

**Problem-Oriented Guides for Police  
Problem-Specific Guides Series**

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# **Acquaintance Rape of College Students, 2nd Edition**

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Center for  
**Problem-Oriented  
Policing**



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The Internet references cited in this publication were valid as of the date of this publication. Given that URLs and websites are in constant flux, neither the author(s) nor the COPS Office can vouch for their current validity.

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# About the Problem-Specific Guides Series

The *Problem-Specific Guides* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. Neither do they cover all of the technical details about how to implement specific responses. The guides are written for police—of whatever rank or assignment—who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who:

- **Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods.** The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (A companion series of *Problem-Solving Tools* guides has been produced to aid in various aspects of problem analysis and assessment.)
- **Can look at a problem in depth.** Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.
- **Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business.** The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem. (A companion series of *Response Guides* has been produced to help you understand how commonly-used police responses work on a variety of problems.)
- **Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge.** For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research

may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.

- **Are willing to work with others to find effective solutions to the problem.** The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public bodies including other government agencies, non-governmental organizations, private businesses, public utilities, community groups, and individual citizens. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work. Each guide identifies particular individuals or groups in the community with whom police might work to improve the overall response to that problem. Thorough analysis of problems often reveals that individuals and groups other than the police are in a stronger position to address problems and that police ought to shift some greater responsibility to them to do so. Response Guide No. 3, *Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems*, provides further discussion of this topic.

The COPS Office defines community policing as “a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime.” These guides emphasize *problem-solving* and *police-community partnerships* in the context of addressing specific public safety problems. For the most part, the organizational strategies that can facilitate problem-solving and police-community partnerships vary considerably and discussion of them is beyond the scope of these guides.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

Each guide is informed by a thorough review of the research literature and reported police practice, and each guide is anonymously peer-reviewed by a line police officer, a police executive and a researcher prior to publication. The review process is independently managed by the COPS Office, which solicits the reviews.

For more information about problem-oriented policing, visit the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing online at [www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org). This website offers free online access to:

- The *Problem-Specific Guides* series
- The companion *Response Guides and Problem-Solving Tools* series
- Special publications on crime analysis and on policing terrorism
- Instructional information about problem-oriented policing and related topics
- An interactive problem-oriented policing training exercise
- An interactive *Problem Analysis Module*
- Online access to important police research and practices
- Information about problem-oriented policing conferences and award programs

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# The Problem of Acquaintance Rape of College Students

This guide describes the problem of acquaintance rape of college students, addressing its scope, causes and contributing factors; methods for analyzing it on a particular campus; tested responses; and measures for assessing response effectiveness. With this information, police and campus public-safety officers can more effectively reduce the problem.

## What This Guide Does and Does Not Cover

Acquaintance rape is but one aspect of the larger set of sex-related problems affecting college students, and a coherent college strategy should address all aspects of these problems. This guide is limited to addressing acquaintance rape. Other related problems not directly addressed by this guide include:

- Abuse in college dating relationships (including violence other than sexual victimization)
- Drug-induced rape
- Indecent exposure in college libraries
- Sexual assault other than rape (e.g., unwanted touching)
- Sexual harassment
- Stalking of college students
- Stranger rape
- Use of verbal coercion to obtain sexual intercourse
- Voyeurism (“peeping Toms”) on college campuses

Some of these related problems are covered in other guides in this series, all of which are listed at the end of this guide. For the most up-to-date listing of current and future guides, see [www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org).

## General Description of the Problem

On a national scale, one in five women in college will be sexually assaulted while in college.<sup>1</sup> Of that number, 38 percent of heterosexual women reported their first rape between the ages of 18 and 24, putting college-aged women at highest risk for rape.<sup>2</sup> Non-students seemingly have a higher chance of being raped than students; however, this could be because non-students are more likely to report their rapes than are students.<sup>3</sup>

Rape rates vary by school, type of school and region, suggesting that certain schools are more rape-prone than others. For instance, private colleges and major universities have higher than national-average rates, while religiously affiliated institutions have lower-than-average rates.<sup>4</sup> Also, students at two-year institutions (about 16 percent) were significantly more likely than those at four-year institutions (about 11 percent) to report they had been forced during their lifetime to have sexual intercourse.<sup>5</sup> As a word of caution, a recent study systematically reviewed 34 studies on campus sexual assault published since 2000 and found that the prevalence of sexual victimization varied greatly, largely due to measurement and definitional differences, rendering it difficult to compare findings across studies.<sup>6</sup>

College women are raped at significantly higher rates than college men.<sup>a</sup> Some research suggests that less than 1 percent of men report being raped.<sup>7</sup> However, so few men report their sexual assault that information is limited about the extent of this problem.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, this guide primarily addresses college women as victims.

Stranger rape of college students is less common than acquaintance rape. Indeed, by the 1990s, acquaintance rape had replaced stranger rape as the focus for rape prevention.<sup>9</sup> Most campus sexual assaults are committed by a victim's acquaintance<sup>10</sup>, usually a classmate, friend, boyfriend, or ex-boyfriend.<sup>11b</sup> Nonetheless, many women misunderstand their risk for acquaintance rape, believing it is more likely to happen to others than to themselves.<sup>12</sup>

## Societal and Official Attitudes About Acquaintance Rape

In general, college students, campus administrators, police, prosecutors, judges, and juries still overwhelmingly view and treat acquaintance rape less seriously than stranger rape, sustaining the view that stranger rape is “real rape,” while acquaintance rape is less serious and less harmful.<sup>13</sup>

Rape myths allow us to believe that a “real rape” is one in which a victim is raped by a stranger who jumps out of the bushes with a weapon, and in which she fought back, was beaten and bruised, reported the event to the police, and had medical evidence collected immediately. In a “real rape,” the victim has never had sex with the assailant before, is preferably a virgin, was not intoxicated, was not wearing seductive clothing, and has a good reputation... Unfortunately, acquaintance sexual assaults contain few, if any, of those elements. In many acquaintance-rape situations, the victim had been drinking, did voluntarily go with the man to his apartment or room, was not threatened with a weapon, did not fight back, did not report the event to the police immediately, did not have medical evidence collected, and may have even had sex with the assailant voluntarily before.<sup>14</sup>

Many acquaintance rapists who are convicted get shorter sentences, on average, than rapists who are strangers to the victim.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, women who do not fit traditional gender roles are often seen as more responsible for their rapes, particularly those who are acquaintance-rape victims.<sup>16</sup>

## Types of Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Although the various labels and subcategories within the general problem of acquaintance rape have no legal significance, it is important to understand the different forms of acquaintance rape for prevention and investigation purposes. The common subcategories, which can overlap, and the terms most commonly associated with them are:

a. Women are also the victims in the vast majority of rapes not involving college students.

b. One survey “did not find that college professors committed any of the rapes or sexual coercions; however, they were involved in a small percentage of the unwanted sexual touching” (Fisher, Cullen and Turner 2000).



- Party rape (can also include gang rape)<sup>c</sup>
- Date rape (usually takes place in the victim's or offender's residence or in a car after the date)<sup>d</sup>
- Acquaintance rape in a non-party and non-date situation (e.g., while studying together)
- Rape by a former intimate
- Rape by a current intimate

In each case, the offender's and victim's behavior before the attack, and the contributing environmental factors during the attack, may differ.<sup>e</sup> For instance, the typical party rape occurs at an off-campus house or on- or off-campus fraternity and involves the offender's plying a woman with alcohol or targeting an intoxicated woman.<sup>f</sup> Environmental factors that could facilitate the rape include easy access to alcohol, availability of a private room, loud music that drowns out the woman's calls, and, potentially, a cover-up by the house's residents, who may choose to maintain group secrecy over reporting the rape. By contrast, a date rape typically involves two people who are just becoming acquainted.<sup>g</sup> In these cases, the victim usually has not drunk any alcohol, and there is no prior relationship or even acquaintance between the victim and offender.

Refining recordkeeping to include subtypes of acquaintance rape allows police to better understand the dynamics of rape, design prevention around the subtypes, and improve rape investigations within the subtypes.<sup>h</sup>

### **Victim Underreporting**

Rape reported to authorities is estimated at as low as 12 percent,<sup>17</sup> with the rate as low as about 3% when the rape involved drug or alcohol use,<sup>18</sup> perhaps giving campus administrators and police the false impression that current prevention efforts are adequate.<sup>i</sup> Acquaintance rape is less likely than stranger rape to leave visible injuries, meaning that acquaintance-rape victims most likely report lower levels of rape than the general public.<sup>j</sup> Low reporting results in fewer victims receiving assistance, fewer offenders being confronted or prosecuted, and college administrators being poorly informed about the extent of the problem.<sup>19</sup> However, about two-thirds of victims tell someone, often a friend (but usually

not a family member or college official).<sup>20</sup>

The most common reason for underreporting for women is the fear of retaliation by the perpetrator, and for men, underreporting is mainly due to the fear of being perceived as gay.<sup>21</sup> Other common reasons for not reporting the rape to authorities include the following:<sup>22</sup>

- Embarrassment and shame
- Fear of publicity
- Fear of social isolation from the assailant's friends
- Fear that the police will not believe them
- Fear that the prosecutor will not believe them or will not bring charges
- Self-blame for drinking or using drugs before the rape
- Self-blame for being alone with the assailant, perhaps in one's own or the assailant's residence
- Mistrust of the campus judicial system
- Fear that their family will find out
- Uncertainty that what occurred was illegal
- Belief that the incident is not important enough to report

Underreporting of acquaintance rape has also been linked to "rape myth acceptance," a cultural norm that women should resist sexual advances to maintain their purity, while men should act on their sexual urges because it makes them masculine.<sup>23</sup> One study found that the more a person believed in rape myth acceptance, the more likely they were to discourage someone from reporting their rape.<sup>24</sup> This is true for male and female rape victims. Therefore, the prevalence of rape myth acceptance contributes to low rape reporting and prosecution.

Finally, rape victims are more likely to disclose the incident to a peer rather than the police, and those who do disclose their rape often do so to those who have suffered rape themselves, binge drink, abuse substances, have a lifetime history of PTSD, and have sought help for emotional concerns.<sup>25</sup>

c. More than 90% of rape and sexual victimizations of female students (95%) and nonstudents (92%) were committed by a single offender, rather than a group of offenders (Sinozich and Langton, 2014).

d. Most acquaintance rapes do not occur on dates; rather, they occur when two people are otherwise in the same place (e.g., at a party, studying together in a dorm room) (Fisher, Cullen and Turner, 2000).

e. For a discussion of the need to study different types of acquaintance rape, see Koss and Cleveland (1996).

f. Many sexual assaults during college are defined as party rape because of the close association with partying and alcohol (Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney, 2006).

g. The term date rape is sometimes used to refer to incidents in which offenders surreptitiously give victims drugs in order to reduce their resistance. Rohypnol is the most commonly used drug for this purpose, known by its street name as a 'Roofie' or 'Mickey' (Weiss and Colyer, 2010).

h. Defendants generally do not claim consent as a defense in a stranger-rape case. Thus, the investigation need not focus on disproving consent. However, in an acquaintance rape case, consent is the most likely defense. Disproving consent becomes the most important part of the investigation. It also follows that evidence of nonconsent in a party rape will differ from that of nonconsent for a date rape that occurred in a car.

i. Some universities have been found to be deliberately categorizing sexual assault as different types of crimes in order to make their colleges seem safer (Hardy and Barrows, 2001).

j. The lesser the physical injury to the victim, the less likely they are to report their attack (Wolitzky-Taylor, et al., 2011).

## False Reporting

Some police officers erroneously believe that a high percentage of rape reports are deliberately false (by both college students and the general population of women).<sup>26</sup> In fact, false allegations of sexual assault range from only 2 to 10 percent, indicating that most rape reports are valid.<sup>27, k</sup>

Some police investigators incorrectly think that a rape report is unfounded or false if any of the following conditions apply:

- The victim has a prior, perhaps intimate/sexual, relationship with the offender
- The victim does not fight off the offender
- The victim was wearing revealing clothes
- The victim used alcohol or drugs at the time of the assault
- There is no visible evidence of injury
- The victim begrudgingly agreed to sex after being continuously harassed by the offender
- The victim delays disclosure to the police and/or others and does not undergo a rape medical exam
- The victim fails to immediately label her assault as rape and/or blames herself

## Consent and Victimization

In fact, regardless of the above factors, whether the victim gave consent to the sexual activity that occurred is the determining factor as to whether a rape occurred.<sup>l</sup> However, a study of a Midwestern college found that while most students agreed that a 'yes' should be given in order to constitute consent, most felt that situations leading up to the event, including nonverbal cues, could be considered consent.<sup>28</sup> Meaningful discourse when students enter college is imperative in order to teach students that consent not only means a mutual 'yes' by both parties, but also that a lack of a yes does not mean no (see discussion of consent on p.). Furthermore, encouraging open communication regarding consent in college has been shown to lower sexual assaults.<sup>29</sup>

Another aspect of consent that should be addressed is that an initial 'yes' is not necessarily a continuous notion. This means that at any point, either party can say 'no' or 'stop,' halting any previous consent. In one study addressing the continuous consent of females in acquaintance rape, researchers found that most women had the hardest time communicating to their attacker that they were uncomfortable as the attack was happening due to the muting effect, which essentially renders the victim speechless because they are frozen in fear.<sup>30</sup>

## Harms Caused by Acquaintance Rape of College Students

### Physical Harm to Victims

Although most acquaintance rapes are not physically violent, 20 percent of college rape victims suffer physical injuries, most often bruises, black eyes, cuts, swelling, or chipped teeth.<sup>31</sup> Thus, in most acquaintance-rape cases, there will be a need to investigate more subtle evidence, such as lack of consent and focusing on witnesses, as opposed to relying solely on physical signs of abuse to corroborate a victim's story.

### Psychological Harm to Victims

Rape victims experience post-traumatic stress disorder at a higher rate than all other victims of crime.<sup>32</sup> Acquaintance-rape victims suffer the same psychological harms as stranger-rape victims: shock, humiliation, anxiety, depression, substance abuse, suicidal thoughts, loss of self-esteem, social isolation, anger, distrust of others, anxiety about sexually transmitted disease, guilt, and sexual dysfunction.<sup>33</sup> College acquaintance-rape victims face additional consequences. Many drop out of school because, if they stay, they might regularly face their attacker on campus.<sup>34</sup> Since most victims do not report, colleges cannot intervene to protect them from reencountering their attackers.

### Fear Among College Women

The fear of rape is widespread among college women, although they fear stranger rape more than acquaintance rape, even though the latter is much more common.<sup>35</sup> College women—even those aware of acquaintance rape's pervasiveness—take more precautions to guard against stranger rape—even if they have been a victim of acquaintance rape.<sup>36</sup>

## Factors Contributing to Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Understanding the factors that contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine good effectiveness measures, recognize key intervention points, and select appropriate responses.

Acquaintance rape is less random and more preventable than stranger rape,<sup>37</sup> so it is important to understand the factors associated with offending, victimization, and the environmental setting to prevent the crime. Neither the victim's condition nor behavior cause nor are responsible for rape, but the following factors appear to increase a victim's vulnerability to it:<sup>m</sup>

k. The FBI does not separately track false reports; it tracks only the total number of unfounded reports. The category of "unfounded" consists of both baseless cases—in which the elements of the crime were never met—and false reports (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, Cote, 2010).

l. Historically, rape law was more accepting of implicit consent and extended that consent to additional acts that the victim might not have intended, but more recently, courts and university administrators have adopted more-stringent standards regarding consent, expecting that consent be explicitly given and that it be limited to specific sexual acts and times (Anderson, 2010; Dougherty, 2015).

m. See Hanson and Gidycz (1993) for a discussion of the research on risk factors

- Using drugs and/or drinking (both the victim and the assailant). According to self-reporting, 82 percent of women were under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they were attacked.<sup>38</sup>
- Frequently drinking enough to get drunk<sup>39</sup>
- Drinking to the point of being unable to resist forceful sexual advances<sup>40</sup>
- Having previously been the victim of sexual assault, before the start of the school year<sup>41</sup>
- Being unmarried<sup>42</sup>
- Engaging in social activities with sexually predatory men<sup>43</sup>
- Being at an isolated site
- Being younger and relatively anonymous on campus<sup>44</sup>
- Miscommunicating about sex<sup>45</sup>
- Holding less conservative attitudes about sexual behavior<sup>46</sup>

Some features of the college environment, such as frequent unsupervised parties, easy access to alcohol, single students living on their own, and the availability of private rooms, may also contribute to high rape rates of college students.<sup>47</sup>

Patterns regarding time (temporal), place (geographic), victim injuries, victim resistance, fear of rape, psychological harm to victims, and attitudes about acquaintance rape are summarized below.<sup>n</sup>

### **Temporal Patterns**

College students are the most vulnerable to rape during the first few weeks of the freshman and sophomore years.<sup>48</sup> Research has shown that rapes of college women tend to occur after 6 p.m., and the majority occur after midnight.<sup>49, o</sup>

### **Geographic Patterns**

Thirty-four percent of completed rapes and 45 percent of attempted rapes take place on campus.<sup>50</sup> Almost 60 percent of the completed campus rapes that take place on campus occur in the victim's residence, 31 percent occur in another residence, and 10 percent occur in a fraternity.<sup>51</sup>

### **Victim Resistance**

About one-half of victims try to stop a rape by doing at least one of the following: using force,<sup>p</sup> telling or begging the assailant to stop, screaming, or fleeing.<sup>52</sup> The term "token resistance" is often used in rape cases, where the victim's verbal and physical resistance is part of the thrill of the assault.<sup>53, q</sup>

Some researchers assert that sexually predatory men can sense which women are less able to defend themselves, or to target women whose behavior (e.g., binge drinking) undermines their credibility.<sup>54</sup>

### **Repeat Victimization**

A small number of acquaintance-rape victims are repeatedly victimized.<sup>55</sup> One of the largest studies to date found that nearly one-quarter of college rape victims had been victimized before.<sup>56</sup> College women most at risk of rape are those who were previously victims of childhood or teen sexual assault,<sup>57</sup> and "...victimization in one semester predicts victimization in the following semester."<sup>58</sup>

### **Repeat Offending**

An estimated three-quarters of rapists who are not prosecuted are repeat offenders,<sup>59</sup> making it likely they will offend again. Repeat offenders who have not been convicted average six rapes per offender.<sup>60</sup> Most college acquaintance rapists go unpunished — in part because reporting is so low—so the number of serial offenses is difficult to determine. Serial rapists tend to know that the punishment is harsher in forcible-rape cases, so they try not to use force or leave marks on or demean their victims; or they choose victims whom they believe juries will be disinclined to believe due to their sexual histories.<sup>61</sup> Lack of reporting exacerbates the problem because it precludes colleges from identifying and ridding themselves of their most dangerous students.

### **Offender Motives**

Studies conducted in the 1980s and 1990s indicated that approximately one-third of college men reported they would rape a woman if they knew they would not get caught.<sup>62</sup> In studies of some colleges, as much as 15 percent of the men surveyed indicated that they committed rape and up to 57 percent indicated that they committed some form of sexual assault.<sup>63</sup> Below are some explanations researchers have offered to explain the problem's prevalence:

- Some men have stereotypic views of women's sexual behavior. In light of the high number of rapes, researchers believe that rape is not the product of psychopathic behavior; rather it is the product of mainstream beliefs about women's role in sexual situations.<sup>64</sup> A study of 37 convicted rapists found that 70 percent of the rapists thought of women as sexual objects and that men rape because they feel entitled to a woman's body.<sup>65</sup> Many men are socialized to believe that women initially resist sexual advances to preserve their reputation and, because of this, prefer to be overcome sexually. If a woman says no, a man is to proceed as if she said yes. In addition, some men believe that if a woman is a "tease" or "loose," she is asking for sex. If she then claims rape, she changed her mind after the fact. Such men generally believe that most rapes are false reports.

n. Some of the research covers data for both acquaintance and stranger rape of college students. Since nearly 80 percent of the time, college rape victims know their assailant, these temporal, geographic and victim resistance patterns would likely apply to college acquaintance rape, although perhaps with some slight variations.

o. However, since the change in the FBI's definition of rape, there have been no new studies regarding the temporal patterns of rape among college students.

p. Nationally, only 13 percent of acquaintance-rape victims fight their assailant (Anderson, 2010).

q. "In general, some type of overt resistance was predictive of higher levels of victim credibility, perpetrator culpability, and perpetrator guilt, and lower levels of both victim culpability and victim pleasure" (Angelone, Mitchell, & Grossi, p.2294, 2015).

- Some men receive peer support for sexually abusive behavior. College men—especially the younger of them—tend to place great importance on their male peers' opinion of them and, therefore, pursue sexual conquests to gain favor in their social groups.<sup>66</sup> Sexually abusive men often are friends with and loyal to other sexually abusive men and get peer support for their behavior, fostering and legitimizing it.<sup>67</sup> Some men learn not to care about women's feelings. "They have learned that what counts, in the popular sports term invariably adopted... is that they 'score.'<sup>68</sup>

### **Alcohol's Role in Acquaintance Rape**

Alcohol appears to play a large role in acquaintance rape, although it is not the cause.<sup>69</sup> In over three-quarters of college rapes, the offender, the victim or both had been drinking.<sup>70</sup> Among the explanations for alcohol's presence in so many rapes are the following:<sup>71</sup>

- The mere fact that a woman consumed alcohol causes some men to assume that women wanted to have sex, even when they use force to have it.<sup>72</sup>
- Some college men are unaware that having sex with someone who is drunk is rape because the victim cannot give legal consent when under a certain level of alcohol impairment.
- Men expect to become more sexualized when drinking. "Men view the world in a more sexualized manner than women do and, consequently, are more likely than women to interpret ambiguous cues as evidence of sexual intent." One effect of consuming alcohol is a form of myopia, which causes men to think about their own pleasure while ignoring the signs of resistance and discomfort in women.<sup>73</sup>
- Some men consider their own intoxication a justification or excuse for acting out, misbehaving or committing a crime. Men who justify rape due to their intoxication are likely to continue relying on this excuse in the future.<sup>74</sup>
- Alcohol increases misperceptions because it reduces a person's capacity to analyze complex stimuli. Alcohol (and drug) use increases the risk that men and women will misinterpret one another's words and actions. One study at a Midwestern U.S. university reported that 60 percent of women who were under the influence of alcohol and had been raped thought that their judgment had been moderately to severely impacted by the alcohol.<sup>75</sup>
- Alcohol causes poor sending and receiving of friendly and sexual cues, such as the victim's unawareness that

a man is trying to maneuver her into an isolated location or to encourage her to become intoxicated.<sup>76</sup> Some women who recognize the risks in others' behavior, fail to accurately gauge their own risks in being alone with a man and drinking, perhaps because on prior occasions, being alone with a man and drinking did not result in rape, and perhaps because they inaccurately believe they can drink a lot before being at increased risk of being victimized by sexual aggression.<sup>77</sup>

- Alcohol decreases women's ability to resist rape by slowing motor functions, thereby reducing their ability to verbally or physically resist a rapist.

Research has found that when alcohol or drugs are involved in acquaintance rape—which is frequently the case—peers tend to hold women more responsible for the rape, and men less responsible for it.<sup>78</sup>

### **Athletic Teams and Fraternities**

College athletes are disproportionately reported to campus judicial officers for acquaintance rape.<sup>79</sup> It is unclear whether they actually offend more, or whether students tend to report them more (perhaps angered by athletes' esteemed and privileged status).<sup>8</sup> On some campuses, revenue-generating athletes (usually football and basketball players) may believe they are immune to campus rules (and sometimes are), and take advantage of "groupies" or other women they perceive as sexually interested in them.<sup>80</sup>

As for fraternities, a disproportionate number of documented gang rapes involve fraternity members. Research on reported gang rapes committed by college students from 1980 to 1990 found that fraternity members committed 55 percent of them.<sup>81</sup> Fraternities often have a unique place on campus; they are typically housed in private residences (with many private rooms) and hold large unsupervised parties, often with free-flowing alcohol. Some fraternity members approve of getting a woman drunk to have sex. This, combined with some fraternities' emphasis on loyalty above identifying members who rape, has put fraternities in the center of controversy because a disproportionate number of reported rapes occur on their property. Furthermore, some fraternities that emphasize sex as an important defining aspect of membership<sup>82</sup> or that promote binge drinking, appear to be more rape-prone<sup>8</sup> than others, placing sorority members (and other frequent women attendees at fraternity parties) at greater risk of rape. Many national Greek organizations now require education for their local chapters concerning sexual assault and alcohol consumption, and some now mandate

r. Some studies have found that men (more so than women) view certain cues as evidence that a woman is interested in having sex, such as her wearing revealing clothing, agreeing to a secluded date location such as the man's room or the beach, drinking alcohol, complimenting the man during the date, and tickling the man (Abbey 1991).

s. Many of the gang-rape charges involving athletes "seem to involve members of such contact team sports as football, basketball and lacrosse, rather than athletes from such individual nonaggressive sports as tennis and golf" Parrot et al. (1994).

t. Humphrey and Kahn (2000) found that college women correctly identify the campus fraternities and athletic teams that are high risk and low risk for rape, based on the type of parties they have had.

“dry” houses. Rapes in fraternity houses, and subsequent cover-ups by fraternity members, suggest that certain all-male living arrangements foster unhealthy environments conducive to rape.<sup>83</sup>

One review of 29 studies concluded that hypermasculinity<sup>u</sup> in fraternities and on sports teams encourages rape and sexual assault as a means of demonstrating male dominance.<sup>84</sup>

### Legal Obligations of Colleges

The more that acquaintance rape remains a hidden crime, the less incentive schools have to invest in its prevention. A recent review by the U.S. Department of Education has exposed that many college administrators have been misreporting the incidence of sexual assault on their campuses to have their school viewed as being safer than other schools. Stranger rape results in dramatic and unwelcome publicity for colleges. College administrators try to prevent such victimization by putting cameras in parking garages, running late-night student escort and/or shuttle services, deploying student patrols, placing emergency telephones throughout campus, locking buildings to prevent strangers from entering, trimming obstructive foliage, and improving the lighting in dark or less-traveled areas. The costs of these prevention initiatives typically far exceed the dollars spent on acquaintance-rape prevention, even though acquaintance rape is a much more likely occurrence.

Due to research studies and lawsuits in the seventies, the Clery Act<sup>v</sup> was passed, which requires that colleges warn students of known risks and to provide reasonable protection.<sup>85</sup> If a crime is foreseeable, then a college can be held liable for not sufficiently protecting against it. If “acquaintance rape(s) occur at predictable times and places, the school must make reasonable efforts to prevent a recurrence; and the school may be liable if it fails to deal effectively with repeat student offenders, including rapists, whose conduct eventually results in more damage.”<sup>86</sup>

Many universities have developed comprehensive policies and procedures relating to sexual and gender-based misconduct, covering at a minimum: student and faculty conduct, police and administrative investigative procedures, misconduct consequences, and relevant rights and responsibilities.<sup>w</sup>

u. “Hypermasculinity involves attitudes of sexual callousness, male dominance, and acceptance of aggression” (Murnen and Kohlman, p.153, 2007).

v. Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (20 USC §1092(f)).

w. See, for example, Columbia University’s “Sexual Respect” policy and procedures at <https://sexualrespect.columbia.edu/university-policy>.

# Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalized description of acquaintance rape of college students. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem carefully will help you design a more effective response strategy.

## Stakeholders

In addition to criminal justice agencies, the following groups have an interest in the acquaintance rape of college students' problem and ought to be considered for the contribution they might make to gathering information about the problem and responding to it:

- **Fellow students** have one of the biggest roles in preventing and stopping acquaintance rape. Currently, bystander training in colleges has proven to be the most effective way to prevent acquaintance rape.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, many victims only tell close friends and peers, thereby making the collective student body the most knowledgeable about the instances of acquaintance rape of college students.
- **University and college administrators** such as presidents, deans of students, and college deans bear primary responsibility for their students' welfare on campus and control school resources that might be employed in responding to the problem.
- **Athletic directors and coaches** (particularly of the men's teams) have substantial influence over their players' attitudes and behavior.
- **Student health and psychological and academic counseling staff** have considerable insights about the extent to which students are suffering from the physical and psychological consequences of acquaintance rape.
- **Fraternity and sorority chapter leaders** (at the campus and national levels) have substantial influence over the policies and practices of their chapters' members.
- **Student housing officials** (especially residence administrators and resident assistants) have substantial influence over the policies and behavioral rules in student residential housing, and of the resident students' conduct in them.
- **Rape crisis counselors** have considerable insights about the extent to which college students are victimized by acquaintance rape and how criminal-justice and campus officials can best meet their psychological needs.

## Asking the Right Questions

The following are some critical questions you should ask in analyzing your particular acquaintance-rape problem, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on.

x. Campus and municipal police or campus security may find that certain faculty members (trained in research methods) and their students would be willing to conduct such surveys, perhaps as part of a class or seminar project.

y. See Problem-Specific Guide No. 27, *Underage Drinking* for discussion of reducing underage and binge drinking, known significant contributing factors to acquaintance rape.

z. Colleges and universities have a consent policy. The best example thus far is from Columbia University and is at [www.sexualrespect.columbia.edu](http://www.sexualrespect.columbia.edu) under Sexual Respect in the Affirmative Consent section.

## Victims

- How many reported rape victims does the college have?
- What percentage are women? What percentage are men?
- What percentage of the reported incidents are acquaintance rapes?
- What percentage of female victims are raped by college students?
- What percentage of male victims are raped by college students?
- How many of the college's students have been acquaintance-rape victims, but did not report? A two-year period can provide useful trend data. A victimization survey may be the best means to capture this information. It may also be valuable in revealing reasons for not reporting.<sup>x</sup>
- Were the victims previously raped during college? If so, where and when? Were the victims previously raped before attending college? Police should also ask college counselors to pose these questions to all rape victims who come to their attention, and to track this information each year in order to tailor rape-prevention programs.
- What is the offenders' relationship to the victims (e.g., boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, dorm mate, classmate, non-student acquaintance, stranger)?
- Did the acquaintance-rape victims drink alcohol or use drugs before the assaults? If so, what kind and how much? Did they do so at the offenders' insistence or encouragement?
- What reasons do the victims give for the rapes? A survey may include optional answers such as those listed below, allowing the victim to check all that apply:
  - "He did not listen to me."
  - "He did not respect my wishes."
  - "We were both drunk."
  - "He kept giving me drinks."
  - "He drugged me."
- Did the victims attend any rape-prevention programs before the assaults?
- Does the college conduct exit interviews of non-returning students that include questions about, among other things, whether the students were raped?

## Locations/Times

- Where did the acquaintance rapes occur? The victimization survey may be the best way to get this information. Possible answers should be listed and might include the offender's residence hall room, the victim's residence hall room, a fraternity-house bedroom or bathroom, a sorority house, a car, a college-sponsored party, a nonstudent party, etc.
- Who owns the premises or locations where the rapes occurred?
- Do certain campus fraternities have reputations as places where rapes occur? If so, why?
- What specific event preceded the rapes (e.g., fraternity party, intercollegiate athletic party or game, college-sponsored party, residence hall party, date, drinking at a bar, study session)?
- At what times and on what days did most of the rapes occur?
- Determine from the victimization surveys when the rapes most commonly occur (e.g., the first week of school; the first month of school, but not the first week; the first semester of school, but not the first month; spring break; the beginning of the sophomore year)?

**“Whereas offenders are clearly responsible for all acts of sexual aggression and preventative efforts with men should be a priority, ethically it is essential that women be provided with the information and skills to reduce their risk for sexual assault!”**

Gidycz, McNamara, and Edwards, 2006

## Offenders

- Who are the offenders (e.g., freshmen, sophomores, etc.; fraternity members; athletes; other university staff; nonstudents)?
- Are certain campus fraternities or athletic teams thought to have parties that are high or low risk for rape? If so, what seems to account for the high or low risk? A survey of the college's women may help to identify high-risk groups.
- What reasons do offenders provide for their illegal actions?
- What proportion of known offenders are repeat offenders? In what ways are known repeat offenders different from non-repeat offenders?

## Current Responses

- How much money has the college invested in preventing stranger rape compared with preventing acquaintance rape?
- Does the college or do campus police have a security role at any of the places or functions (on or off campus) where acquaintance rapes have occurred?
- Do police investigators and prosecutors know how to effectively investigate suspects' and defendants' claims that the sex was consensual?
- Does the rape-prevention program provided by the college or by campus or municipal police specifically address that college's problem? Does the curriculum contain valid information? Has the program been evaluated and deemed effective? Is the program required for all students, or at least students in known high-risk groups?
- Is prevention programming timed to prevent acquaintance rapes (i.e., very early in the year, such as during orientation)?
- Do the college's rules address acquaintance rape, including explicit prohibitions against such conduct; reporting, investigative, and appeal procedures; and consequences? Does the college enforce the rules?
- Are campus police and those who make disciplinary decisions about acquaintance rape appropriately educated about the problem?
- Are college officials and campus police properly trained to report acquaintance rape accurately under federal guidelines?
- Are those arrested for acquaintance rape prosecuted? If not, why? If so, what is the typical outcome?
- Are university sanctions against offenders adequately publicized?

## Measuring Your Effectiveness

You should take measures of your problem before you implement responses, to determine how serious the problem is, and after you implement them, to determine whether they have been effective. You should take all measures in both the target area and the surrounding area. For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see Problem-Solving Tools Guide No. 1, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers and Problem-Solving Tools Guide No. 10, Analyzing Crime Displacement and Diffusion*.

The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to acquaintance rape of college students. Process measures show the extent to which responses were properly implemented. Outcome measures show the extent to which the responses reduced the level or severity of the problem.

### ***Process Measures***

The following process measures assess whether responses designed to reduce acquaintance rape were properly implemented:

- Increased percentage of victims reporting acquaintance rape
- Increased percentage of victims reporting attempted acquaintance rape
- Increased percentage of men who are knowledgeable about the issue of consent
- Increased percentage of women who are knowledgeable about risk factors associated with acquaintance rape
- Increased percentage of rape cases investigated by the police that result in prosecutions and convictions and/or appropriate campus judicial sanctions
- Increased number of students attending acquaintance-rape awareness and prevention programs
- Increased percentage of women who take preventive measures against acquaintance rape

### ***Outcome Measures***

The following are potentially useful outcome measures relating to acquaintance rape of college students:

- Reduced number of acquaintance rapes, tracked by type (e.g., party rape, date rape, non-party rape, rape by a former intimate) and time of year (e.g., freshman orientation week, first semester)
- Reduced number of repeat victims
- Reduced number of repeat offenders



# Responses to the Problem of Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Your analysis of your local problem should give you a better understanding of the factors contributing to it. Once you have analyzed your local problem and established a baseline for measuring effectiveness, you should consider possible responses to address the problem.

The following response strategies provide a foundation of ideas for addressing your particular problem. These strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and police reports. Several of these strategies may apply to your community's problem.

It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law-enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

Do not limit yourself to considering what police can do: carefully consider whether others in your community share responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it. The responsibility of responding, in some cases, may need to be shifted toward those who have the capacity to implement more effective responses. For more detailed information on shifting and sharing responsibility, see Response Guide No. 3, *Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems*.

For further information on managing the implementation of response strategies, see Problem-Solving Tools Guide No. 7, *Implementing Responses to Problems*.

## General Considerations for an Effective Response Strategy

Typically, the campus police role in rape prevention consists of providing self-defense training, doing environmental assessments of outdoor areas vulnerable to rape, and recommending the installation of cameras, lights, locks, etc. But these are more responsive to stranger rape, not acquaintance rape.

Educational and skill-development programs are the most effective acquaintance-rape prevention approach. At this point, there is no research to suggest whether other interventions, such as having only single-sex residence halls, enforcing residence-hall visitation rules, placing anti-acquaintance-rape educational posters in residence halls, or banning alcohol on campus, are effective in preventing acquaintance rape.

Although this guidebook does not address investigative procedures and policies, campus and municipal police officers need to be trained in the most up-to-date methods of investigating acquaintance-rape and consent defenses.

University administrators and campus police should allow and encourage confidential reporting even if it doesn't lead to a criminal or formal administrative investigation because doing so allows university officials to better understand what is happening to students and staff. To the extent permitted by law, victims should be able to confidentially report their victimization to police, student health services, and counseling and pastoral services, and the reports should be analyzed to help determine the extent of and trends in the problem.

aa. Letters to parents may be effective in widening awareness of the problem. One university asked the parents of incoming freshmen to speak with their son or daughter about rape (as well as several other problems that are significant for freshmen such as binge drinking and hate crimes). At another university, after a gang rape at a fraternity party, the campus police sent a letter warning parents of incoming freshmen, as well as insurance carriers, about fraternities in violation of alcohol laws (Bernstein 1996).

## Rape-Prevention Program Content

Because most acquaintance-rape cases turn not on whether sexual activity occurred and who engaged in it but, rather, on whether it was consensual, responses to the problem should emphasize ensuring that college students and staff understand 1) what behavior is acceptable and unacceptable under the law and college rules, 2) what actions and conditions increase students' vulnerability to acquaintance rape,<sup>87</sup> and 3) what actions to take to prevent or interrupt acquaintance rape.<sup>82</sup>

Some of the most successful prevention programs have focused on improving bystanders' abilities to recognize and intervene in acquaintance-rape situations.<sup>88</sup>

Many college rape-prevention programs do not focus on rape myth acceptance, treating rape prevention as a women's issue, and ignoring how men can help prevent rape by disabusing themselves of rape myths and learning how to intervene in acquaintance-rape situations.<sup>89</sup> Educational programs should involve multiple intervention efforts, with repeated and reinforced exposure to the issue.<sup>90</sup> Programs should focus on changing behavior, not just attitudes, and program evaluations must be done to determine if the various components are effective for your particular population.

Generally, college rape-prevention programs suffer from several weaknesses.<sup>91</sup> Relatively few college rape-prevention programs have been demonstrated to have had a positive impact on preventing sexual assault on campus.<sup>92</sup> Among the common deficiencies of programs are the following:

- Lack of clear goals
- Focus on changing attitudes, rather than behavior
- Lack of emphasis on the responsibility of bystanders
- Lack of distinct programming for those at highest risk, including prior sexual-assault victims
- Lack of follow-up assessment

## Mixed-Gender, Gender-Specific and Peer-Delivered Programs

Mixed-gender rape-prevention programs show uneven results in correcting rape myths.<sup>93</sup> Separate programs for men and women can facilitate addressing gender-specific issues. Such programs may also remove the fear of discussing rape in front of peers of the opposite sex. Some colleges use trained students to conduct programs; however, the effectiveness of peer educators—male or female—remains uncertain.<sup>94</sup>

## Program Timing and Tailoring

You should conduct rape-prevention programs before the most high-risk times, and again at later intervals, tailoring them to high-risk groups. Because the risk of acquaintance rape is highest during the freshman year, beginning with the first day of school, if you cannot provide rape-prevention programs on

the first day of freshman orientation, consider mailing letters or brochures to students and parents before freshman fall classes start, addressing rape and the relevant rules, laws and consequences; as well as parents' role in educating their students about safe and acceptable conduct.<sup>aa</sup> Growing evidence has shown that educating the entire freshman class each year enhances bystander intervention, which reduces rape on campus in general.<sup>95</sup>

## Specific Responses to Reduce Acquaintance Rape of College Students

### Acquaintance-rape Awareness and Prevention Education

#### 1. Conducting acquaintance-rape-prevention programs for college men and women.

Separate programs for men and women should both make attendance mandatory, both at the initial program and at follow-up programs during the freshman year and at the start of the sophomore year. Key program elements should include the following:

- Surveying of attitudes toward and knowledge about acquaintance rape, to include:
  - Preprogram surveying about current knowledge and behavior, including risk factors and risk-reduction techniques
  - Follow-up surveying several months after the programs to assess knowledge retention and behavioral change
- Provision of accurate information regarding the following:
  - Definitions of stranger, acquaintance, party, gang, and date rape
  - The relative frequency of acquaintance rape and stranger rape
  - Applicable state laws, and college rules and sanctions<sup>bb</sup>
  - Investigative and disciplinary processes for rape cases, and the consequences for seeking reprisal against the victim
  - Consent, including the use of scenarios to show what is and is not valid consent
  - The relationship between rape and alcohol use<sup>cc</sup>
  - Men's and women's responsibilities in stopping acquaintance rape, including responding appropriately in a situation where a peer may be taking advantage of an intoxicated person

- Commonly held misconceptions and myths about a man's "right" to sex (e.g., if the man has paid for dinner, if the woman is dressed seductively, if the man thinks the woman is a "tease" or flirt, if the man thinks the woman has a crush on him, if the woman consented to a friend)
- How the notion of "scoring" devalues women by treating them as objects of conquest
- The physical and psychological harm acquaintance-rape victims suffer
- Counseling services for men who want to change their aggressive sexual behavior
- Use of realistic scenarios to illustrate risky situations in which men and women may find themselves<sup>dd</sup>

Programs for women should include the following additional elements:

- Understanding and acknowledging when a rape has occurred
- Understanding the importance of reporting the incident to authorities in stemming repeat offending
- Provision of accurate information regarding the following:
  - Resources on how to report sexual assault and rape on and off campus, and the availability of anonymous reporting if a victim prefers
  - Discussion of risk factors, including the potential for repeat victimization
  - Discussion of how friends can help and support acquaintance-rape victims
  - Discussion of counseling services for rape victims
- Use of realistic scenarios to illustrate risky situations in which college women may find themselves and the development of emotional and physical skills in avoiding and getting safely out of dangerous situations<sup>ee</sup>

Research has found that comprehensive programs with these key components can reduce sexual victimization of college women by up to half, including for those women who have previously been raped or experienced attempted rape.<sup>97</sup>

#### 2. Educating police about acquaintance rape of college students.

Educating police about the extent of acquaintance rape (compared with stranger rape) of college students, about the patterns related to it, and the meaning of consent can provide them with important

bb. Each state has its own sexual-assault laws; in many states, the use of physical force is no longer a requirement for a rape to have occurred.

cc. Rape-prevention programs for college students should be combined with substance-abuse-prevention programs, especially regarding binge drinking. Typically, substance-abuse-prevention programs focus on risks such as drunken driving, fistfights and vandalism, but the main emphases should be on the risks of sexual miscommunication and rape (Abbey et al. 1996).

dd. For scenario-based brochures to educate students about sexual assault and rape reduction, see [http://www.popcenter.org/problems/rape/PDFs/men\\_web%20rev.pdf](http://www.popcenter.org/problems/rape/PDFs/men_web%20rev.pdf) and [http://www.popcenter.org/problems/rape/PDFs/women\\_booklet.pdf](http://www.popcenter.org/problems/rape/PDFs/women_booklet.pdf).

ee. Although this guide does not address investigative issues, it is important to note that police training for acquaintance-rape investigations must include components on evidence gathering when the offender will likely claim consent. For information about the different investigative methods for acquaintance vs. stranger rape cases, see material published by the U.S. Department of Justice Office on Violence Against Women.

context for responding appropriately to it. The training should cover the research on high-risk times and high-risk groups, the elements of effective rape-prevention programs, and the need for police involvement in the programs.<sup>95</sup> Police involvement can help assure students that the college takes acquaintance rape seriously.

### **3. Conducting acquaintance-rape prevention programs for college administrators, campus judicial officers and other key campus personnel.**

Top campus administrators should be called upon to clear the way for police to provide education and prevention programming in residence halls, fraternities and sororities, to athletic teams, and incoming students during orientation.<sup>96</sup> It is also necessary to educate all campus healthcare staff, residence directors and assistants, and fraternity and sorority advisors about rape, as well as advise counseling personnel about the need to track anonymous reporting, ask students about prior rapes, and develop safety plans for prior victims.<sup>97</sup> In addition, police must educate athletic coaches about rape prevention. Some coaches will not need much persuading, others may be convinced of its importance as a means of keeping their athletes from jeopardizing their own or their team's reputation. Since coach support of rape-prevention programs is crucial for success, police may want to advocate that coaches' active participation in the programs be used as one measure in coaches' performance evaluations.<sup>98</sup>

### **4. Conducting acquaintance-rape prevention programs geared toward campus athletes and fraternity members.**

Acquaintance-rape prevention programs should be tailored to focus on the specific risks for athletes<sup>hh</sup> and fraternity members. Program elements include the following:

- Surveying of athletes' and fraternity members' attitudes toward and knowledge about acquaintance rape, to include:
  - Preprogram surveying about current knowledge and behavior, including risk factors and risk-reduction techniques
  - Follow-up surveying several months after the programs to assess knowledge retention and behavioral change
- Provision of accurate information regarding the following:
  - The need for athletes to separate appropriate athletic aggression from inappropriate sexual aggression
  - Discussion stressing that athletes' prominent status on campus does not entitle them to sex and that women must freely give consent
  - Discussion stressing that athletes should not equate the behavior of some women fans with that of all women, and that a fan's perceived interest in an athlete does not constitute consent, and that consent by a woman with one athlete does not imply consent to a teammate
  - Discussion of the increased risk of rape when all-male

groups (such as athletes and fraternity members) live together in houses with private rooms, where parties are frequent, and where alcohol is available

- Realistic approaches athletes and fraternity members can use to counter any “group think” supporting male sexual dominance of females and the myth that women secretly want to be sexually overtaken
- An emphasis on the importance of intervening in and reporting rape, despite team or fraternity pressure to maintain secrecy

## **Responses with Limited Effectiveness**

### **5. Providing student escort and/or shuttle services.**

Many colleges have student escort and/or shuttle services so that women do not have to walk alone on campus late at night. These services may reduce the risk of stranger rape, but not of acquaintance rape; they do not take the place of adequate acquaintance-rape prevention.

**6. Providing rape aggression defense training.** Many college public safety departments offer women students rape aggression defense training to increase their ability to fend off would-be rapists. Police now commonly include such training in acquaintance-rape prevention programs, no longer focusing only on stranger rape. However, this training is

- too limited to cause significant reductions in acquaintance rape
- not sufficiently focused on the most prevalent types of campus rape
- inadequate for causing any behavioral change in male students<sup>99</sup>

Colleges may choose to include the training in their stranger-rape-reduction efforts; however, it is unlikely to reduce acquaintance rape.

ff. Police should ask those in college counseling services to develop in-depth interview protocols for rape victims, including questions about prior victimization. Counselors should develop safety plans with victims that help them more accurately assess risky situations.

gg. It is also wise to provide adequate information to faculty, particularly those whom rape victims are likely to approach because their courses cover rape (e.g., psychology, sociology, women's studies, criminology, and criminal-justice faculty). Police can also recruit faculty to conduct or participate in rape-prevention programs.

hh. If athletes are educated about rape only after an incident occurs, they may perceive it a punishment rather than a proactive rape-prevention effort.

## Appendix: Summary of Responses to Acquaintance Rape of College Students

The table below summarizes the responses to acquaintance rape of college students, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
1		Conducting acquaintance-rape prevention programs for college men	Removes excuses for rape by increasing men's knowledge	...programs are designed to change behavior, not just attitudes, and coincide with high- risk times	Finding adequate time for programs before or during high-risk times; researchers recommend combining the programs with prevention programming targeting other forms of sexual assault and also with substance abuse prevention programs
2		Educating police about acquaintance rape of college students	Increases the likelihood that police will participate in developing appropriate rape reduction initiatives for students	...police are trained before classes start	Often requires police to examine their prevention and investigation approaches to acquaintance rape
3		Conducting acquaintance-rape prevention programs for college administrators, campus judicial officers and other key campus personnel	Increases campus personnel's knowledge and enables personnel to appropriately deal with victims and offenders	...programs are completed before classes start	Requires extensive coordination, open access to campus personnel, and school leaders' commitment to support rape prevention efforts and consequences for acquaintance rape
4		Conducting acquaintance-rape prevention programs geared toward campus athletes and fraternity members	Removes excuses for rape by changing men's behavior toward women and setting explicit rules	...coaches, fraternity leaders and fraternity alumni leaders support the programs	Programs should be presented as a means to prevent harm, not as a punishment

## Appendix: Summary of Responses to Acquaintance Rape of College Students

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
<b>Responses with Limited Effectiveness</b>					
<b>5</b>		Providing student escort and/or shuttle services	Reduces the risk of stranger rape	...combined with comprehensive efforts to reduce acquaintance rape	Campus women's groups often advocate these services
<b>6</b>		Providing rape aggression defense training	Increases the effort stranger rapists must make	...combined with comprehensive efforts to reduce acquaintance rape	Campus women's groups often advocate this training

## Endnotes

1. Kilpatrick et al. (2007); National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2015).
2. Walters, Chen, and Breiding (2013).
3. Sinozich and Langton (2014).
4. Sanday (1996).
5. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (1995).
6. Fedina, Holmes, and Backes (2018).
7. Walter, Chen, and Breiding (2013).
8. Abbey (1991).
9. Gavey (2013).
10. Karjane, Fisher, and Cullen (2005).
11. Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2000).
12. Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
13. Ben-David and Schneider (2005).
14. Bohmer and Parrot (1993).
15. Cowan (2000); Viki, Abrams, and Masser (2004).
16. Ben-David and Schneider (2005).
17. Kilpatrick et al. (2007); Wolitzky-Taylor et al. (2011).
18. Wolitzky-Taylor et al. (2011).
19. Benson, Charton, and Goodhart (1992).
20. Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2000).
21. Sable et al. (2006).
22. Bohmer and Parrot (1993); Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2000); Sinozich and Langton (2014).
23. Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006); Frese, Moya, and Megias (2004); Page (2008).
24. Frese, Moya, and Megias (2004).
25. Paul et al. (2013).
26. Page (2008).
27. Rumney (2006); Lonsway, Archambault, and Lisak (2009).
28. Burnett et al. (2009).
29. Burnett et al. (2009).
30. Burnett et al. (2009).
31. Amar and Gennaro (2005); Fisher, Cullen, and Turner (2000).
32. Welch and Mason (2007).
33. Sinozich and Langton (2014); Yeater and O'Donohue (1999).
34. Finn (1995).
35. Fisher and Sloan (2003); Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
36. Hickman and Muehlenhard (1997).
37. Himelein (1995).
38. Dowdall (2007).
39. Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2000).
40. DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998); Schwartz and Pitts (1995).
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