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IN THE SHADOW OF THE IVORY TOWER: THE ROLE OF COLLEGIATE CULTURE ON
SEXUAL ASSAULT AND CONSENT POLICY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the topics of sexual assault and consent policy on college campuses. There is variation across institutions of higher education (IHE) in the United States, in both sexual assault rates and sexual assault policy. The variation in sexual assault rates is examined through a quantitative analysis controlling for variables indicative of collegiate culture. This analysis is accomplished by creating a large dataset that is unique when compared to the literature on this topic. Results show that party culture, football culture, and Greek culture all have effects on sexual assault rates. Variation in sexual assault policy is most appropriately explained through an examination of variables that lead to policy change. Through a qualitative analysis utilizing a case study of select IHEs, this paper examines variation in the adoption of affirmative consent policy. This analysis examines the role of student activism and student interest groups and their effect on policy change. The results show that both of these variables are likely to cause IHEs to codify affirmative consent standards into their policy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In the three years leading up to 1986, 38 alleged violent crimes occurred on the campus of Lehigh University; the university did not report any of them. There were no uniform laws mandating that colleges and universities report crimes, it was as if they did not exist (Peterson, 2011). On the morning of April 5, 1986, Joseph Henry, a student of Lehigh University, entered Stoughton Hall after a night of drinking at a nearby fraternity house. After traveling through three unlocked doors, he entered the room of Jeanne Clery, a fellow Lehigh student. After entering, Joseph Henry raped and murdered Ms. Clery in her own room, a place she called home. A year later, Henry was convicted and sentenced to life in prison (Elwell, 1988). The incident at Lehigh University shed light on crime reporting failures at colleges and universities, also referred to as Institutions of Higher Education (IHEs). This failure to report crimes prompted congressional action. In 1990, Congress passed the *Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990* (20 U.S.C. 1092[f]), later renamed the *Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act of 1990* (20 U.S.C. 1092[f]), now commonly referred to as the “Clery Act.”

The Clery Act website states the legislation:

“...requires colleges and universities, both public and private, participating in federal student aid programs to disclose campus safety information, and imposes certain basic requirements for handling incidents of sexual violence and emergencies. Disclosures about crime statistics and summaries of security policies are made once a year in an Annual Security Report (ASR), and information about specific crimes and emergencies is made publicly available on an ongoing basis throughout the year.” (Jeanne Clery Act Information)

A federal law that mandates all IHEs to report and disclose crimes on their campuses allows prospective and current students to be made aware of the amount of crime on campus. The law shines light on crime statistics and trends, what has been described as “the dark side of the ivory tower,” and the victimization of college students (Fisher & Sloan, 2010).

Fast-forward 20 years to the morning of August 17, 2012. It was the first day back from summer break and Emma Sulkowicz, a student of Columbia University, was entering her sophomore year. Ms. Sulkowicz reported that on that day, a fellow classmate raped her in her own room, a place that she would never be able to call home. Despite naming her alleged assailant, and three other students coming forward sharing similar stories involving the accused, the case has not yet gone to court (Taylor, 2014).

The tragic instances that occurred at Lehigh and Columbia University are not anomalies, but rather common stories college students and administrators have become accustomed to hearing. In 2012 alone, there were nearly 4,000 forcible sex offenses reported, a 50% increase from 2010 (Anderson, 2014). Over the past few years campus sexual assault has been called an “epidemic,” an “unsolved problem” that fosters “rape culture” on campuses across the country (Ohlheiser, 2015; Sato, 2015; Maxwell, 2014). It is estimated that over the course of their time in college, one in 5 women and one in 16 men are sexually assaulted. Of those victims, an estimated 90% do not report their assaults despite victims almost always knowing the people who assault them (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick & Stevens, 2011). In the last decade, departments of the federal government, independent research centers, and national media outlets have attempted to explain why college campuses and sexual assault are seemingly inseparable. This paper will seek to find cultural factors that contribute to higher levels of sexual assault at IHEs across the country.

Federal and state legislation have attempted to respond to the issue of crime on campus, but the problem still remains. Many agree that a necessary step in ending rape culture is by creating “consent culture.” Consent culture is “a culture in which asking for consent is normalized and condoned in popular culture” (“Only With Consent,” 2013). Acquiring consent is important because it is the determining factor differentiating between a consensual sexual encounter and sexual assault. Since consent is always required, it is crucial that IHEs clearly define a consent standard. Traditionally, the standard of “Implied Consent” was the norm on college campuses. This standard said that nonverbal cues can be considered consent, and consent is implied unless a person hears an explicit “no” (Peterson, 2014). Implied consent has been described by catch phrases such as, “you know it when you see it,” and “No means No” (Smith, 2014).

In 1991, Antioch College was the first IHE to implement an affirmative consent standard. At first, Antioch became “laughingstocks,” and faced scorn for their seemingly “overzealous liberal policy” (Culp-Ressler, 2014). Even a Saturday Night Live sketch mocked the new policy (New, 2014; Mills, 2014). As of 2015, affirmative consent was the standard at over 800 IHEs nationwide (New, 2014). In addition to IHEs, the governors of New York and California made affirmative consent the standard across their respective states.

Affirmative consent is defined as:

“... a knowing, voluntary, and mutual decision among all participants to engage in sexual activity. Consent can be given by words or actions, as long as those words or actions create clear permission regarding willingness to engage in the sexual activity. Silence or lack of resistance, in and of itself, does not demonstrate consent. The definition of consent does not vary based upon a participant's sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression.”
obtaining an “affirmative, conscious, and voluntary agreement to engage in sexual activity,” (“Affirmative Consent / Yes Means Yes,” 2011)

Despite hundreds of IHEs adopting affirmative consent policies, hundreds of IHEs remain with varying definitions of consent. This paper seeks to uncover the driving forces behind IHEs that adopt affirmative consent standards. I will be analyzing student activism and student interests groups to see their effect on policy change.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Sexual Assault on College Campuses

Institutions of higher education have been struggling to solve the sexual assault epidemic for over 30 years. Prevention and programming resources, in conjunction with structural enhancements (i.e. lighting and pathways) have been typical responses (Armstrong, Hamilton & Sweeny, 2006). Despite these efforts, there remains a prevalence of sexual assault on college campuses. There is a divide in the literature between those who claim that they know what the problems and solutions are, and those who do believe we have not fully grasped all aspects of the topic (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). The literature offers many theories that attempt to address facets of sexual assault on college campuses.

Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006) have suggested that sexual assault on college campuses can be explained by three broad categories. These categories are “individual determinants,” “rape culture,” and “formal structure.” Individual determinants refer to students who are at a heightened threat of being sexually assaulted. These individuals often include women, prior victims, first-year college students, and those more sexually active. Rape culture describes the nature of men and women, their sexuality, and the topic of consent. These factors generate environments that increase the threat of sexual assault. The last category, formal structure, describes physical locations (e.g. fraternity houses) that create an environment with a heightened threat of sexual assault.

A similar perspective, called the “Routine Activities Theory” described two factors that lead to higher instances of sexual assault (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002). The first stated that activities and/or lifestyles increase the frequency and opportunity that a potential offender and a potential victim come into contact. Increased contact increased the chances the offender attempts an assault. The second stated that structural aspects of a particular environment, and the free will or choice of an individual could lead to higher changes of assault. A concurrent theorist also found that victimization risk is not random but related to the lifestyles of the victims and offenders (Fisher & Sloan, 2013).

These ideas apply to college campuses because students are increasingly prone to lifestyles and environments where drugs and alcohol (i.e. partying) are present. According to a 2012 study, 40% of college students ages 18-24 binge drink five or more units of alcohol on more than one occasion in the previous 30 days (Gordon, 2013). It was also found that college students will start in a group, but over the course of the night those groups dissolve. Lastly, parties incur populations of students that do not all know each other; this leads to people who cannot effectively protect themselves or their friends.

Armstrong, Hamilton, and Sweeney (2006) also conducted a study at a large Midwestern university, researchers observed an all women’s floor in an on-campus residence hall. This particular floor was commonly known as being a “party dorm.” Although the study notes that the parties themselves did not take place on the floor, the floor was known for people who involved themselves in the party scene, particularly at fraternity houses. Their methods of study were to interview residents of the floor individually and in groups. The researchers also observed resident behavior, and examined public records from the university for a period of nine months.

They were able to conclude, “Partying produces fun as well as sexual assault” and that “heavy alcohol use is associated with sexual assault.”

The literature focuses on Greek life as a lifestyle and environment that can lead to increased sexual assault. Two studies in 2007 and 2009 published in the NASOA Journal suggest that men in fraternities are more inclined to commit acts of sexual assault than compared to non-fraternity men (Carone, 2014). Another study found that sorority women who spend more of their time in fraternity houses are at an increased risk for assault (Stompler, 1994). According to a study in the Journal of Interpersonal Violence, fraternity brothers are three times more likely to rape a woman than non-Greeks, and according to the National Institute of Justice, there is a correlation between sorority membership and the likelihood of sexual assault. A University of Oregon study concluded that Greek women were “3.4 times as likely to suffer rape or attempted rape than their non-Greek counterparts” (Keaveny, 2016). The study acknowledged that sexual assault is not solely a Greek issue; it is clear throughout the literature that Greek life is a significant factor in “perpetuating sexual violence on campus.” Despite these findings, Greek life is often intensely defended.

Many believe that the sexual assault numbers can also be attributed to large sport programs. Specifically, football culture produces an atmosphere that creates a wild culture among both athletes and the student body. In an article assessing male football players, the author described the “big man on campus” effect and the feeling of invincibility exhibited. These feelings were observed lead to poor behavior (Melnick, 1992). In 2014, a story broke about Jamies Winston, a former Florida State football player, accused of a sexual assault that allegedly occurred in 2012. Not only was Winston being accused, but Florida State was sued on allegations that they didn’t enforce their own policies and procedures, which led them to protect

their “star quarterback,” recently drafted first overall in the National Football League (Kingkade, 2015). An article by Tim Murphy, cites over 25 universities that have been investigated for sexual assaults over the past four decades involving players, and detailed the culture that resulted from these instances (Murphy, 2015).

The literature falls short because a study does not exist that encompasses a broad range of schools, and the variables that have shown to lead to higher sexual assault rates. Campus crime rates and student victimization studies are often “based on a convenience sample at a single or limited number of schools” (Fisher & Sloan, 2013). In this paper, I go beyond the literature and previous studies with a systematic assessment of these variables, and attempt to explain the variation in the rate of sexual assault at 150 IHEs.

Student Activism and Policy

Institutional policy sets a tone, but recognition and integration by the student body reflects as campus culture. The first step in changing campus policy is getting the student body, and more importantly the administration to acknowledge that a problem exists. After a problem is recognized you can begin to address it through policy changes. Toward the end of the 1990s, journalist reports and activist movements convinced the public that violence on campuses threatened the safety and security of all students, and in turn threatened the perceived notion of the “ivory tower” (Sloan & Fisher, 2010). Fisher and Sloan (2010) described activism efforts as “expediting” the process of bringing light to campus violence, identifying new offenders and victims, and institutionalizing a new social problem. In response, policies were changed to outline specifics, for sexual misconduct policies and the student conduct process. After a

problem is recognized, and a perceived problem is addressed by the administration, there is an element of the student body that must consciously acknowledge the policy. IHEs and the student body have held events and started campaigns to raise awareness for this issue. It is now common knowledge that sexual assault persists on college campuses across the country. Despite these efforts, sexual assault on college campuses is still a problem. Many students and administrators have recognized that there is a problem in how many IHEs across the country defines consent standards.

There is a Latin phrase in customary international law, "*opinio juris*," which means "an opinion of law or necessity" ("Opinio Juris (international Law)," n.d.). Simply put, after a law or treaty is signed the countries must have a feeling of legal obligation to behave according to the outline of the law. The same concept applies to the relationship of policy and student body. Policy dictates conduct, but it is up to the students to reflect that in their behavior (e.g. culture). But what if that relationship is reversed, and the student body advocates for a policy change? This is the current situation involving how IHEs define consent standards within their policy. Many believe that the next step in combatting rape culture is by creating a consent culture. Consent is defined within IHE policy, and getting changes implemented can be a slow process; efforts to counter institutional inaction has been seen when students respond with activism.

Changes to policy have come as the result of pressure from the federal government and activists (Mangan, 2015). According to a 2015 survey of over 140,000 full-time students, college freshmen are more interested in political engagement and activism than in the past (Wong, 2015). According to Harold Levy, former chancellor of NY public schools, "There's a renaissance of political activism going on, and it exists on every major campus." Campus sexual assault is among the main causes supported by student activism. During the Fall 2014 semester,

there were over 160 observed student protests across the United States, the first being the mattress carrying demonstrations at Columbia University. Of those 160 protests their focuses were evenly split between the topics of sexual assault and student rights.

The literature concerning the topic of student activism highlighted two distinct periods of time where student activism was most prevalent. The two periods of time were the 1960s and 1990s. When studying at the 1990s, Rhoads used a case study approach to isolate five institutions that all had exhibited newsworthy displays of student activism (Rhodes, 2000). Rhoads approach was to gain the perspective of the students. The study was unique since faculty and administrators were typically responsible for responding to student activism efforts. Rather than approaching the case study from this angle, Rhodes decided to detail student accounts from an “activism-centered” perspective. By applying a similar approach to my qualitative study, I intend to study student activism at IHEs from the student perspective. My approach will include all aspects of student life and a student’s ability to convey a message.

Interest groups have also been observed to be a prevalent force for change on college campuses. Interest groups are the continuing foundation for activism efforts. The first interest group relating to the topic of sexual assault was Security on Campus Inc., founded in 1988 by Howard and Connie Clery, parents of Jeanne Clery (Fisher & Sloan, 2013). Security on Campus was described as “the driving force” working toward safer college campuses, with more at least six federal laws being attributed to their efforts.

In April 2013, the interest group Students Active For Ending Rape (SAFER) produced a national study of student anti-rape activists titled “Moving Beyond Blue Lights and Buddy Systems” (“Moving Beyond Blue Lights and Buddy Systems: A National Study of Student Anti-Rape Activists,” 2013). SAFER is a group that prides itself on “empowering student-led

campaigns to reform college sexual assault policy.” SAFER sent a nationwide survey and received 511 responses. The survey explored how students assessed their university efforts in combating sexual assault. Of the respondents, over one third believed that a “comprehensive, clear sexual assault policy” is one of the most effective ways to end sexual assault on campus. The survey also asked respondents to grade their school’s efforts to address campus sexual violence. Half of respondents gave their university a “C” or lower grade, and another 40% gave their university a “B”. The results showed that student activists believe strong policy is a necessity, and universities are not meeting this need.

The National Institute of Justice assessed a sample of almost 2,500 IHEs to determine the extent of their actions in preventing sexual assault on campus (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2003). Their methods included a survey of campus administrators, content analysis of policy, and onsite examination. They found that eight IHEs had what they determined to be “promising practices.” This study was the impetus for the qualitative analysis included in this thesis. Within the “promising practices” is policy that includes clearly defined consent standards. I will take this assessment a step further, looking at the effect of student activism and student interest groups on the adoption of an affirmative consent policy.

Chapter 3

Theory

Theory and Hypotheses: Variation in Sexual Assault Rates

The literature clearly illustrates variation in total reported sexual assaults and rates of sexual assault across IHEs. Distinguishing characteristics of IHEs, such as size and sector (e.g. public or private), emerge as obvious variables that would explain variation. IHEs with higher enrollment have more students, and for every additional student is the additional potential for higher numbers of sexual assault. When you delve deeper, the literature closely examines campus culture, specifically Greek life, football culture, and party culture as variables to consider. While suggestive, these studies do not fully observe the variation since they limit analysis to either a single variable or specific institutions. The literature has identified these variables as indicators of higher rates of sexual assault, but never combined them for a comparison of campus culture. To date, no one has compiled, measured, and compared these variables indicative of collegiate culture across a large set of IHEs. My theories are responsive to what the literature has highlighted to date, but expands the scope to include more variables and more IHEs.

My first hypothesis involves Greek life, specifically fraternity culture. Studies found that men in fraternities are more inclined to commit acts of sexual assault when compared to non-fraternity men (Carone, 2014). Researchers have extended their efforts to investigate the effects of Greek life by living among college students. Their observations presented firsthand accounts of sexual assault occurring at fraternity houses, and the effects of fraternity culture (Valenti, 2014). But what exactly is “fraternity culture”? Some say it is “steeped in elitism, exclusivity,

and... privilege” lending to “the ideal of the college man, who asserted his autonomy against the institution itself by organizing outside of it” (Read, 2014). Fraternity culture varies across IHEs in the United States. Some universities have reported over 75% of the male population as members of fraternities, others do not have any fraternities at all ("National University | Rankings | Data | US News," 2014). This variation crafts my first hypothesis: IHEs with a higher percentage of men in fraternities will have higher reported rates of sexual assault compared to those with lower percentages of men in fraternities. In testing this hypothesis, it will be necessary to control for enrollment. Data collection will include the percentage of men, rather the total individuals or total number of fraternity houses. The percentage of men who engage in fraternity life will be indicative of the fraternity culture at a particular IHE. The percentage of women in a sorority will be collected as a control. These data have the potential to create a combined variable, accounting for the percentage of total Greek life. This will allow the analysis to fairly address each individual facet of the Greek community and the community as a whole, if needed.

The second hypothesis advanced by the literature addresses football culture. In an analysis of over two decades of FBI data, researchers found a “strong link” between football games and an increase in reported sex offenses (Paquette, 2015). Home games led to a 41 percent increase and 15 percent increase during away games. The findings also indicated an increase in reported assaults when comparing football game days to the rest of the week. Others have used the term “jock culture” to discuss when college football players are accused of sex offenses (Zirin, 2013). My theory extends beyond game day and the team itself; it addresses the overall campus culture as a result of the football program. My approach in testing this theory will combine these contributing factors into variables that identify varying levels in football culture. My hypothesis is: IHEs with Division 1 football programs will have higher rates of reported

sexual assault compared to IHEs without Division 1 football programs. I will also take my hypothesis a step further. Not only will I identify programs having Division 1 football programs, but I will further categorize into applicable conferences. As I try and examine football culture I have to address varying levels of that culture. Larger and prominent programs with rich tradition will have extensive football culture. The best football programs can be found in The Power 5 Conferences (McMurphy, 2014). These conferences include the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Big Ten Conference (B1G), Big 12 Conference (Big 12), PAC-12 Conference (PAC 12), and Southeastern Conference (SEC). These various levels of football culture will be able to be compared. I will test to see if there is increasing significance in the relationship of Division 1 programs, Power Five conferences, and reported sexual assault rates.

The last hypothesis involves college partying. It is commonly accepted that partying is central to college culture. Over half of the reported sexual assaults occur when the victim describes being incapacitated by alcohol or drugs while at a party (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2009). A poll of college students found that two thirds of victims say they had been drinking alcohol prior to their assaults. One researcher concluded, “It is the partying culture that enables and encourages and perhaps tacitly sanctions sexual assault” (Gross, 2016). A Washington Post-Kaiser Family Foundation poll found “new evidence of a link between intoxication and sexual assault” (Brown, Hendrix & Svrluga, 2015). The poll also found that many respondents admitted to being unable to articulate consent properly due to alcohol consumption. The drinking and partying commonly found on college campuses forms my final hypothesis: IHEs ranked as “party schools” will have higher reported rates of sexual assault compared to IHEs not ranked as “party schools.” This hypothesis builds upon the literature by looking not at the prevalence of partying or drinking, but looking at partying as a part of campus

culture. This hypothesis isolates the notoriety attached to partying and presents it as campus culture. This variable will be similar to the previous variables as indicators that are indicative of the campus culture. There has not been an attempt to compare party schools to non-party schools across a large set of IHEs using this approach. This hypothesis will be tested by compiling party school rankings to find IHEs that are consistently ranked as “party schools.”

Analyzing variables indicative of culture across a large set of IHEs is a test not found in previous literature. At the heart of these variables is campus culture. Findings derived from these hypotheses will show how different campus culture can impact rates of sexual assault.

Theory and Hypotheses: Affirmative Consent Policy Adoption

The investigation into varying levels of reported college sexual assault rates cannot be seen by only examining characteristics of the student body. Variation is also present on an administrative level, found within the sexual assault policy at a given IHE. Sexual assault policy differs from policy regarding other violent crimes because consent is at issue. Obtaining the consent of your partner is the difference between a consensual encounter and sexual assault. As mentioned, there are two primary standards for consent: implicit and affirmative. In the past, implicit consent has been standard at almost all IHEs across the country. Recently, there has been a significant shift of over 800 IHEs updating and/or revising their policy to include an affirmative consent standard (The NCHERM Group, LLC, 2014). Despite hundreds of IHEs making affirmative consent their standard, many still include implicit consent in their policy. How an IHE defines consent sets a tone in campus culture by establishing the threshold one

needs to obtain consent. Well defined affirmative consent standards makes obtaining consent clearer to the person trying to obtain it, and also aids the disciplinary student conduct process.

Different definitions of consent have not been addressed in the literature. The gap in the literature yields an opportune moment to examine why some IHEs changing their policy, and why others are not. Policy implementation is both precautionary and reactionary to recognized situations and acknowledged problems persisting on campus. In order to update policy, administration needs to recognize the need for an update. About one third of college and university presidents acknowledge the prevalence of college sexual assault as a nationwide problem; only six percent acknowledge it as a problem at their institution (Kimmel, 2015). If roughly 94 percent of university presidents do not see sexual assault as a problem on their campus, it is highly unlikely any policy changes will be made. As mentioned previously, campus sexual assault is among the main causes supported by students.

When administrators fail to recognize a problem, or fail to act, students can. Students have the ability to address problems they see on their campus. Another variable indicative of campus culture is student activism. Through my research I tried to uncover an explanation as to why some institutions change their policy and others do not. The literature on this topic is relatively new, and does not specifically study the affirmative consent movement. These drawbacks allowed me freedom to investigate any variables I observed to be prevalent in the literature. While researching this topic, student activism and the work of student interest groups were often mentioned, which established my impetus for research. It became clear that student activism and student interest groups may play some role.

I define student activism to be the actions, protests, and demonstrations by individuals and groups of individuals with the aim of changing sexual assault policy. Student interest groups

are defined similarly but differ by acting in the official capacity of an established group. That interest group must have the clearly stated goal of changing sexual assault policy. Additional variables were outlined in efforts to accurately encompass both of these ideas. One of these variables is the student newspaper. Student newspapers and other campus related media are the source of news for students by students. The stories written reflect the interests of the student body. Reporting on student activism efforts, specifically covering consent policy change would be indicative of college culture, and were included as student activism. Another variable is a student government. Student governments or councils can be an advocacy or interest group representing student voices. The influence and involvement of these groups vary across IHEs. Student government were included if they empower and support other interest groups specific to the topic of sexual assault. Student governments were also included if the initiatives they choose to work on reflect these specific issues.

These variables lead to my hypothesis regarding policy change: IHEs that have student activism specific to sexual assault policy change will be more likely to adopt affirmative consent standards as opposed to IHEs that do not display student activism. Also, IHEs that have student interests groups working specifically for sexual assault policy change will be more likely to adopt affirmative consent standards as opposed to IHEs that do not have student interests groups working toward policy change. Both student activism and student interest groups capture another element of campus culture.

Chapter 4

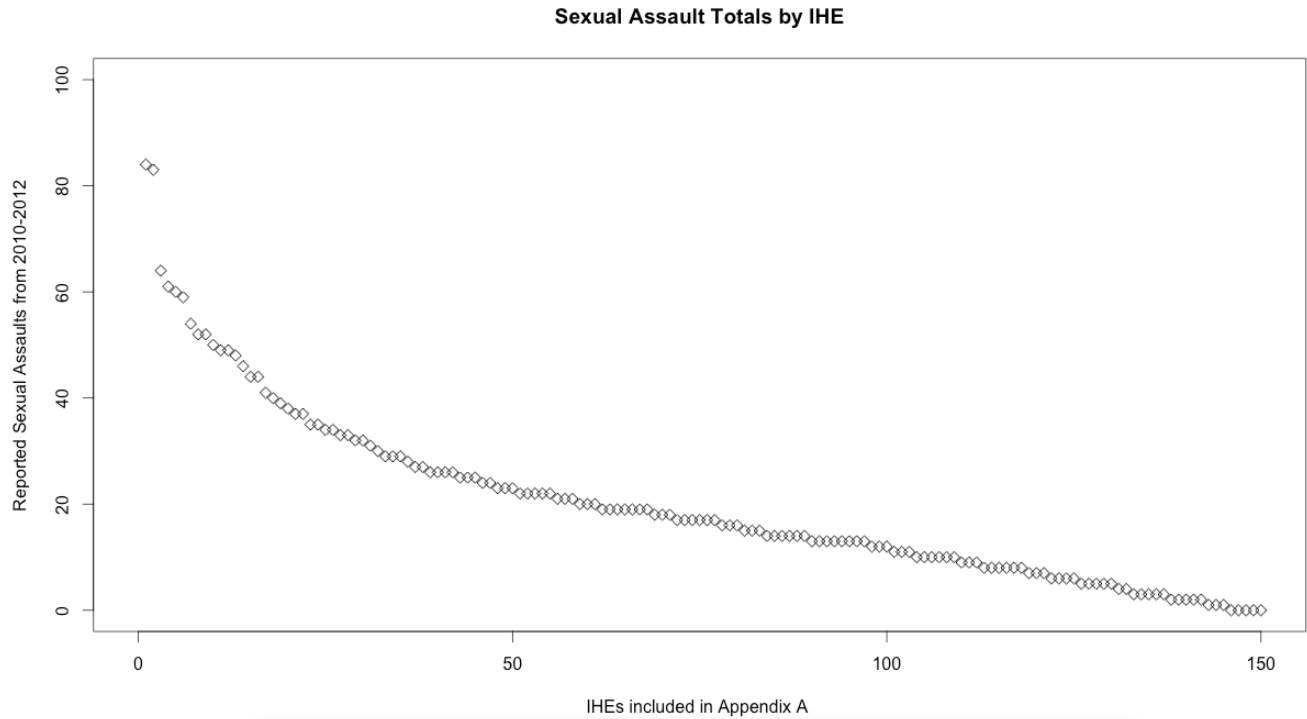
Data and Methodology

Data and Methods for Quantitative Study

In order to test the proposed hypotheses, I needed to collect data about IHEs. I created a dataset of the top 150 schools, as ranked by the U.S. News and World Report ("National University | Rankings | Data | US News," 2014). After selecting the IHEs, I found corresponding crime statistics and reports of sexual assault. These data were accessible since IHEs are mandated to report these instances, according to the *Cleary Act*. The Washington Post had consolidated reports produced by the U.S. Department of Education and published these data (Anderson, 2014). The U.S. Department of Education reports accounted for instances reported directly to the IHE, related security services, and local law enforcement agencies. All four-year colleges and universities with at least 1,000 students were accounted for, and IHEs with multiple campuses were individually recorded. The table produced as a result had several different ways it recorded alleged reported sex offenses. The first measure was a rate, which calculated the rate of reported alleged sex offenses per 1,000 students. Also, the table reported sex offense totals by year, from 2010 to 2012. In the development of my analysis I considered these two dependent variables, and I made the decision to only use the rate per 1,000 students, because it controls for varying levels of enrollment, which was essential for the most accurate regression analysis.

To show the variation across the top 150 IHEs, I created two graphs. Figure 1, shows the total reported alleged sexual offenses from 2010 to 2012 across the top 150 IHEs.

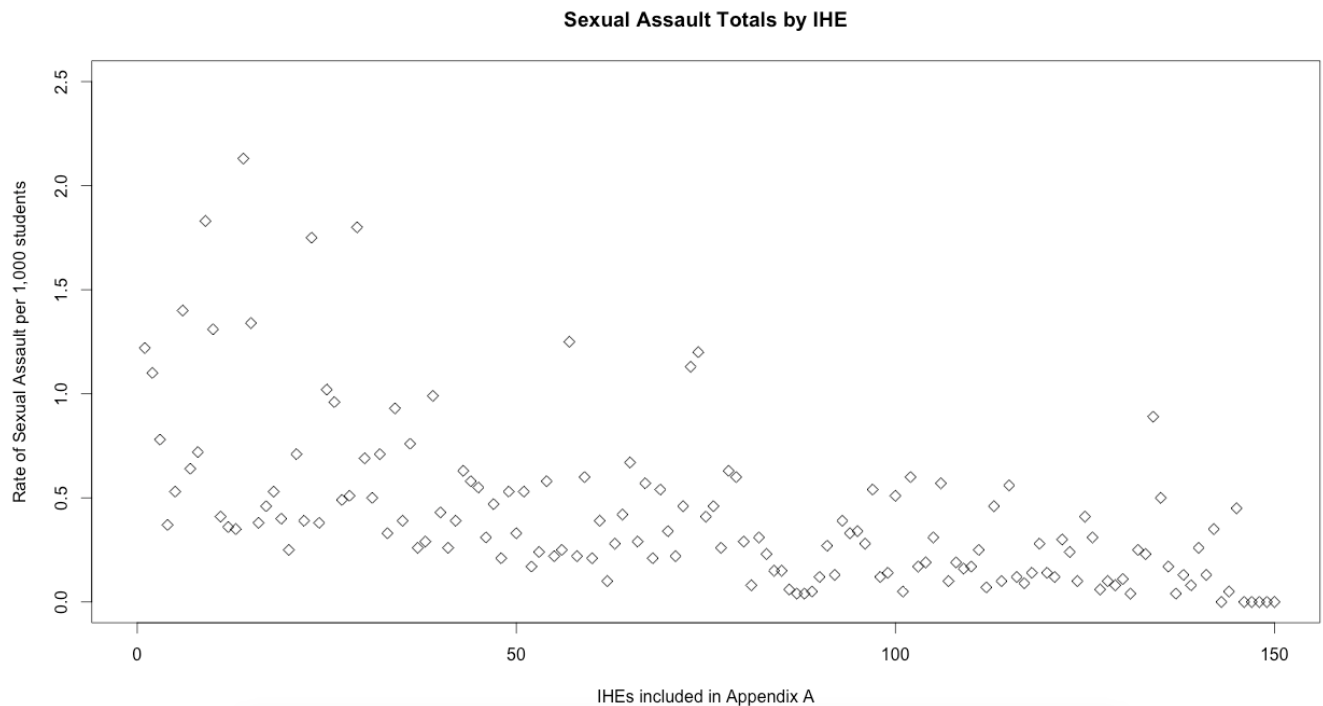
Figure 1: Total Reported Sexual Assaults at Top 150 IHEs



IHEs and the reported alleged sex offense totals from 2010 to 2012 are listed in Figure 1 and are reflected in Appendix A. Each plot on this graph indicates a different IHE. The figure above and Appendix A list each IHE in order from 1-150. The number in Appendix A corresponds to the number on the x-axis in the Figure 1. IHEs are listed starting with the maximum amount of reported sexual assaults and decreases as you increase across the x-axis. In this instance, the IHE listed as “x = 1” on the x-axis has the highest amount of reported sex offenses. The total number of IHEs observed (sample size) in Figure 1 equals 150. The minimum amount of reported sexual assaults is 0, the mean equals 20.25, and the maximum amount equals 84.0. The standard deviation equals 16.35.

The dependent variable that is included in my analysis is shown in the scatterplot below, Figure 2. This graph shows the variation in the rate of reported alleged sex offenses per 1,000 students at the top 150 IHEs.

Figure 2: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students at Top 150 IHEs



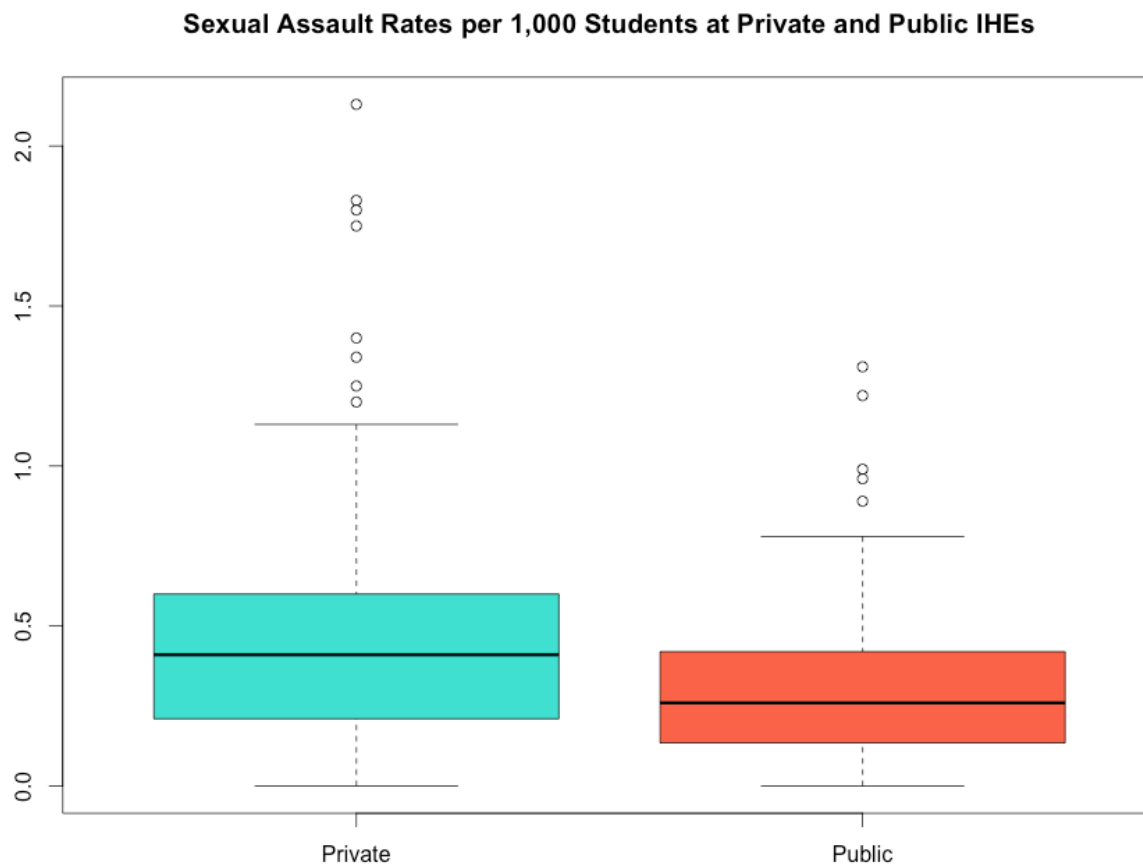
The IHEs listed in Figure 2 are reflected in Appendix A. IHEs are listed in Appendix A and on the x-axis in the same manner as listed in Figure 1. However, it is important to note that the rate per 1,000 students is not in descending order. The exact values of the rates are listed in Appendix A. The sample size in Figure 2 also equals 150. The minimum amount of reported sexual assault rates per 1,000 students equals 0, the mean equals 0.42, the maximum equals 2.13, and the standard deviation is equal to 0.39.

Based off my proposed hypotheses I collected six independent variables: sector (Public or Private), top ranked party schools, IHEs with Division 1 football programs, Power 5 football conferences, the percentage of men in a fraternity, and the percentage of women in a sorority. The data collection and coding efforts allowed me to present descriptive statistics that summarize and show the comparison between the dependent variable and each individual independent variable.

The first relationship explored was the *Sector* variable. *Sector* differentiates between public and private non-profit IHEs. Public schools were assigned a “1” and private non-profit institutions were assigned “0” to creating a bivariate variable. The relationship between the dependent variables and sector is best shown using boxplots.

Figure 3 compares the relationship between the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students at public and private non-profit IHEs. Figure 3 has a sample size of 150 IHEs. Of those 150 IHEs 79 are public, and 71 are private non-profit. The graph shows that private non-profit schools have higher rates of reported sexual assault. This becomes apparent when comparing their respective means. The average rate of sexual assault at public schools equals 0.33, and at private schools the rate equals 0.52. The standard deviation for this variable equals 0.47.

Figure 3: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students at Public and Private IHEs

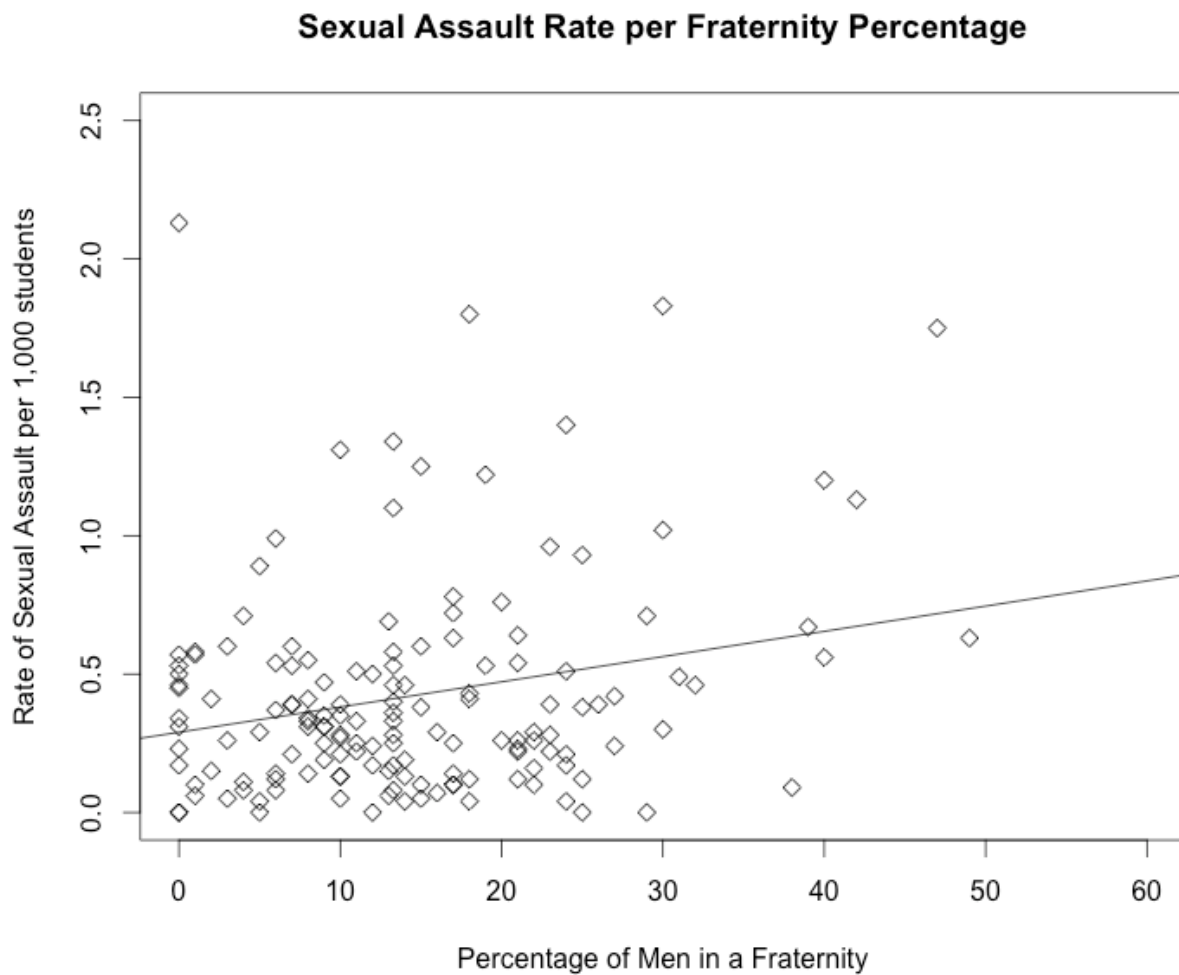


In order to create Greek culture variables the percentages of both men in a fraternity and women in a sorority were collected. With the exception of a few schools, the U.S. News and World report was able to provide data for all 150 IHEs ("National University | Rankings | Data | US News," 2014). In the 12 instances where there was missing data, the mean percentage of that category (public or private) was inputted for the missing values. This variable provided the ability to assess the relationship between the percentage of individuals in Greek life and the

number and rate of sexual assaults. These data can be best described with a scatterplot including a line of best fit. Two graphs were able created to describe the data.

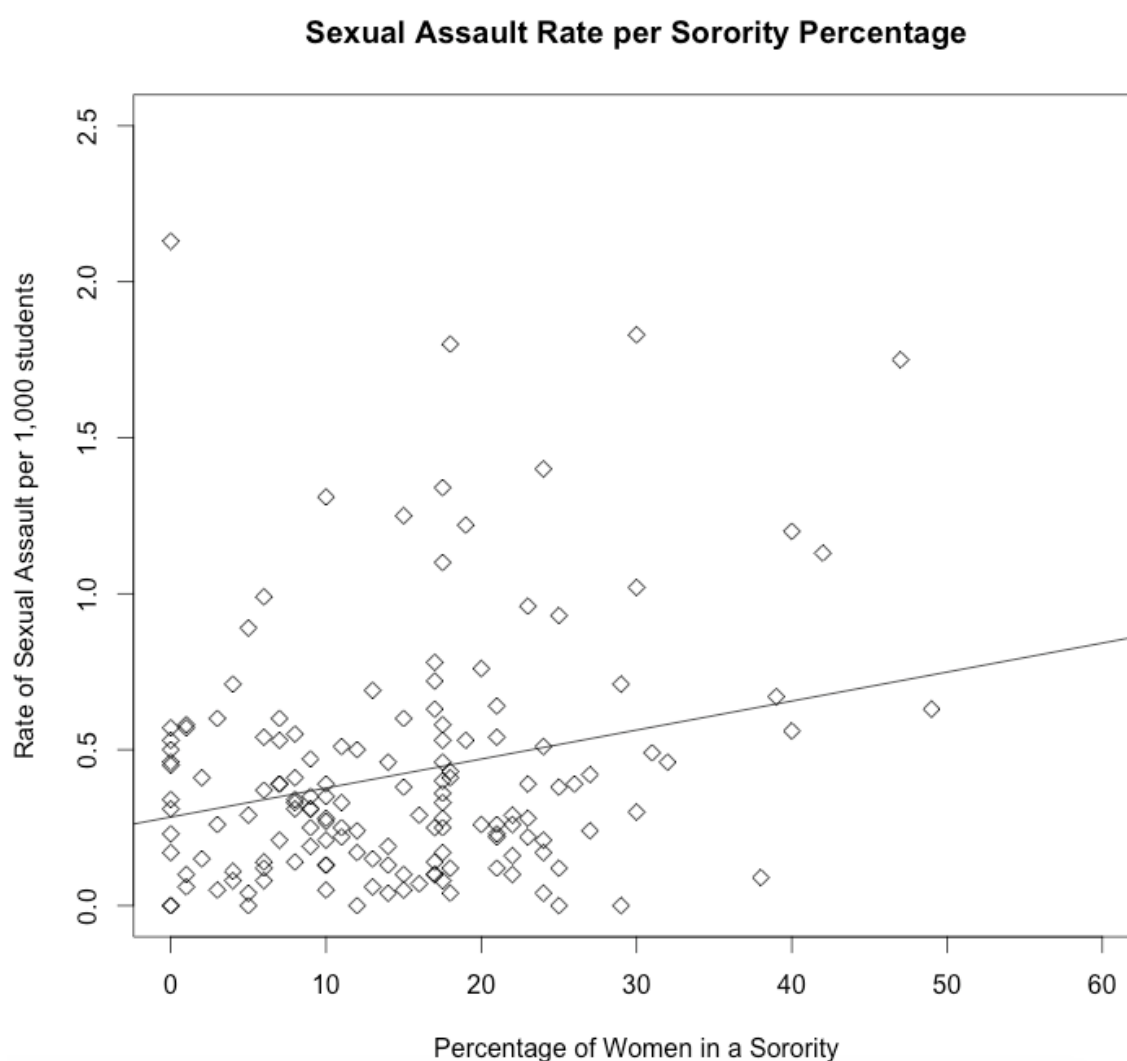
Figure 4 shows the relationship between the percentage of men in a fraternity and the relationship between the percentage of men in a fraternity and the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. The minimum amount of men in a fraternity was 0%, the maximum was 49%, and the mean is equal to 14.43%. The standard deviation is equal to 10.65%.

Figure 4: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students by Percentage of Men in a Fraternity



A similar graph was created for percentage of women in a sorority. Figure 5 shows the relationship between the percentage of women in a sorority and the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. The minimum amount was 0%, the maximum was equal to 49%, and the mean percentage of women in a sorority equaled 14.77%. The standard deviation is equal to 10.25%.

Figure 5: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students by Percentage of Women in a Sorority



After creating these graphs I noticed that both looked very similar to their counterpart. I compared the correlation coefficient between the two variables and created a scatterplot to show the relationship. Figure 6 shows the relationship between the percentage of fraternity men and percentage of sorority women.

Figure 6: Correlation between Fraternity and Sorority Variables

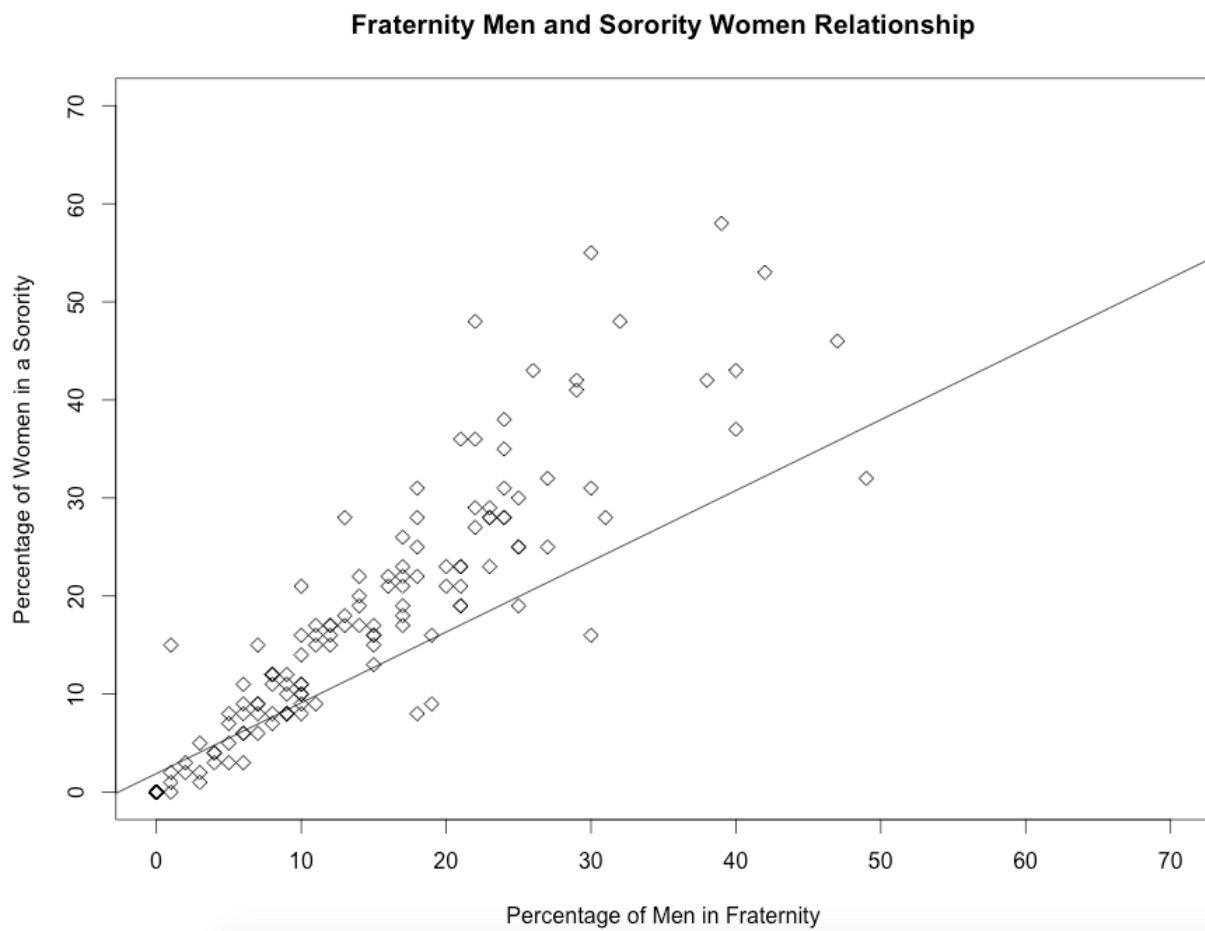
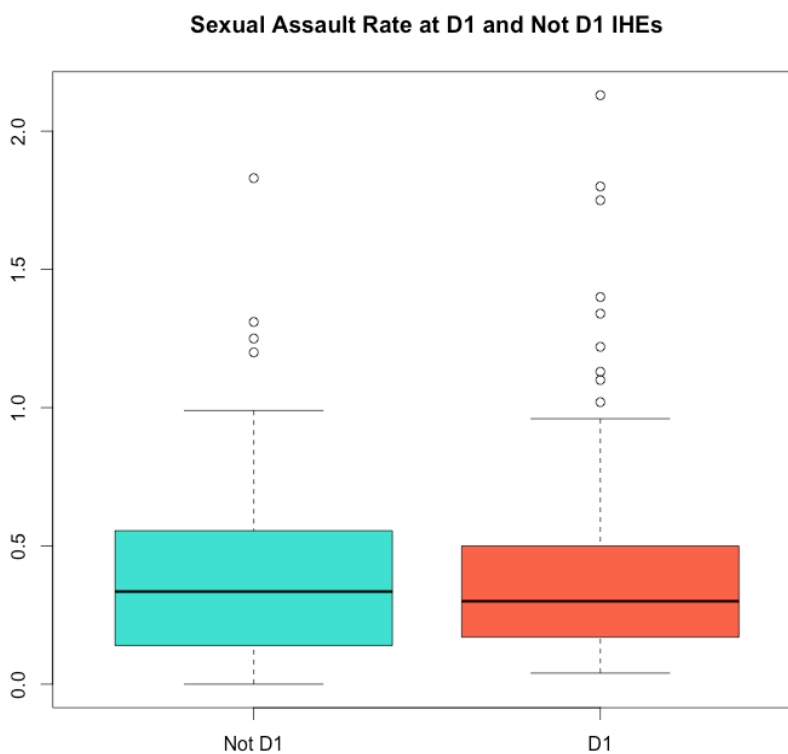


Figure 6 shows overlap with both variables. The line of best fit also indicated that each variable had similar measures. The correlation coefficient was equal to 0.98, which indicated that they are both measuring the same amount of variation in the data. This provided direction that further analysis should only include one of these variables.

Division 1 football institutions were easily identified by searching the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) website ("College Football Standings (FBS)," 2015). IHEs with Division 1 football programs were coded by assigning "1" to schools with a D1 program and "0" to those without. A boxplot was created to show the relationship between institutions with and without D1 programs, and the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students.

Figure 7 shows this relationship, between institutions with and without D1 programs and the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. Of the 150 IHEs included the dataset 78 have Division 1 football programs, and 72 do not. The mean rate at Division 1 IHEs is equal to 0.44, and the mean rate at IHEs without D1 programs is equal to 0.41.

Figure 7: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students at D1 and Non-D1 IHEs



After looking at the relationships using the Division 1 variable I delved deeper into the variable itself and identified D1 programs that were in a Power 5 conference. I then compared only IHEs that were members of a Power 5 football conference to those that are not. The idea behind looking at different conferences attempts to uncover if prestigious programs, those in Power 5 conferences such as the SEC and the Big Ten, have higher rates than those lesser prominent programs. There are a total of 65 Power 5 conference schools. Of the 65 programs, 58 were in the dataset, which left a remainder of 92 IHEs not in a Power 5 conference.

Figure 8: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students at Power 5 and Non-Power 5 IHEs

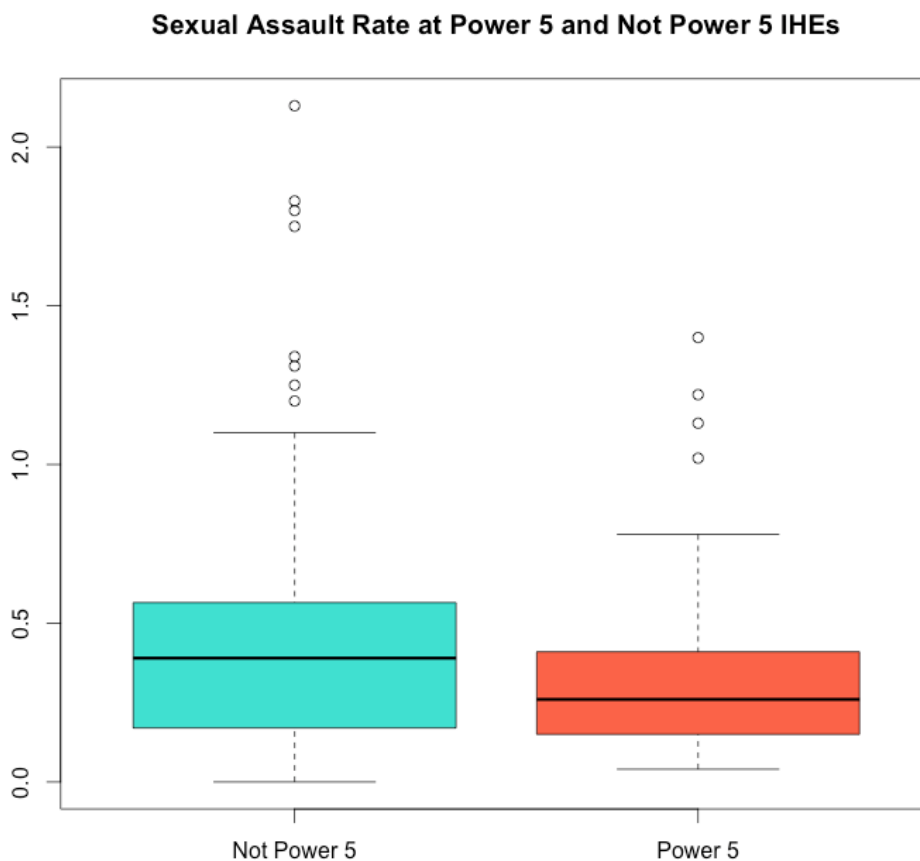
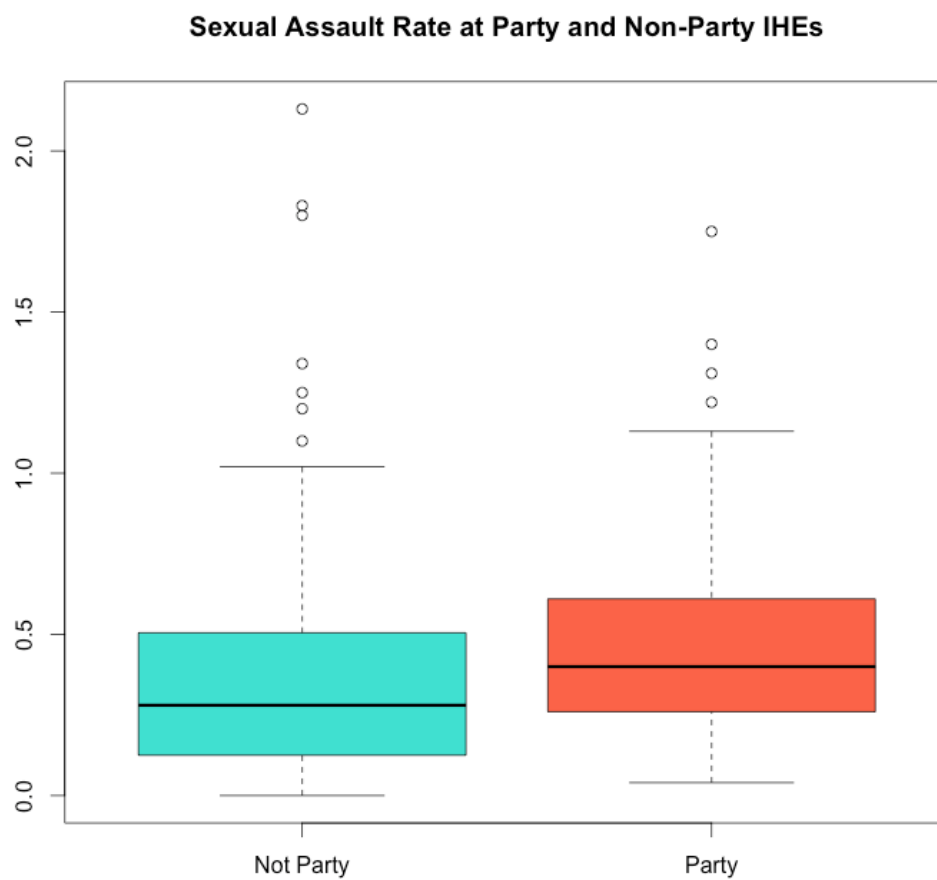


Figure 8 shows the relationship when you compare the rate of reported sexual assaults per 1,000 students at Power 5 football schools to the rate at schools that are not in a Power 5 conference. The average rate for those in a Power 5 conference is 0.35, and non-Power 5 conference IHEs had an average of 0.45, per 1,000 students. This graph shows surprising results; based off of theories regarding football culture I expected the rate at Power 5 Conference schools to be higher than those not in a Power 5 Conference. The data and the graph clearly show that this is not the case.

The last cultural variable I collected was party culture. In order to assess the party culture at colleges and universities data collection included various ranking systems. There were a plethora of sources that rank top party schools; these sources include *The Princeton Review*, *Playboy*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report*. All of these sources have different ways they code and identify ranked party schools. Also, I found that these sources limit their list to their top 25 schools. To get a broader look at more IHEs, data was retrieved from *BroBible*. The reason this source list was chosen was because they have a coding system of their own that includes the other sources, and analyzes them to produce their own unique “Party School Index” (Staff, 2013). The index ranked the top 50 party schools. Of the 50 ranked party schools 43 were found in the dataset. Out of the 150 IHEs in the dataset, 43 are ranked party schools and 107 are not. These findings were coded by applying a “1” to ranked top party schools, and a “0” to unranked schools. Describing these variables this way can be best illustrated by creating boxplots.

The first boxplot shows the relationship between party and non-party schools when compared to sexual assault rates per 1,000 students. The average rate for ranked party schools equals 0.52. The average rate for IHEs not ranked as 0.38.

Figure 9: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students at Party and Non-Party IHEs



Data and Methods for Qualitative Study

Variation in codifying affirmative consent standards can also be observed on an institutional level. The process of adopting affirmative consent standards has occurred at IHEs within the past few years. I was unable to include policy change as a variable in the quantitative study because it is difficult to target exactly when policy changed in relation to the year the rate of sexual assault was recorded. This meant that I might end up using 2015 data for a rate calculated in 2012. Moreover, I rely upon affirmative consent reports that code consent policy across IHEs. These reports did not have data for all 150 IHEs included in my quantitative analysis. It was clear a case study approach fit best in order to describe and explain causes of policy change.

The dependent variable for this study is whether an IHE has an affirmative consent policy, and my unit of analysis is IHEs. My analysis will be addressing specifically what potential factors lead to IHEs updating or revising their sexual assault policy to include an affirmative consent standard. Based off the theory and hypotheses regarding this research two independent variables were identified: student activism and student interest groups.

The method I used to select specific IHEs to study had to be carefully designed to ensure the study accurately allowed me to test my hypotheses. Eight schools were selected using the Carnegie Classification System, which categorizes institutional diversity in U.S higher education (“Carnegie Classification”). The classification system is comprised of seven large categories with several sub-categories. These categories range from Doctoral Universities to Tribal Colleges. This study uses selected IHEs from within three of those categories. The categories selected from were: Doctoral Universities, and Baccalaureate Colleges. Doctoral Universities “include institutions that have at least 20 research or scholarship doctoral degrees.” This category

also contains three sub sections: R1 (Highest research activity), R2 Doctoral Universities (Higher research activity), R3 (Moderate research activity). Lastly, Baccalaureate Colleges “include institutions where baccalaureate of higher degrees represent at least 50 percent of all degrees but where fewer than 50 master’s degrees and 20 doctoral degrees were awarded.” This section has two sub sections: Arts and Sciences focus and Diverse Fields.

With these categories selected there needed to be IHEs with and without affirmative consent standards codified in policy. To find the type of consent policy in place at each IHE, I consulted The Affirmative Consent Project (The AC Project), a non-profit organization dedicated to the topic of affirmative consent ("Affirmative Consent / Yes Means Yes," 2011). The AC Project has been tracking the progression of affirmative consent policy and its implementation at institutions. The AC project has their own methodology that assessed varying levels of sexual assault policy. They include five categories that specifically describe the varying levels of consent. These categories create a range that span from “No Affirmative Consent Policy” to “Affirmative Consent Policy;” included in this range is: No Affirmative Consent Policy, Reference to Consent, Reference to Effective Consent, Strong Consent Policy, and Affirmative Consent Policy.

When choosing IHEs, I created two categories using the AC Project definitions. The first, containing IHEs from the “No Affirmative Consent” and “Reference to Consent” groups, and the other including IHEs in the “Strong Consent Policy” and “Affirmative Consent Policy” groups.

An IHE with No Affirmative Consent:

“ ... does not provide a definition, or does not mention at all consent within its sexual misconduct policy”

An IHE with Reference to Consent:

“... references consent, or informed consent but does not go into detail describing what the boundaries of consent are.”

Strong Consent Policy is defined as:

“... a clear and expansive policy on consent including a definition, boundaries of consent, and examples of situations. It is clear the institution made an effort to actively put in place a strong policy.”

Finally, Affirmative Consent Policy is defined as:

“... strict and clearly worded affirmative consent policy in regards to sexual consent and conduct. This includes providing definitions that conclude that consent must be actively present, continual, conscious and voluntary.”

After establishing the methods of classification, eight IHEs were selected to fit their respective categories within the Carnegie Classification. Each IHE contained in Table 1 (below) was selected after researching the varying levels of student activism and student interest groups in order to ensure sufficient variation of these independent variables in relation to the dependent variable.

Table 1: Institutions of Higher Education included in Case Study

Carnegie Classification	Institution of Higher Education	Affirmative Consent Policy?
R1	Columbia University	Yes
R1	Harvard University	No
R1	Michigan State University	Yes
R1	Florida State University	No
R2	SUNY Binghamton	Yes
R2	University of Akron	No
BA	Amherst College	Yes
BA	Swarthmore College	No

Chapter 5

Analysis

This chapter will report the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses. First, I will report the findings of my quantitative analysis using regression analysis. These tests will identify which variables of collegiate culture affect the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. I have produced a table (Table 2) that will report the results of this analysis. Then, I will turn my attention to the qualitative study, analyzed using a case study of varying IHEs. I have identified and described eight IHEs that display variation in their consent policy. The data and evidence of student activism and student interest group work will be reported, followed by identifying which IHEs have achieved policy change. The effects of student activism and interest groups on policy change will be described given the findings.

Quantitative Analysis of Collegiate Cultural Variables and Sexual Assault Rates

For this analysis, the dependent variable is the rate of reported sexual assaults per 1,000 students. This measure is the most accurate and valid representation of the dependent variable because it controls for enrollment. Four separate tests were conducted, each assessing varying independent variables. All of the results are found in Table 2. Statistically significant variables are identified using a 95% confidence interval.

Table 2: Regression Analyses Predicting Reported Sexual Assault Rates for Collegiate Culture Variables

Table 2: Regression Analyses Predicting Reported Sexual Assault Rates for Collegiate Culture Variables				
Dependent Variable: Rate of Sexual Assault per 1,000 Students				
Independent Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Party School	0.234***	0.261***	0.338***	0.234***
Division 1	-0.001			
Power 5		-0.161**		
Fraternity	0.006*	0.008**	0.006**	0.006*
Sector	-0.221***	-0.156	-0.210***	-0.221***
Party/Power 5			-0.170	
Constant	0.382***	0.372***	0.372***	0.381***
Observations	138	138	138	138
R-squared	0.151	0.180	0.163	0.151
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01				

The first model tested four variables: ranked party schools, IHEs with Division 1 football Programs, the percentage of men in fraternities, and sector, and found two variables to be statistically significant. The significant variables are *Party School* and *Sector*. These results show a very significant positive relationship for both variables. The coefficient for *Party School* is 0.23, and the *Sector* coefficient equaled -0.22. These results show that if an IHE is a ranked party school then it will have a 0.23 increase in the rate of sexual assault; and if an IHE is public it will have a 0.22 decrease in the rate of sexual assault. The percentage of men in a fraternity variable, *Fraternity*, was significant using a 90% confidence interval. The *Division 1* variable was not found to be significant according to any confidence interval. The R-squared value for this model equaled 0.15, which indicates that these predictors explain roughly 15% of the variance in the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students.

The second model also tested four independent variables but exchanged the D1 variable for the *Power 5* variable. This was set up to test if an increase in football culture has an effect on sexual assault rates. This model found all four variables to be statistically significant. The *Party School* coefficient increased from 0.23 to 0.26, showing a weak positive relationship. The *Sector* variable coefficient increased from -0.22 to -0.16, showing a weak negative relationship. The *Power 5* coefficient equaled -0.16, showing a weak negative relationship. Lastly, the *Fraternity* coefficient increased to 0.008, showing a weak positive relationship. These results show that if an IHE is a ranked party school then it will have a 0.26 increase in rate of sexual assault, if an IHE's sector is public it will have a 0.16 decrease, and if an IHE is a Power 5 Conference school there is a 0.16 decrease in the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. The results of the fraternity variable indicate if there is a 1-percentage point increase in men in fraternities there is a 0.008 increase in rate. This can also be viewed as if there is a 10% increase in men in a

fraternity then there is a 0.08 increase in the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. The R-squared value increased to 0.18, indicating that this set of predictors explains about 18% of the variance in the rate of sexual assaults per 1,000 students.

The third model also tested four independent variables, but exchanged the *Power 5* variable for an interaction variable that includes the *Party School* variable and the *Power 5* variable. This variable was created after seeing the results of the second model, to assess if there is any interaction between the two variables. The coefficient of the *Party School* variable increased from 0.26 in Model 2, to 0.34 in Model 3, which now shows a moderate positive relationship. The *Sector* variable decreased from -0.16 in Model 2, to -0.21 in Model 3, continuing to show a weak negative relationship. These results indicate that if an IHE is a ranked party school then it will have a 0.34 increase in the rate of sexual assault, and if an IHE's sector is public, it will have a 0.21 decrease in the rate of sexual assault. The R-squared value equaled 0.16, indicating that the variables included in Model 3 explain 16% of the variance in the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students.

The fourth and final model tested three independent variables. This model removed the interaction variable. The fourth model is identical to the first model except it does not include the *Division 1* variable. Consequentially, the results were almost identical to the first model. Model 4 found two variables to be statistically significant. The significant variables were *Party School* and *Sector*. The *Party* variable had a coefficient equal to 0.23, and the coefficient of *Sector* was equal to -0.22. These results show that if an IHE is a ranked party school then it will have a 0.23 increase in the rate of sexual assault, and if an IHE's sector is public it will have a 0.22 decrease in the rate of sexual assault per 1,000 students. The *Fraternity* variable was found to be significant if using a 90% confidence interval. The *Division 1* variable was not found to be

significant. The R-squared value equaled 0.15, which indicated that these predictors explain 15% of the variance in the rate of sexual assaults per 1,000 students.

From the results contained in the models there were several surprising results. The most surprising came when the *Power 5* Conference variable was introduced in the second Model. When the *Power 5* variable was added, it had a great effect on the rest of the variables. The values of the *Party School*, *Sector*, and *Fraternity* variables increased. These results were surprising because I expected to see *Power 5* having a positive relationship, but instead I saw the opposite relationship. I cannot explain why this is the case and it is a new finding when compared to other research on the topic. These results overall lead me to conclude that party culture, fraternity culture, football culture, and the sector of the IHE you attend matter in relation to rates of sexual assault. Party culture was not surprising given the extensive literature, that all agree that partying leads to higher rates of sexual assault. What is important to realize based off of these results is that party schools have higher rates of sexual assault but that is indicative of engaging in partying. These results can be applied to any party on any campus across the nation. These findings also have implications on football culture and fraternity culture, because both include partying as a part of their culture.

The following sections will report the findings and analyses of the IHEs included in my case study. As stated, this study includes eight IHEs with varying levels of consent policy. A report of student activism and student interest group efforts at each IHE is contained within the following sections. Results will describe my expectations based off of the hypotheses contained in Chapter 3.

Student Activism

The current climate on colleges and universities nationwide has been described as “a renaissance of student activism” (Wong, 2015). One of the issues that student activists are prioritizing is sexual assault. “Student activism” is defined to include any action, demonstration, or protest, observed by an individual or group of students. Letters to the editor of opinion or editorials contained within the student newspaper or campus related media are considered, in this section, student activism. Although this section may describe efforts and events organized on behalf of a student group, only unrelated efforts of individuals are described. This section will strive to not include any acts within the official capacity of a student interest group, or student government; those observations will be described in the student interest group section.

My expectation is that IHEs that have higher levels of student activism will have a positive effect on the adoption of affirmative consent policies. I also expect that IHEs that display low levels of student activism will not effect policy change. Of the IHEs included in this case study, varying levels of student activism was observed. I categorize my findings into three levels: high, moderate, and low or no activism. Four of the IHEs observed had high levels of student activism, one displayed medium level and three had low or no activism. I was able to separate them into these categories based off of my observations and findings. It was clear the four IHEs fit into the high level of activism. These IHEs all had multiple facets of activism that specifically demanded and advocated for policy change. The IHE with moderate levels of activism showed student effort, but did not display activism efforts that were as intense as those observed at the IHEs in the high activism category. Also, another factor was that efforts included consent, but not specific action towards policy change. For example, if there is an event that “raises awareness” rather than advocating for policy change specifically, those instances are

observed but not measured to be as strong as instances specific to policy. Lastly, the IHEs that didn't show activism efforts fell naturally into the no activism category. After extensive searching of online media, student organization archives, and student newspaper archives it was determined no activism on this subject was displayed at these IHEs. Additionally, for two of the IHEs that fit into this category other displays of activism were found indicating, if there had been activism related to this topic, those data would be available.

The highest amount of student activism was at Columbia University. Over the past few years, Columbia has been one of the most newsworthy IHEs regarding the topic of sexual assault policy. In September 2014, a student activist protested by carrying her mattress around campus, everywhere she went, for an entire year (Barness, 2014). The protest progressed into the "Carry That Weight Project," igniting similar mattress carrying protests on campuses at over 130 IHEs (Nathanson, 2014). The project later spurred the creation of a nationwide day of action. In another act of protest, a group of students left 28 mattresses on the front steps of the Columbia University president's house. The number 28 signified more than simply the number of students; the number was a representation of the 28 student that filed complaints against the university. " In May 2015, the student activist carried her mattress for one final time as a student at Columbia. After being told not to carry large objects at graduation, activists helped carried her mattress across the graduation stage.

Activists also held a "Stand with Survivors" rally. At this rally, survivors of sexual assault were able to speak out, expressing frustrations with the administration and policy (Bolger, 2014). All of these protests targeted how the administration handled sexual assault cases, and advocated for sexual assault policy reform. A student described the activism as a "collection of images and ideas: mattresses, angry students, narratives of miscarriages of justice

and an uncaring administration. These demonstrations, the yearlong protests, and other efforts caught the attention of major media outlets such as the *New York Times*, *The Huffington Post*, *Rolling Stone*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, among others.

Michigan State University (MSU) also demonstrated high levels of student activism. In October 2014, roughly 30 students gathered to protest MSU administration in front of MSU's administration building (Moser, 2014). Other activists marched throughout campus displaying a "Carry the Weight" mattress protest. One of the explicitly stated goals of this protest was for MSU to re-write their sexual assault policy. During a speech, one protester said, "We need to redefine consent."

A few months later, in December 2014, students protested the MSU commencement speaker, George Will (Feldscher, 2014). Student activism mounted in response to Will's comments on the topic of sexual assault. Will had made "comments about rape that make survivors feel unsafe," and was labeled as a "rape denier" (Draplin, 2015). Protestors marched throughout campus with signs saying "MSU empowers rape apologists" and "admins protect rapists" (Feldscher, 2014). The protests introduced the need for an alternate commencement ceremony for those not wanting to attend the main graduation venue. Many in attendance for Will's commencement address turned their backs while he spoke. Others had statements such as "Title IX" and "It's On You MSU" on their graduation caps. While protesting efforts were being made inside the venue, other activism efforts continued outside; large billboards were seen that read, "MSU is failing its students" (Draplin, 2015).

Another IHE that displayed a high level of student activism is Harvard University. A referendum was placed on the University Council election ballot (Gattuso, 2012). It proposed "Harvard College should re-examine its sexual assault policies and practices" (Lee, 2012). The

referendum targeted how the university defined consent within the policy. Of the 3,066 students who voted in the Council election, 85% of them voted in favor, agreeing with the statement. In November 2015, roughly 80 students organized a called “Stand with Sexual Assault Survivors Rally for Action” rally (Delwiche, 2015). In that same month, another University Council referendum gained the necessary support to be placed on the ballot (Cunningham, 2015). This proposed referendum increased student input in Harvard’s sexual assault policy taskforce. Similar to protests at MSU, Harvard had graduation protests of their own. Students placed red tape on their mortarboards, symbolizing the bureaucratic red tape survivor’s face when attempting to report assaults (Kingkade, 2014). The overarching goal of the protest was to advocate for policy change.

Activism at Harvard is also present in op-ed articles of their student newspaper, The Harvard Crimson. In an article titled, “Dear Harvard: You Win” the anonymous author shares her story of sexual assault and experiences within the university disciplinary process (Anonymous, 2014).

The author voices disapproval for the 20-year-old policy:

“Our policy is so outdated and narrow in scope that it discourages survivors from entering an investigative process in the first place. And without such a process, Harvard will take little action against the alleged perpetrator.”

Additionally, two graduate students wrote an op-ed in the Boston Globe that said, “we believe that doing this [policy change] requires one baseline: affirmative consent” (Gerberg & Mazzola, 2014).

Amherst College also displayed high levels of student activism. Similar to Harvard, activism at Amherst was heard through the stories of survivors. In 2011, an Amherst student submitted an op-ed piece to The Amherst Student, the campus newspaper (Epifano, 2011). The

vivid description of their sexual assault story caught the attention thousands of people (Ludden, 2014). The student expressed disappointment towards the administration's actions given the policy. The student concluded the article boldly proclaiming, " 'Silence has the rusty taste of shame' There is no reason shame should be a school's policy" (Epifano, 2011). The student ended up dropping out of school but returned and engaged in student activism efforts. Another op-ed article titled, "Sexual Assault: A Co-Complaint," was published by a student that wished to remain anonymous (Anonymous, 2013). The article exposes the story of "the administration's efforts to silence and shame me." Many other opinion articles are contained in the newspaper's archive. These articles express student's voices in response to the articles mentioned, and the problems affecting their community.

In 2012, due to the articles' effects, a group of Amherst students, all of which were survivors of sexual assault, demanded meetings with Amherst administrators ("Know Your IX," n.d.), ; Lee, 2012). The group first met with the Title IX committee, a group with the power to change policy. Their goal was to share a list of demands they had for policy change. A few months later, the group met with the Board of Trustees. As a result, the president of the university scheduled a meetings were scheduled with members of the community to "discuss matters of student involvement in formulating sexual misconduct policy."

While researching SUNY Binghamton I found moderate displays of student activism. In April 2014, students marched at an event called "Take Back the Night" (Bluth, 2014). The march stressed awareness of sex crimes and the importance of consent. In addition to this event, other efforts were made by activists to address the topic of consent. In 2015, a group of students mobilized to stress the importance of bystander intervention, and organized information tables that educated students on the topic of consent (Silverstein, 2015). Their efforts included

volunteering to stand guard and help fellow student home safely. ‘This new initiative is aiming to combat sexual assault and harassment at Binghamton University by creating a culture of bystander intervention. After the policy change, Binghamton was described as “among the first SUNY campuses to comply with the new uniform sexual assault prevention and response policy” (Epstein, 2015). The student activism observed, although not as prominent as previous examples were still concentrated efforts addressing the topic of consent.

Florida State University (FSU) displayed low levels of student activism. In 2013, approximately 30 students gathered as a part of FSU’s “Rape Culture Awareness Week” (Schwartz, 2013). The goal of organizing was to “raise people’s consciousness about rape culture, which is a society that permits rape to occur through gendered socialization, victim blaming and slut shaming.” There was no mention of policy change. At first, I thought that this “Awareness Week” was an annual tradition, but I was unable to find evidence of participation in other years. The article that references the efforts does not mention prior occurrences. It is important to mention, because in 2015 a movie titled “The Haunting Ground” highlighted rape crimes and institutional cover up at FSU (“The Haunting Ground,” 2015). The movie told the story of a woman at FSU, who alleged quarterback Jameis Winston raped her, and of an institutional cover up (Yashari, 2016). The University denounced the film prompting an open letter from movie director and producer in *The Huffington Post* (Dick & Ziering, 2015). The producers of the film are not FSU students. I mention this film because I thought that I would have observed student activism in response, but I was unable to find any. I was able to find information involving protests at FSU unrelated to the topic of sexual assault. In 2015, students protested the hiring of the university president because of his political views (McGrory, 2014).

I was also unable to find sexual assault policy related student activism at Swarthmore. There has been student activism in the form of lawsuits brought against the university regarding the university's handling of sexual assault cases (Zuylen-Wood, 2014). Other complaints have been brought, alleging that Swarthmore is underreporting sexual assault. There was an op-ed article written calling for sexual assault reform, but it was written on behalf of four alumnae (Belanger, Grein, Helwa & Strout, 2013). There was student activism observed regarding other topics. In 2013, a group of activists protested a board meeting speaking out against fossil fuels (Goldenberg, 2013; Karas, 2016).

I was unable to find student activism efforts at The University of Akron relating to this topic. When searching through the archives of the student newspaper, *The Buchtelite*, I was not able to find articles qualifying as student activism. Akron did have other forms of student activism related to other issues. In 2015, roughly 100 people protested the university president for "not speaking for the faculty, alumni, or students" (Lane & Aiad-Toss, 2015). Students also protested a potential university name change (Morgan, 2015). In addition, an anonymous activist group posted a video where they use paper bags to represent and mock administrators (Kingkade, 2015).

From my observations of the eight IHEs I was able to separate observed student activism variation into three categories: high, medium, and low or no levels of activism. Columbia, MSU, and Harvard had displayed high levels of student activism. From all of the IHEs studied, Columbia University showed the highest level of student activism. Activism efforts began around 2014, and continued to intensify. In 2015, Columbia University adopted affirmative consent standards. At MSU, high levels of student activism were also observed in 2014. In 2015, MSU updated their policies to include adopted affirmative consent standards. In the case of

Harvard, there has been a high level of student activism observed since 2012, but no official change in policy specific to affirmative consent, yet. Despite the lack of change, the administration has stated intentions to “overhaul” their sexual assault policy. From these three examples of high levels of student activism there was a change in policy observed in two instances.

Moderate levels of student activism were observed at SUNY Binghamton and Amherst College. At SUNY Binghamton, students displayed a unique form of activism not seen in other cases. Their stated objective was to specifically create a new campus culture. These efforts were seen in 2014, and in 2015 their policy changed to include affirmative consent standards. Importantly, that policy change came as a result of statewide legislation. But Binghamton was recognized for being a leader in implementing the changes. At Amherst, the activism was conducted in a different, yet effective way. Activism efforts were seen in op-ed pieces. These articles and the stories within were the direct cause of policy change. This conclusion is reached because Amherst’s president created an “Oversight Committee... in response to public accounts of sexual assault at the College and pressure from students, faculty, staff and alumni” (Corey, 2013). It was this group that was responsible for the creation of the new sexual misconduct policy (Rothman, 2011).

I was not able to find activism in every IHE that was involved in the case study; three IHEs displayed low or no level of student activism. FSU, Akron, and Swarthmore were the IHEs that fell into this category. I expected to see more activism efforts at FSU, because being a large state school affords the ability to attract media attention. In addition, I expected to see activism efforts in response to “The Haunting Ground” movie that alleges an institutional cover up. I was able to find a referendum on the student government election in 2013 (“Fall 2013 Student

Government Association Elections," 2012). The referendum asked if FSU should mandate a sexual assault course at new student orientation. Of those who responded, almost 75% agreed with the statement. The document does not list the total amount of voters. I am confident that no activism efforts outside of this occurred because I was able to find evidence of other student activism efforts unrelated to this topic. This was the same situation in the cases of Swarthmore and Akron. These findings align with the expectations set at the beginning of this analysis.

Based off the evidence collected from the eight IHEs included in this study I am able to affirm my original expectations; that higher levels of student activism would lead to policy change. IHEs that displayed high levels of student activism achieved policy change in all instances except for one. At Harvard there were high levels of student activism observed. Despite these efforts their policy on affirmative consent has not changed. But administrators have stated that they are planning an "overhaul" of their policy in the future. It is clear from these examples that student activism is paying off and having a positive effect. The IHE that displayed moderate levels were also able to achieve policy change. Lastly, those with low or no levels of activism have not observed policy change. These results are what I expected to find, and would need to appear in order to confirm my original expectations.

Student Interest Groups and Government

After looking at the actions of individuals and unorganized groups of individuals I turned my attention to the potential effect that organized groups can have on policy change. This section seeks to examine student interest groups dedicated specifically to the topic of sexual assault, and policy change. I am including student governments and their actions into this section. Student

governments are elected to be the voice of the student body, and they have the ability to function as an interest group on this topic, if they choose. The efforts of student governments will be recognized if they demonstrate that the issue of sexual assault and policy are a priority initiatives.

It is my expectation that student interest groups will have a positive effect on IHEs adopting affirmative consent policies. From the evidence, I was able to categorize the IHEs I observed into three categories: Active student interest group and student government, active student interest groups, and no interest groups or student government. Five of the observed IHEs fit into the category with active interest group and government. One IHE had active interest groups but no student government action, and two IHEs did not have any student interest group or government involvement.

Interest groups focused on the topic of sexual assault policy exist at Columbia University. An interest group called “No Red Tape,” (NRT) was observed to be active on the topic of sexual assault college campuses (“No Red Tape,” 2016). NRT was founded in February 2014; the group formed as a way to protest administration and the bureaucratic “red tape.” The group is known for silent protests, covering their mouths with red tape to symbolize how bureaucratic red tape silences student voices. NRT’s stated mission is to “fight to end sexual and domestic violence on college campuses and empower survivors. [they] use direct action to push for improved policies and beyond.” The group was actively engaged in getting sexual assault policy to change through organizing letter-writing campaigns, national days of action, protests, and rallies. The success of the group has given them the ability to start their own non-profit fund. The fund is called the “Fund for a Safer Columbia,” set out with the goal of funding sexual assault activism and prevention efforts (Bolger, 2016). After Columbia revised their policy to include affirmative consent standards, the group petitioned the administration with additional demands and to ensure

they were taking the issue seriously; 15 other student organizations signed the petition; Columbia College Student Council (CCSC), is the student government at Columbia. Among their mission statement is to “advocate” through “expressing student opinion, and actively representing student views” (Columbia College Student Council, 2016). The Columbia College Student Council has worked with No Red Tape in presenting their demands to students and administration (Holt, 2016).

Harvard University has two main student interest groups involved in sexual assault policy issues. The one group is called “Our Harvard Can Do Better,” (OHCDB) another is called “Harvard Students Demand Respect” (Harvard SDR) (Svokos, 2014). OHCDB is an organization comprised of undergraduate students working specifically on the topic of sexual assault and attempting to effect policy change. Their stated mission is to create “a campus safe for survivors of all identities, and [they] believe that a policy under which survivors are supported and abusers face commensurate sanctions is critical to fostering an enduring cultural shift” (Our Harvard Can Do Better, 2013). OHCDB has a listing of demands; first on their list is affirmative consent. Harvard released new university-wide sexual harassment policy and procedures in July 2014. In October 2014 OHCDB submitted recommendation to Harvard’s Title IX office in response “to highlight the areas in which the existing policy and procedures fall short” (Our Harvard Can Do Better, 2014). Harvard SDR is comprised of students from Harvard’s graduate schools with the mission to “end gender based violence and discrimination at Harvard University” (Harvard Students Demand Respect, n.d.). Their efforts include advocating “for improved policies and programs.” In October 2014 both groups launched a petition demanding the adoption of affirmative consent (Conway & Lee, 2014).

MSU has two interest groups that displayed action toward affecting policy change on campus. One group called “Compass MSU” aims to “improve the understanding of consent on campus” (Morgan, 2013). Specifically the group was described as specifically pushing a “yes means yes” affirmative consent campaign on campus in April 2013. The group also sponsored events such as the “Take Back the Night” protest and a march on their Capitol. Compass MSU also hosted a “Yes means yes” workshop. Another organization is called “MSU Students Against Sexual Assault” which is an advocacy group in support of victims of sexual violence (MSU Students Against Sexual Assault, n.d.). After searching through their website and Facebook page I was unable to find explicit mention of policy advocacy. The group did promote and partner with the same events and activism previously described. The student government, the Associated Students of Michigan State University (ASMSU), has also been advocating for affirmative consent. The organization’s president wrote a column titled “Yes means yes, and anything else means no” (Clemons, 2015). Of the initiatives listed on their platform, the issue of sexual assault is listed first (“Associated Students of Michigan State University,” 2015)

Amherst College also has an interest group that is involved in the topic of sexual assault. The group not only works to raise awareness and achieve policy reform, but is also trained to offer assistance to survivors of sexual assault. Amherst’s “Peer Advocates of Sexual Respect” is an interest group and resource founded in 1997. Since their founding they have worked with the goal to gain an affirmative consent standard, and they have tried to push through educating Amherst students and the community (Rothman, 2011).

It is important to note that Amherst College graduate and activist Dana Bolger created the first magazine dedicated solely to sexual violence at Amherst titled “it happens here” (“Know

Your IX," n.d.). Bolger is also a co-founder of "Know Your IX" a nationwide organization related to sexual assault. The Amherst student government now funds the magazine.

Student government sponsored "The Rally to End the Culture of Silence" ("Know Your IX," n.d.). In 2012, when the article describing this Rally was published it mentions the rally's efforts were a part of their larger strategy to achieve policy change.

At SUNY Binghamton a collaboration of student organizations partnered to promote and advance the national "It's On Us" campaign prior to the change of policy (Epstein, 2015). The Binghamton Student Association (Student Government) joined two other organizations and administrators in promoting the movement. The Student Association was also instrumental in forming a sexual assault task force to address issues relating to the topic of sexual assault. Another organization that falls under the umbrella of the student association is called "Voices Against Violence" (Voices Against Violence, 2016). The mission of Voices Against Violence is to "Bring awareness and inspire activism about sexual assault."

Swarthmore College has a group called "The Abuse and Sexual Assault Prevention" group (The Abuse and Sexual Assault Prevention, 2016). Their aims include prevention of sexual assault and "raising awareness about abuse and sexual assault issues within our community." In their description, they do not mention changing their policy, or mention affirmative consent standards.

I was unable to find any student groups at FSU and Akron dedicated to sexual assault policy change. The search into these groups included searching the archives of Registered Student Organization databases, student government, and campus newspapers. The only mention of sexual assault related topics was The Haunting Ground movie at FSU. These findings are not surprising because I was unable to find any student activism relating to this topic.

Based on the evidence collected from the eight IHEs included in this study I am able to affirm my original expectations. The results indicate that IHEs that have student interest groups and student governments that focus on the topic of sexual assault and policy change are more likely to have policy change. The results were very similar to the results in the student activism section. All of the IHEs that displayed high levels of student activism also had active engagement of interest groups and governments.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The results contained in the previous chapter reveal what is hiding in the shadow of the ivory tower. As the title suggests, certain factors of collegiate culture are indicative of higher rates of sexual assault. Party culture, fraternity culture, and private institutions were all found to contribute to higher rates of sexual assault. These results proved to be consistent with the literature, and the hypotheses I set out to prove. Despite these findings, there were variables that did not indicate higher rates of sexual assault. IHEs that have Division 1 football programs were not significant, and members of Power 5 football conferences were found to have a negative relationship. These results were surprising, since major football programs have a history of sexual assault that goes back over 40 years (Murphy, 2013). Researchers have found increased amounts of sexual assaults on Saturdays, also known as “game days,” when the team is playing at home compared to away games. These results lead to campuses with major football programs to be described as “breeding ground for sexual assault” (Strachan, 2016). If all of this is accurate, then why was this not reflected when Power 5 programs were compared to the rate of reported sexual assault?

I have identified two possible reasons that explain these results. The first, is that Power 5 programs generate more revenue, both athletically and academically. This would allow for more funding of resources and prevention efforts, compared to schools with smaller budgets. The other reason is that IHEs are not disclosing or reporting sexual assault properly. As of February 2016, the U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights had open investigations into 165

IHEs (McCarthy & Mallon, 2016). These complaints are being investigated for “possible violations of federal law over the handling of sexual violence and harassment complaints” (Kingkade, 2015; Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, 2014). The number of IHEs under investigation has been rapidly increasing. In 2014, the number of IHEs under investigation was equal to 55. Currently, roughly half of Power 5 programs are being investigated. If IHEs with large football programs are not reporting accurately, that would skew the data, and have an effect on the analysis.

After realizing that campus culture has an impact on sexual assault rates I turned my attention to the students that are apart of that campus culture. My investigation examined the effect of student activism and student interest groups on policy change. IHEs that had high levels of activism and interest group involvement were more likely to change their policy to adopt affirmative consent standards. This shows that student voices that act to try to combat rape culture through consent culture are effective, and in most instances are successful. This research can be expanded on to examine the effects and successes of student activism and interest groups in other issues.

Based on my results, further research can build upon these findings. I proposed that consent culture is the solution to rape culture. I was able to show that student activism and student interest groups work toward building consent culture. Cultural transformations take time, and the effect of affirmative consent cannot be seen, yet. All of the data I examined were from the past few years, extending to 2010. Future research will be able to examine the effect of varying levels of consent on the reported rates of sexual assault. Additionally, as more information becomes available, my original quantitative study can expand to include more IHEs and more indicators of collegiate culture.

Lastly, the findings of this thesis have practical implications that extend to all IHEs across the country. The first step in solving a problem is realizing one exists. Sexual assault is already realized to be one of the most serious problems facing college campuses. Now, investigations into collegiate culture can be conducted to find solutions. By examining deeply rooted culture, often disguised as “tradition,” studies can be more holistic, and solutions can be more effective.

Appendix A

Institutions of Higher Education Included in Analysis

Order	Institution of Higher Education	Totals	Rate
1	Pennsylvania State University	84	1.22
2	Harvard University	83	1.10
3	University of Michigan-Ann Arbor	64	0.78
4	Ohio State University-Main Campus	61	0.37
5	University of California-Davis	60	0.53
6	Stanford University	59	1.40
7	Indiana University-Bloomington	54	0.64
8	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	52	0.72
9	Emory University	52	1.83
10	University of New Hampshire-Main Campus	50	1.31
11	Michigan State University	49	0.41
12	University of California-Berkeley	49	0.36
13	University of Wisconsin-Madison	48	0.35
14	Princeton University	46	2.13
15	Yale University	44	1.34
16	University of California-Los Angeles	44	0.38
17	University of Virginia-Main Campus	41	0.46
18	University of Massachusetts Amherst	40	0.53
19	Rutgers University-New Brunswick	39	0.40
20	University of Minnesota-Twin Cities	38	0.25
21	Stony Brook University	37	0.71
22	George Washington University	37	0.39
23	Dartmouth College	35	1.75
24	University of Southern California	35	0.38
25	Vanderbilt University	34	1.02
26	Miami University-Oxford	34	0.96
27	University of Pennsylvania	33	0.49
28	University of Connecticut	33	0.51
29	Brown University	32	1.80
30	University of Oregon	32	0.69
31	University of Iowa	31	0.50
32	Duke University	30	0.71
33	Ohio University-Main Campus	29	0.33

34	Washington University in St Louis	29	0.93
35	San Diego State University	29	0.39
36	University of Rochester	28	0.76
37	Virginia Tech	27	0.26
38	Syracuse University	27	0.29
39	University of Vermont	26	0.99
40	Oklahoma State University-Main Campus	26	0.43
41	University of Florida	26	0.26
42	University of California-San Diego	26	0.39
43	University of Dayton	25	0.63
44	SUNY at Albany	25	0.58
45	University of California-Santa Barbara	25	0.55
46	Boston University	24	0.31
47	University of California-Irvine	24	0.47
48	University of Cincinnati-Main Campus	23	0.21
49	Fordham University	23	0.53
50	Iowa State University	23	0.33
51	Columbia University in the City of New York	22	0.53
52	University of Missouri-Columbia	22	0.17
53	University of Maryland-College Park	22	0.24
54	University of Notre Dame	22	0.58
55	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	22	0.22
56	Washington State University	21	0.25
57	Carnegie Mellon University	21	1.25
58	University of Oklahoma Norman Campus	21	0.22
59	Marquette University	20	0.60
60	George Mason University	20	0.21
61	Colorado State University-Fort Collins	20	0.39
62	The University of Texas at Austin	19	0.10
63	University of Pittsburgh	19	0.28
64	Cornell University	19	0.42
65	Wake Forest University	19	0.67
66	University of Kansas	19	0.29
67	University of California-Santa Cruz	19	0.57
68	The University of Alabama	19	0.21
69	Hofstra University	18	0.54
70	Boston College	18	0.34
71	University of Colorado Boulder	18	0.22
72	Brigham Young University-Provo	17	0.46
73	Texas Christian University	17	1.13

74	Case Western Reserve University	17	1.20
75	University at Buffalo	17	0.41
76	Tufts University	17	0.46
77	University of Georgia	17	0.26
78	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	16	0.63
79	Howard University	16	0.60
80	University of California-Riverside	16	0.29
81	Temple University	15	0.08
82	Drexel University	15	0.31
83	Georgetown University	15	0.23
84	University of Utah	14	0.15
85	Oregon State University	14	0.15
86	North Carolina State University at Raleigh	14	0.06
87	University of Kentucky	14	0.04
88	Kansas State University	14	0.04
89	Purdue University-Main Campus	14	0.05
90	Texas A & M University	13	0.12
91	The University of Tennessee	13	0.27
92	SUNY at Binghamton	13	0.13
93	Tulane University of Louisiana	13	0.39
94	University of Chicago	13	0.33
95	Illinois State University	13	0.34
96	Georgia Institute of Technology-Main Campus	13	0.28
97	American University	13	0.54
98	College of William and Mary	12	0.12
99	Northeastern University	12	0.14
100	University of Denver	12	0.51
101	University of Washington-Seattle Campus	11	0.05
102	University of the Pacific	11	0.60
103	University of Arizona	11	0.17
104	St. John's University-New York	10	0.19
105	Seton Hall University	10	0.31
106	Clark University	10	0.57
107	Louisiana State University	10	0.10
108	University of Miami	10	0.19
109	University of Arkansas	10	0.16
110	Saint Louis University-Main Campus	9	0.17
111	Loyola University Chicago	9	0.25
112	Florida State University	9	0.07
113	Southern Methodist University	8	0.46

114	Clemson University	8	0.10
115	Lehigh University	8	0.56
116	University of Nebraska-Lincoln	8	0.12
117	Northwestern University	8	0.09
118	University of Delaware	8	0.14
119	The New School	7	0.28
120	Michigan Technological University	7	0.14
121	University of San Diego	7	0.12
122	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	6	0.30
123	Johns Hopkins University	6	0.24
124	University of San Francisco	6	0.10
125	Pepperdine University	6	0.41
126	Rice University	5	0.31
127	University of South Carolina-Columbia	5	0.06
128	Duquesne University	5	0.10
129	DePaul University	5	0.08
130	University of Alabama at Birmingham	5	0.11
131	New York University	4	0.04
132	Adelphi University	4	0.25
133	University of Tulsa	3	0.23
134	SUNY College of ESF	3	0.89
135	Saint John Fisher College	3	0.50
136	Brandeis University	3	0.17
137	Auburn University	3	0.04
138	Baylor University	2	0.13
139	Rutgers University-Newark	2	0.08
140	Missouri University of Science and Technology	2	0.26
141	Illinois Institute of Technology	2	0.13
142	Colorado School of Mines	2	0.35
143	University of St Thomas	1	0.00
144	The University of Texas at Dallas	1	0.05
145	California Institute of Technology	1	0.45
146	Yeshiva University	0	0.00
147	Clarkson University	0	0.00
148	Stevens Institute of Technology	0	0.00
149	New Jersey Institute of Technology	0	0.00
150	Worcester Polytechnic Institute	0	0.00

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Honors and Memberships

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Resident Assistant, South Residence Life
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