native
 - b. Asian or Pacific Islander
 - c. Black or African American
 - d. Caribbean Islander
 - e. White or Caucasian
 - f. Mexican or Mexican American
 - g. Multi-ethnic
 - h. Other Latina or Latin American
 - i. Other Race

4. What is your highest Level of School Completed?

- a. Less than high school
- b. High school
- c. Some college/Associate's Degree
- d. Bachelor's Degree
- e. Master's Degree
- f. Doctoral Degree

5. Are you currently a student?

- a. Yes
- b. No

6. Marital Status

- a. Single
- b. Dating
- c. Engaged
- d. Cohabiting
- e. Married
- f. Divorced
- g. Separated
- h. Widowed
- i. Other (please describe): _____

7. How religious would you say you are on a scale from 1 -7 (1 being not religious at all, 7 being extremely religious)?

8. Have you ever sent nude photos of yourself?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

9. If yes - to whom. (type in response)

10. Have you ever received a nude photo?

11. If yes – how many people have sent you nude photos?

12. If yes – what was your relationship to this (these) individuals? (type in response)

Appendix F

Female Victim, Male Perpetrator Perceptions

Questions:

For the following questions please rate the extent to which you agree using the following scale:

Completely Disagree

Completely Agree

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

-Sarah should lose her job for being featured in the photo on the internet.

-Sarah is at fault for the situation.

-Legal action should be taken against Brian for posting the photo.

-Sarah is responsible for the photo being online.

-Brian is responsible for the photo being online.

-Posting photos without consent from the person in the photo should be illegal.

-Sarah deserved to have this happen.

-Sarah should go to the police for help.

-Brian is at fault for the situation

-Brian is to blame for the situation

-Brian was wrong to post the photos

-Brian could have prevented the situation

-This is a serious violation to the privacy of Sarah.

-I feel sorry for Sarah

-I feel sympathy for Sarah

-I feel pity for Sarah

-I am angry with Sarah

-I am annoyed with Sarah

-I am disgusted with Sarah

-I feel sorry for Brian

-I feel sympathy for Brian

-I feel pity for Brian

-I am angry with Brian

-I am annoyed at Brian

-I am disgusted with Brian

-This is a believable situation

-This is a serious situation

-This is a common situation

For the following, please indicate the impact these photos will have on Sarah's life in the following areas using the scale provided:

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Very negative impact

Very positive impact

Sarah's work life

Sarah's family life

Sarah's social life

Sarah's life in general

Sarah's dating life

Could Sarah have prevented the situation? (yes/no)

What penalties if any should Brian face? (open ended)

What should the Sarah do about the photos (open ended)

Have you put a genuine effort into answering these questions and as such should we use your data in our analyses? By answering “no” you will still receive credit for participating.

Yes___

No___

Appendix G

Male victim/ Female Perpetrator Perceptions

Questions:

For the following questions please rate the extent to which you agree using the following scale:

Completely Disagree

Completely Agree

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

-Brian should lose his job for being featured in the photo on the internet.

-Brian is at fault for the situation.

-Legal action should be taken against Sarah for posting the photo.

-Brian is responsible for the photo being online.

-Sarah is responsible for the photo being online.

-Posting photos without consent from the person in the photo should be illegal.

-Brian deserved to have this happen.

-Sarah is at fault for the situation

-Sarah is to blame for the situation

-Sarah was wrong to post the photos

-Sarah could have prevented the situation

-Brian should go to the police for help.

-This is a serious violation to the privacy of Brian.

-I feel sorry for Sarah

-I feel sympathy for Sarah

-I feel pity for Sarah

-I am angry with Sarah

-I am annoyed with Sarah

-I am disgusted with Sarah

-I feel sorry for Brian

-I feel sympathy for Brian

-I feel pity for Brian

-I am angry with Brian

-I am annoyed at Brian

-I am disgusted with Brian

-This is a believable situation

-This is a serious situation

-This is a common situation

For the following, please indicate the impact these photos will have on Brian's life in the following areas using the scale provided:

Appendix H

EVALUATION

In rendering your decision, please keep in mind that this is not a criminal case. You are not being asked to use a standard of beyond reasonable doubt. You are asked to use a preponderance of evidence standard. In other words, consider whether it is more likely than not that there was a violation of the Student Code of Life.

It is important that you take this task seriously, and place yourself in the role of a student who has been asked to serve on the University Disciplinary Committee. Data from this study can help inform the protocol of this committee and how disciplinary hearings are conducted.

_____ Yes violation

_____ No violation

How confident are you that this is/ is not a violation?

Not confident at all
confident

very

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

SKIP LOGIC – SO IF ANSWERED No violation – skip to last question: Please briefly describe why you made the decision you did (including why you recommended the sanctions).

2) If you decided that this represents a violation of the Student Code of Life, the University Disciplinary Committee may recommend one or more sanctions as described below. Choose as many as you deem appropriate.

As you consider the sanctions, and indicate (again, as many as you deem appropriate), you will be asked at the end of this section why you recommend that sanctions you did

STATUS SANCTIONS

- Written Reprimand — Written reprimand refers to official censure of a student's conduct in violation of a regulation of the UND community. A written reprimand indicates no ongoing status change for the student.
- Warning Probation — Warning probation indicates that further violations of the Code will result in more severe disciplinary action. Warning probation shall be imposed for a period of not more than one year and the student shall be removed automatically from probation when the imposed period expires.

- Conduct Probation — Conduct probation indicates that further violations of the Code may result in Suspension. Conduct probation may not be imposed for more than one calendar year.

RESTRICTIONS OR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES SANCTIONS

Having the intent of effecting a safer campus environment and/or promoting the development of a student determined responsible for Code violations, additional sanctions may be imposed. Such sanction may include but are not limited to:

- No Contact Directive - A directive to refrain from any intentional contact, direct or indirect, with one or more designated persons or group(s) through any means, including personal contact, email, telephone, or through third parties.
- Suspension of or restriction(s) on access to all or to specified campus facilities/buildings
- Suspension of or restriction(s) on access to all or to specified campus facilities, buildings, or other locations; or services; or events.
- Referral for an assessment to the University Counseling Center or another mental health provider.
- Mandated community service and/or participation in campus educational programs.
- Mandated participation in one or more campus activities, lectures or workshops, and/or other activity that employs an educational purpose and accepted pedagogy.

SUSPENSION

The University Disciplinary Committee may impose one or more University sanctions listed above and/or others and/or the UND sanctions of suspension as described below. Suspension will normally be for at least the remainder of the semester in which the penalty is imposed and will normally result in the cancellation of registration of the student. Suspension may be recommended for violations involving assault, sexual assault, possession or trafficking in the sale of drugs or weapons, false emergency report, interference in UND activities (classes, administration, research, fire, police, etc.), or other serious offenses, or knowingly violating the terms of any disciplinary sanctions imposed in accordance with the Code.

- Suspension — Suspension is a temporary withdrawal of enrollment privileges and ban from campus property and activities (student) for a specific period. *In some cases short term suspension may be imposed depending on the nature and severity of the offense.*
- Indefinite Suspension — Indefinite suspension is a suspension which involves no definite time limit and may carry conditions which must be met before the student may request reinstatement.
- Emergency Suspension - The VPSA or designee may direct the temporary, immediate removal of a student in accordance with the Code. The Student Relations Committee has the sole authority to impose Suspension or Indefinite Suspension.

Please briefly describe why you made the decision you did (including why you recommended the sanctions).

Note. * Indicates IRMA-SF (short-form) items; item label prefix refers to the subscale corresponding to the item: SA, She asked for it; NR, It wasn't really rape; MT, He didn't mean to; WI, She wanted it; LI, She lied; TE, Rape is a trivial event; DE, Rape is a deviant event; FI, filler item (not scored).

Payne, D. L., Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1999). Rape myth acceptance: Exploration of its structure and its measurement using the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. *Journal of Research in Personality, 33*(1), 27-68.

Appendix J

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1995)

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the scale below:

0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

B(I)

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

H

2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

B(P)

3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.

H

4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

H

5. Women are too easily offended.

B(I)

6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

H

7. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.

B(G)

8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

B(P)

9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

H

10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

H

11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

- B(I)
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
- B(I)
13. Men are incomplete without women.
- H
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
- H
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
- H
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- B(P)
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
- H
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- B(G)
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
- B(P)
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
- H
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.
- B(G)
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Scoring:

Total ASI score = average of all items

Hostile Sexism = average of Items 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21.

Benevolent Sexism = average of the following items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22.

Note. Items 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21 are reverse-worded in the original version of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996), though not in the version that appears here because reverse-worded items did not perform well in translation to other languages (other than lower factor loading for reversed items, similar results have been obtained in the United States and

elsewhere when both reversed and nonreversed wording have been administered; See Glick et al., 2000, footnote 2). B = Benevolent Sexism; I = Heterosexual Intimacy; H = Hostile Sexism; P = Protective Paternalism; G = Gender Differentiation. Copyright 1995 by Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske. Use of this scale for nonacademic purposes (i.e., activities other than nonprofit scientific research and classroom demonstrations) requires permission of one of the authors.

The ASI may be used as an overall measure of sexism, with hostile and benevolent components equally weighted, by simply averaging the score for all items after reversing the items listed below. The two ASI subscales (Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism) may also be calculated separately. For correlational research, purer measures of HS and BS can be obtained by using partial correlations (so that the effects of the correlation between the scales is removed)

THE EFFECT OF REMORSE

Appendix K

Negative LIWC Dictionary

antisocial

assault

book thrown at

Bullshit

bullying

cruel

danger

danger

defamation

deplorable

destroyed

disgusting

egregious

harassment

heartless

horrible

immoral

inconsiderate

inexcusable

inflicted PTSD

inhumane

lack of ethics and morals
malice
malicious
maliciously
mental issues
morally wrong
needs help
protect the other students from
reprehensible
repulsive
rude
ruin
ruined
sadistic
self serving
shameful
suffer
thoughtless
truly awful
unacceptable
vengeful
vindictive
wrong

Appendix L

LIWC Minimizing Dictionary

childish

dont think its a huge deal

harmless

immature

joke

kids are dumb

life lesson

mature*

not a big deal

slap on the wrist

stupid mistake

the end of the world

think twice

trivial

warning

Table 1
Participant Descriptive Characteristics

<i>N</i> = 609		<i>N</i>
Gender		
	Man	295
	Woman	303
Age Range		
	Minimum	18
	Maximum	84
	Mean	32.41
Sexual Orientation		
	Heterosexual	615
	Homosexual	21
	Bisexual	29
	Other/Prefer not to say	4
Race/ethnicity		
	American Indian/Alaska Native	11
	Asian or Pacific Islander	37
	Black/African-American	39
	Caribbean Islander	3
	White/Caucasian	503
	Mexican or Mexican-American	13
	Multi-Ethnic	11
	Other Latina/Latin American	7
	Other	6
Completed Education		
	Less Than High School	4
	High School	92
	Some College	201
	2 Year Degree	60
	4 Year Degree	168
	Professional Degree	61
	Doctorate	12
Marital Status		
	Single	238
	Dating	100
	Engaged	17
	Cohabiting	49
	Married	159

	Divorced	28
	Separated	4
	Widowed	2
	Other/Prefer not to respond	1
Currently a Student		
	Yes	218
	No	374
Sent Nude Images		
	Yes	194
	No	404
Received Nude Images		
	Yes	292
	No	306
How Many Nude Photographs Have You Sent?		
	Minimum	0
	Maximum	20000
	Mean	54.16
How Many Nude Photographs Have You Received?		
	Minimum	0
	Maximum	1000
	Mean	17.40

Table 2
Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Victim Blame

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	.024	.004	.322	6.536	.000
ASI-Hos	.013	.006	.128	2.387	.017
ASI-Ben	.017	.005	.156	3.358	.001

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

R² = .283

Table 3*Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Perpetrator Blame*

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	-.023	.003	-.542	-9.209	.000
ASI-Hos	.002	.004	.023	.422	.637
ASI-Ben	-.006	.003	-.087	-1.882	.060

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

R² = .288

Table 4
Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Legal Action

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	-.018	.003	-.294	-5.752	.000
ASI-Hos	-.006	.005	-.070	-1.258	.209
ASI-Ben	-.001	.004	-.009	-.181	.857

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

R² = .230

Table 5*Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Victim Sympathy*

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	-.028	.004	-.252	-4.668	.000
ASI-Hos	-.006	.006	-.052	-.884	.377
ASI-Ben	3.335E-5	.006	.000	.006	.995

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

$R^2 = .140$

Table 6*Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Perpetrator Sympathy*

Unstandardized

	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	.031	.004	.435	8.501	.000
ASI-Hos	-.011	.006	-.107	-1.908	.057
ASI-Ben	.011	.005	.109	2.274	.023

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

$R^2 = .215$

Table 7*Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Victim Negative Affect*

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	.023	.004	.273	5.236	.000
ASI-Hos	.023	.006	.194	3.958	.000
ASI-Ben	.005	.007	.044	.772	.441

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

$R^2 = .195$

Table 8*Results for Multiple Regression Analysis of Life Impact*

	Unstandardized				
	B	SE	Beta	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
RMA	.013	.003	.214	3.851	.000
ASI-Hos	.004	.005	.045	.848	.397
ASI-Ben	.004	.005	.051	.833	.405

Note. RMA-SF = Rape-Myth Acceptance Scale—Short Form, ASI = Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (hos-hostile, ben – benevolent).

$R^2 = .097$

Table 9
Results for Sanctions by participant gender

	Male Participant	Female Participant
Emergency Suspension	18	39
Written Reprimand	112	102
Warning Probation	98	102
Conduct Probation	112	130
No Contact Directive	87	130
Suspension or restriction of use of campus facilities	70	103
Mental Health Counseling	50	83
Mandated Community Service	103	138
Mandated Educational Programs	57	82
Suspension	83	111
Indefinite Suspension	48	66
Total Sanctions	N = 295	N = 305

Table 10*Results for Sanctions by victim gender*

	Male Victim	Female Victim
Emergency Suspension	20	37
Written Reprimand	119	97
Warning Probation	97	104
Conduct Probation	118	124
No Contact Directive	101	118
Suspension or restriction of use of campus facilities	95	81
Mental Health Counseling	61	73
Mandated Community Service	107	135
Mandated Educational Programs	62	79
Suspension	92	104
Indefinite Suspension	50	66
Total Sanctions	N = 301	N = 310

Table 11*Results for Sanctions by photographer*

	<i>Victim Took</i>	<i>Perpetrator Took</i>
Emergency Suspension	25	32
Written Reprimand	108	108
Warning Probation	98	103
Conduct Probation	122	120
No Contact Directive	102	117
Suspension or restriction of use of campus facilities	89	87
Mental Health Counseling	72	62
Mandated Community Service	128	114
Mandated Educational Programs	76	65
Suspension	94	102
Indefinite Suspension	52	64
Total Sanctions	N = 306	N = 305

Table 12*Results for Sanctions by remorse condition*

	Remorse	No Remorse	Control
Emergency Suspension	19	21	17
Written Reprimand	66	70	80
Warning Probation	69	58	74
Conduct Probation	82	78	82
No Contact Directive	76	68	75
Suspension or restriction of use of campus facilities	56	63	57
Mental Health Counseling	49	44	41
Mandated Community Service	84	80	78
Mandated Educational Programs	46	44	51
Suspension	64	66	66
Indefinite Suspension	33	43	40
Total Sanctions	N = 207	N = 203	N = 201

Table 13*Open Ended Response Broken into Categories by Victim Gender*

	Female Victim	Male Victim
The victim was blamed for the incident	20	10
Both the perpetrator and victim were blamed for the incident	24	8
Suggest consent was given	9	1
Suggest no consent was given	15	14
Remorse display (or lack thereof) mentioned as a reason for decision	14	16
Perpetrator consequences given as reason for lower punishment	5	16
Victim consequences cited as reason for higher punishment	31	22
Suggest that the perpetrator has mental issues	4	8

Table 14*Open Ended Response Broken into Categories by Photographer*

	Victim Took the Photo	Perpetrator Took the Photo
The victim was blamed for the incident	21	9
Both the perpetrator and victim were blamed for the incident	20	12
Suggest consent was given	4	6
Suggest no consent was given	11	18
Remorse display (or lack thereof) mentioned as a reason for decision	16	14
Perpetrator consequences being given as reason for lower punishment	9	12
Victim consequences cited as reason for higher punishment	26	27
Suggestion that the perpetrator has mental issues	5	7

Table 15*Open Ended Response Broken into Categories by Remorse*

	Remorse	No Remorse	Control
The victim was directly blamed for the incident	9	11	10
Both the perpetrator and victim were blamed for the incident	11	4	17
Suggest consent was given	4	3	3
Suggest no consent was given	11	8	10
Remorse display (or lack thereof) mentioned as a reason for decision	8	19	3
Perpetrator consequences being given as reason for lower punishment	7	7	7
Victim consequences cited as reason for higher punishment	20	17	16
Suggestion that the perpetrator has mental issues	4	5	3

Table 16*Open Ended Response Broken into Categories by Participant Gender*

	Female Participant	Male Participant
The victim was directly blamed for the incident	6	24
Both the perpetrator and victim were blamed for the incident	15	16
Suggest consent was given	0	10
Suggest no consent was given	17	12
Remorse display (or lack thereof) mentioned as a reason for decision	19	10
Perpetrator consequences being given as reason for lower punishment	7	14
Victim consequences cited as reason for higher punishment	33	20
Suggestion that the perpetrator has mental issues	8	4

Table 17*Results for LIWC analysis by victim gender*

	Negative Language (%)	Minimizing Language (%)	N	Word Count
Female Victim	.92	.29	310	8143
Male Victim	1.32	.35	301	6879

Table 18*Results for LIWC analysis by participant gender*

	Negative Language (%)	Minimizing Language (%)	N	Word Count
Female	1.31	.20	305	8371
Male	.86	.47	295	6879

Table 19*Results for LIWC analysis by remorse*

	Negative Language (%)	Minimizing Language (%)	N	Word Count
Remorse	1.03	.28	207	5322
No Remorse	1.35	.16	203	4949
Control	.94	.52	201	4979

Figure 1 – Perpetrator Blame Interaction



Figure 1. Male and female participants level of agreement that the perpetrator is to blame for the situation.

Note. Higher scores indicate the perpetrator is more to blame.

Range: 1 “not at all to blame” to 7 “completely to blame”

Figure 2 – Perpetrator Sympathy Interaction



Figure 2. Male and female participants level of perpetrator sympathy.

Note. Higher scores indicate the more sympathy towards the perpetrator.

Range: 1 “not at all sympathetic” to 7 “completely sympathetic”

CHAPTER VI

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