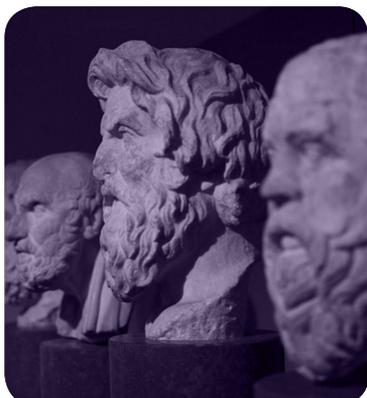
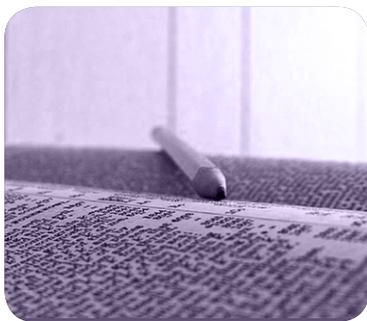


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**“In my Mind, at the
Time, She Wanted It”:
Evaluative Language
in Victims’ and
Perpetrators’
Testimonies of Sexual
Assault**

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Perpetrators' Testimonies of Sexual Assault

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Abstract

The perpetration of sexual assault is a pervasive problem that threatens the integrity and health of millions of women, men and children around the world. The present thesis seeks to contribute to the fight against this matter by approaching sexual assault from a linguistic perspective. It applies the Appraisal Framework to examine the different ways in which victims and perpetrators recount their experiences in terms of evaluative language. The study consists in the analysis of 63 first-hand sexual assault narrations, produced anonymously and under non-confrontational conditions by survivors and assaulters. The results show, on the one hand, that victims of sexual assault express high levels of self-blame, even though they also condemn the assaulters' behaviours and accuse them of having betrayed their trust. On the other hand, perpetrators convey feelings of remorse, which contrasts with frequent claims that they were unable to control themselves or that their victims seduced them. These findings indicate a strong relation between their argumentations and societal attitudes and perceptions of rape and sexual assault, as well as provide vindication for previous statistics on the nature of this type of aggression.

Keywords: *CDA, sexual assault, evaluative language, Appraisal Framework.*

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List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introduction to the Study

1.1. Research Problem

The perpetration of sexual assault is a critical social and health problem widely spread throughout the world. The number of victims is alarming: in the United States alone, every 98 seconds, someone is sexually assaulted (RAINN, 2017c). Even though figures are gradually decreasing, in 2015 alone more than 430,000 victims were counted (Truman & Morgan, 2016). Indeed, research reveals that “nearly one in five women and one in 71 men in the U.S. have been raped at some time in their lives” (Black et al., 2011, p. 18). In addition to this, it must be noted that more than 67% of sexual assault cases are not reported to the police (Renninson, 2002). Out of the reported cases, only 5% lead to a felony conviction and, ultimately, only around 3% of the perpetrators are incarcerated (Federal Bureau of Investigation, hereinafter FBI, as quoted in RAINN, 2017b).

Motivated by the magnitude of these figures, the topic of sexual assault perpetration has risen to the fore and the public concern has considerably increased in recent decades (Harrell et al., 2009). This has led to awareness-raising, prevention, detention and support efforts including, amongst many others, creating associations and helplines, adopting measures within the fields of education, health and media or implementing legal reforms. Additionally, as Harrell et al. (2009) point out, these efforts “informed, and were informed by, a large and diverse body of empirical research” (p. x). Indeed, research contributes importantly to the fight against sexual violence as it provides a solid ground for understanding this problem. Because of this, there is an extensive and varied literature devoted to sexual assault as it is approached by the domains of sociology (e.g., Fahlberg & Pepper, 2016; Phipps, 2009), psychology (e.g., Beauregard, 2010; Kirkner et al., 2016), medicine (e.g., Smith & Breiding, 2011; Zinzow et al., 2011) and law (e.g., Held & McLaughlin, 2014; Martin & Powell, 1994) amongst others.

In addition, “discursive approaches have the potential to contribute significantly to our understanding of sexual assaults, not least in the way in which they draw attention to the socially-constructed nature of sexual practices” (Lea & Auburn, 2001, p. 13). Linguistics as applied to sexual violence attempts to explore the relation between subjectivity and social context, to examine the practical ideology in which these actions and behaviours are rationalised and justified, which is reflected in the accounts of those involved in them.

Indeed, increasingly more scholars are directing their attention to the discourse of sexual violence, especially focusing on its representation in media (e.g., Clark, 1998; Henley et al., 1995) and legal contexts (e.g., Ehrlich, 2001; Papilota-Diaz, 2012).

Despite the efforts of the research community to carry out meaningful studies on sexual assault perpetration and the numerous positive outcomes already achieved, Dale et al., (1997) and Greathouse et al., (2015) have noted pervasive limitations to the existing literature: Firstly, sexual assault is a complex issue in which many and very different factors, such as developmental, psychological or sociological ones, converge and interact with each other. Studies on sexual assault usually regard one or a small number of these factors, which impedes scholars from obtaining a broad and accurate perspective on this issue. Secondly, most existing research has focused on the cases involving male perpetrators and female victims, justified by the fact that sexual assault acts are attributed to men significantly more than they are to women. Because of this, however, little is known concerning women who assault and men who are assaulted, which limits our understanding to a sole section, even if importantly large, of this problem. Thirdly, a significant constraint in research on sexual assaults is the obtaining of data. Usually, this type of study relies on surveys and interviews, on trial accounts or on second-hand reports (especially concerning the assaulter's experience). Because sexual assault is a sensitive topic and testimonies are usually produced in sensitive contexts, participants are likely to feel uncomfortable, finding it difficult to remember, and may lie more often (Dale et al., 1997; Greathouse et al., 2015).

1.2. Intended Contribution and Research Question

In light of this, it is unarguable that sexual assault perpetration is indeed a matter that demands further empirical research. With the aim of contributing to the fight against this issue, the present study intends to approach sexual assault from a linguistic point of view, by analysing and contrasting first-hand testimonies from sexual assault survivors and assaulters and describing what they think of the assault and of the other participant. To do so, this study will explore such texts in terms of attitudinal evaluation. In order to overcome the noted research limitations, the study will explore different factors involved in sexual assault and their interrelation, focusing both on male and female victims and perpetrators and employing first-hand reports produced anonymously in non-

confrontational conditions (on online forums). Therefore, this paper attempts to provide an answer to the following question:

- How do the sexual assault testimonies written by victims and perpetrators differ in terms of evaluative resources?

1.3. Thesis Outline

Firstly, a theoretical framework dealing with topics of special relevance for this study will be provided as follows: to begin with, the different types of sexual offences will be defined and categorised; then, attitudes and perceptions leading to and result of sexual assault will be explored; lastly, the domains of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and the Appraisal Framework will be thoroughly examined. The second part of the paper will be devoted to the analysis of 63 anonymous testimonies on sexual assault events recounted by 33 victims and 30 perpetrators: through the analysis of the data, I will explore the evaluative resources employed by the different participants following Martin and White's (2005) model of Appraisal; in particular, it will concentrate on the expression of Attitude Appraisal and its subcategories, paying special attention to the way the writers evaluate themselves, the other and the event. The findings will be discussed in order to provide an answer to the research question and objectives. Finally, the last section will present the conclusion of the paper, including implications, limitations and suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Towards the Definition and Categorisation of Sexual Offences

Sexual offences are those sex-related acts or behaviours condemned by the law. Within them, the terms "rape", "sexual assault", "sexual abuse" and "sexual violence" are generally considered to be synonymous and are often used interchangeably" (WHO, 2003, p. 6). However, each of these terms express different nuances that are indeed of great importance in the medical, law or linguistic fields. It is certainly a necessity to recognise the distinctions between these notions in order to label and recognise their many different types and improve communication on this matter, as well as for victims to identify their own cases and for scholars and practitioners to bring research and practice together.

To begin with, “whenever rape is considered, it is redefined, often becoming more and more vague and complex” (Savino & Turvey, 2004, p. 1). Indeed, the meaning of “rape” seems to vary subjectively depending who uses it. For instance, the Jewkes et al. (2002), on behalf of the World Health Organization (WHO), define it as the “physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration – even if slight” (p. 149); in contrast, Groth (1979) adopts the broad view that rape is any type of forced sexual assault, whether or not penetration occurs. However, most institutions and scholars agree with the first definition, where rape is considered as non-consensual sexual intercourse, emphasising the involvement of penetration (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Savino & Turvey, 2004). For the purpose of this study, I will employ this definition.

The form of penetration in rape, nevertheless, is also discussed: the criminal code of Georgia confines rape exclusively to the cases of penile-vaginal penetration, while cases involving “the sex organs of one person and the mouth of anus of another” are considered aggravated sodomy (Savino & Turvey, 2004). However, this definition of rape not only excludes the many other forms of penetration, but it also disregards male rape and downplays its weight. In contrast, the U.S. Federal law and many laws at the state level, as well as most specialised institutions, are gender neutral (Held & McLaughlin, 2014) and include the invasion of the human body using any body parts or an object (Jewkes et al., 2002).

The terms “rape” and “sexual assault” are usually not differentiated. While some use these terms interchangeably, others base their distinction on the use or threat of force: the cases in which force is involved would refer to rape, whereas sexual assault would cover any other non-consensual intercourse (Palmer as quoted in Held & McLaughlin, 2014). The most accepted definition, however, is the one that differentiates sexual assault as a broader spectrum of offenses than rape, including both penetrative and non-penetrative actions regardless of the use of force (e.g., Daly & Bouhours, 2010; WHO, 2003). In light of this, in this paper I will adopt the definition of “sexual assault” as the non-consensual sexual contact ranging from unwanted touching to rape.

“Sexual abuse”, in contrast, usually refers to the cases in which the victim is a child (La Fontaine, 1993; Washington Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, 2016). WHO (2006) defines this terms as “the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child

is not developmentally prepared, or else that violate the laws or social taboos of society” (p. 10). In this way, children can be abused by both adults or other children who might take advantage of their responsibility, trust or power over the victim.

Finally, the term “sexual violence” is often thought to exclusively refer to sexual assault and rape. However, it is in fact a broader category that covers numerous and varied notions that, nevertheless, share an essential tenet: all the actions labelled as “sexual violence” are directed at a victim’s sexual health or identity. More specifically, it is described as “any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting” (Jewkes et al., 2002, p. 149). In this way, while “sexual violence” includes rape, sexual assault and sexual abuse, it also encompasses many other actions and behaviours that do not necessarily involve penetration or even physical contact: sexual slavery, trafficking of people for sexual exploitation, enforced nudity, enforced pregnancy, sterilisation or abortion, denial to use contraception, forced marriage or cohabitation or genital violence or mutilation amongst many others (Basile et al., 2014; Jewkes et al., 2002).

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, both women and men are potential victims of sexual offences, in particular, one in five women and one in 71 men in the U.S. (Black et al., 2011). Because women are more likely to suffer sexual violence and because of the lack of substantial data on males, most research is devoted to women; in fact, many official reports and statistics lack information on male victims (e.g., Jewkes et al., 2002; WHO, 2003). As a result, this under-representation of male victims impedes research from approaching the problem of sexual violence in an accurate way and raising awareness. Despite that, the interest on male victims is increasing and gradually more scholars are devoting their studies to cases of sexual violence to men, especially as related to cases in the military (e.g., O’Brien et al., 2015) or in prison (e.g., Beck & Harrison, 2008).

Scholars’ scope of interest also covers LGBT victims. Evidence suggests that sexual violence targeted to homosexual, bisexual and transgender individuals is equal or even higher to that targeted to heterosexuals (Walters et al., 2013). This form of sexual offence is especially sensitive as it often relates to hate crimes and attempts at oppression (Gentlewarrior & Fountain, 2009). Some research studies focusing on sexual assault

involving people who identify as LGTB include Long et al., (2007) or Waldner-Haugrud (1999).

Children are often the targets of sexual offences. The figures concerning child sexual abuse are unarguably alarming, since they affect a great number of children regardless of their sex, age, ethnicity or social class (Collin-Vézina et al., 2013). Indeed, research estimates that one in four girls and one in six boys will be sexually abused before they are 18 years old (Finkelhor et al., 1990). It is for this reason that extensive literature is available concerning child sexual abuse, especially with regards to prevention and detection efforts (e.g., Whitaker et al., 2008).

Perpetrators of sexual offences are usually classified according to the degree of familiarity with the victim. WHO (2003) lists acquaintances, dates, friends, family members, intimate partners, former intimate partners and strangers. They note, moreover, that the perpetrator is usually someone known to the victim. In fact, statistics show that only 28% of rapes are committed by a stranger, while 45% are perpetrated by an acquaintance and 25%, by a current or former intimate partner; the remaining percentage corresponds to non-spouse relatives and individuals that the victims could not remember (Truman & Langton, 2015).

In addition to this, studies claim that a great number of perpetrators tend to offend multiple times: for instance, Weinrott and Saylor's (1991) research revealed that their 37 perpetrators under study, charged with 66 offences against an average of 1.8 victims, admitted to have in fact committed 433 offenses against 11.7 victims. Indeed, researchers estimate that the recidivism rate ranges from 14 to 68% (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Zinzow & Thompson, 2014). Statistics also regard the number of perpetrators involved in the act: it is estimated that 90% of the rapes and sexual assaults are committed by one individual, whereas 10% of the cases are perpetrated by two or more people (Planty et al., 2013).

To finish with, sexual offences vary depending on the means by which they are perpetrated, usually involving drugs or violence (WHO, 2003). On the one hand, approximately 44% of sexual offences are drug- and alcohol-facilitated (Rose, 2004). On the other, in 11% of the incidences, the perpetrator made use of a weapon, 6% corresponding to guns, 4% to knives and 1% to others. However, most sexual offences,

two out of three cases, are perpetrated by means of physical violence, namely hands, feet or teeth (FBI, as quoted in RAINN, 2017a).

To conclude with, any act of sexual offence, no matter if rape, assault, abuse or violence in particular, must be regarded as a crime of great magnitude. Indeed, the International Criminal Court (2011) catalogues as a crime against humanity any cases in which

the perpetrator committed an act of a sexual nature against one or more persons or caused such person or persons to engage in an act of sexual nature by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power [...] or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or such person's or persons' incapacity to give genuine consent. (p. 10)

2.2. Attitudes and Perceptions of Sexual Assault

Social contexts and ideologies are intrinsically linked to our understanding of certain acts and behaviours and influence whether we perceive it as justifiable. As Kippenstine and Schuller (2012) point out, “research has clearly demonstrated that expectancies regarding what typically occurs during a rape [or a sexual assault] and what the ‘appropriate’ behavior of a sexual assault victim should be, powerfully guide the judgements of those evaluating her claim” (p. 80). Some of the most common attitudes and perceptions are the following:

One of the most problematic issues regarding our understanding of sexual assault is the disparity with which different people perceive it and define it. As stated before (see section 2.1.), the disagreement on the definition of the different types of sexual offences is a pervasive problem that influences reaching generalizations in research; however, in addition to that, it affects the extent to which these incidents are viewed as moral or justifiable. For instance, research has revealed that men seem to define sexual assault in a narrower way than women do, which might lead them to engage in acts that, even though perceived as innocent by them, women do perceive as constitutive of sexual assault (Burgess, 2007; O'Connor et al., 2004).

Society's perception of sexual is to some extent based on rape myths. The term "rape myth", coined by Burt (1980) stands for those "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (p. 217). Already in 1975, Brownmiller had identified four fundamental misconceptions, from which Burt then developed her theory: 'all women want to be raped', 'no woman can be raped against her will', 'she was asking for it' and 'the victim ultimately relaxes and enjoys it'. Later on, Burt and Estep (as quoted in Ward, 1995) counted additional myths, such as 'victims lie', 'victims are malicious', 'sex was consensual' or 'rape is not damaging'. These myths, by negatively stereotyping the victims' behaviour, allow perpetrators to deemphasise their fault, normalise or justifying their actions and blame the victims: if they do not want it to happen, they should not engage in those behaviours. (Burgess, 2007). Indeed, studies have found a strong correlation between higher levels of acceptance of such myths and the perpetration of sexual assault (e.g., DeGue et al., 2010; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010).

For instance, perpetrators usually legitimate their actions claiming that they were acquaintances to or had an intimate relationship with the victims. In this view, continuous consent is assumed when in a relationship (Randall, 2008) and assaults are regarded as simple misunderstandings (Lazar, 2010). Similarly, some believe that, having agreed to a sexual activity initially, consent cannot later be withdrawn, neither before not during the course of the act (Lyon, 2004). Another widely-spread myth places the victim as responsible for the assault is the one on victims being seductive; because of their behaviour, the way they dressed or their physical attractiveness, they are usually perceived as having wanted the act to occur or as "victims of their own seduction" (Scully & Marolla, 1984, p. 534). This is especially linked to the myth of biological essentialism (MacKinnon, 2005), which supports the idea that the perpetrators' hormones direct their actions; in this view, the perpetrator is driven by sexual drive and not conscience, due to arousal of desire caused by the victims' appearance, and as a result they are unable to control themselves (Papilota-Diaz, 2012). Another common myth is the denial of resistance, which stands for the belief that when woman say "no", they actually mean "yes" (Shotland & Hunter, 1995); as Hipp et al. (2015) describe, this belief is grounded in "the cultural expectation that a woman is not supposed to openly want or ask for sex, [but] that a woman is supposed to resist while a man is supposed to persist" (p. 4).

Rape and sexual assault myths not only enable perpetrators to normalise their aggressions and blame the victims for them, but also lead victims to question their own

behaviours and blame themselves. Self-blame, together with feelings of shame or guilt, is a typical emotional reaction among sexual assault survivors (Fanflik, 2007), perpetuated to an important extent by the acceptance of such myths (Burkhart & Fromuth, 1996). Indeed, research has found that 62 to 75% of victims assign fault to themselves (Donde, 2015; Vidal & Petrak, 2007).

There are many other attitudes and perceptions of sexual assault that are not based on rape and sexual assault myths, but on individual and contextual factors. For instance, a common justification for sexual assault is pressure, either peer or societal, on men to be sexually active (Burgess, 2007). Indeed, several studies have revealed a positive correlation between having friends who engage in sexual assaults and being more likely to commit sexual assault themselves (e.g., Abbey et al., 2006; de Keseredy & Kelly, 1995).

Another factor that affects sexual assault is the consumption of alcohol, which usually relates to these aggressions in three ways: firstly, perpetrators might intoxicate their victims as a way to facilitate talking or forcing their companions into having sex (Abbey, et al., 1998); secondly, alcohol can be the precipitant of the perpetrators' behaviour as it can disinhibit them and increase their sexual impulsivity (Abbey et al., 2001); finally, it is usually used to excuse their behaviour (Scully & Marolla, 1984) as supported by the double standard pointed by WHO (2003) that "if a woman has been drinking or using drugs she is often blamed for her victimization [... but] the perpetrator's behaviour is excused or justified because he was 'under the influence' and thus not expected to control his behaviour" (p. 8).

Misinterpretation of sexual cues has been associated with the perpetration of sexual assault (e.g., Abbey & McAusland, 2004; Yescavage, 1999). Research has revealed some of the ways in which misinterpretation can lead to sexual assault: on the one hand, sexually aggressive individuals are more likely to misinterpret the victims' friendliness as sexual interest than non-aggressive ones (Abbey & McAusland, 2004). On the other, the perpetrators, after having understood the victims' actual disinterest, might become angry and violent (Farris et al., 2008).

Perpetrators often consider sexual assault as a minor wrongdoing. By way of illustration, studies have found that between 5 and 35% of male college students perceive

sexual assault as justifiable or would perpetrate such aggression if they were guaranteed not to be caught (Malamuth, 1981; Muehlenhard et al., 1985). Many others assaulters, in contrast, plead guilty of other misdemeanours. For instance, in Scully and Marolla's (1984) study on convicted rapists' testimonies, most participants did not claim to be completely innocent, but in fact declared themselves to be guilty of some of their actions. These actions, however, corresponded to less serious ones, such as committing some violence or less important delinquencies; actions, the authors claim, which are "hardly the equivalent of rape" (p. 537). This is closely linked to assaulters' tendency to depict themselves as normal, decent people as a way to normalise their identity, highlighting that, despite the fact that they committed a mistake, they are actually good people and that is not their true self (Lisak, 2011; Scully & Marolla, 1984).

To finish with, many scholars have showed interest in the expressions of remorse by perpetrators of sexual assault (e.g., Abbey & McAusland, 2004; Covell & Scalora, 2002). Even though they constitute a small percentage of the assaulters, some do admit to committing an unforgivable morally-wrong action beyond justification. In the case of Scully and Marolla (1984), however, those participants who expressed regret about their crimes usually resorted to giving excuses when reporting their experiences. By means of these excuses "they attempted to demonstrate that either intent was absent or responsibility was diminished" which "allowed them to admit rape while reducing threat to their identity as a moral person" (p. 538). These excuses were, again, related to the attitudes and perceptions here listed.

2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

The way in which a social action is expressed allows one to understand the justification and rationalisation behind it. As Lea and Auburn (2001) point out, "speakers draw on the practical ideologies available in their language community in order to render their social action intelligible" (p. 13), which accounts for the intrinsic relation between human subjectivity, as expressed in a text, and the social and ideological context in which it is produced. Social actions and behaviours such as sexual violence are, in this way, construed by means of discourse.

CDA is an analytical framework concerned with bringing together language and society, that is, text and context (Bayley et al., 2013). More specifically, CDA, developed

“within the tradition of ‘critical social science’” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 15) aims to “explore relationships of causality between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural contexts and examine how these practices, events and texts arise and are ideologically shaped by power relations” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 135). In this way, CDA, which regards language as a form of social practice, plays a mediating role in the two-way relationship between language and power (Meyer, 2001). According to this view, thanks to this relationship, social actors construe knowledge, situations, roles, identities and interpersonal relationships by means of discourse (de Cillia et al., 1999).

Several approaches originate from the CDA framework, including the Socio-cognitive DA (van Dijk, 2005), the Mediated DA (Scollon & Scollon, 2005), the Discourse Historical approach (Wodak et al., 2009), the Duisburg approach (Jäger & Meier, 2009) and Fairclough’s Dialectal-Relational Approach (e.g., 1989, 1992, 1995, 2006). However, as Fairclough and Wodak (as quoted in Hussain et al., 2015) state, there are some central principles common to all CDA varieties: “(i) CDA addresses social problems; (ii) power relations are discursive; (iii) discourse constitutes society and culture; (iv) discourse does ideological work; (v) discourse is historical; (vi) a socio-cognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between text and society are mediated; (vii) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology; and (viii) discourse is a form of social action” (p. 243).

Fairclough’s CDA line, the Dialectal-Relational approach, is of a special interest to this paper because its perspective on context. It has been developed since the 1980s as a reformulation of Critical Linguistics (CL) (Fowler et al., 1969); the CL tradition, in Fairclough’s view, failed to regard the connection between language and ideology within a social context, which is to him essential in the ideological critique (1993). Therefore, this CDA line approaches the study of discursive events from a three-dimensional framework: firstly, the component of ‘text’ refers to the linguistic features, for instance vocabulary and metaphors or modality to name two; secondly, ‘discursive practice’ reflects the view that discourse and context are intrinsically intertwined, that is, it stands for the production and the interpretation of the text; finally, discourse as ‘social practice’ seeks to describe the situational, institutional and societal circumstances and reveals power relationships between societal groups (Fairclough, 1993). In Fairclough’s (1995) words, therefore, discourse is “the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view” and CDA, the tool for scholars to examine it (p. 56).

This approach has been applied to many and very different fields but, to name a few, there exist an especially extensive literature to connecting CDA to, for instance, political discourse (e.g., Farrelly, 2010; Filardo-Llamas & Boyd, 2018) or media discourse (Koller, 2005; Richardson, 2006). Moreover, because of its unarguable relation with ideology and power relations, the issue of sexual violence, as it concerns this thesis, has also been addressed from a CDA perspective (e.g., Ehrlich, 2001; Smith & Skinner, 2012).

2.4. The Appraisal Framework

Because, as they communicate, writers/speakers get involved in the creation of interpersonal meanings, texts reflect the subjective presence of the authors as they adopt stances and manage relationships by means of evaluation (Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005). Developed in the 90s by a group of researchers led by Martin (White, 2015) and within Halliday's (1994, 2014) SFL, Martin and White's Appraisal Framework (2005) is concerned with the interpersonal metafunctions of language and, therefore, with the analysis of the mechanisms by which emotions and valuations are constructed in a text.

As Eggins and Slade (2006) describe, the research team built on work by Labov (1972), Rothery (1990), Poynton (1990, 1995) and Plum (1988) to develop a theoretical framework dealing with the analysis of evaluation in discourse. Starting with evaluation as applied to narratives (Martin & Plum, 1997), the Appraisal Framework has been applied to a wide range of fields such as political discourse (e.g., Crespo-Fernández, 2013; Helander, 2014), advertising (e.g., Križan, 2016; Wu, 2013) or educational linguistics (Derewianka, 2007; Llinares & Nikula, 2016). Nevertheless, despite the effective outcomes of this model in these different areas, the Appraisal Framework is rarely used within forensic linguistics (except, for instance, Statham, 2016). This, however, provides researchers with the chance to carry out novel and meaningful investigations in this field.

Martin and White (2005) define three different systems interacting within the Appraisal Framework: Engagement, Graduation and Attitude. Engagement deals with "the ways in which values are sourced, and readers aligned" (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 22); in this way, this domain characterises the resources employed by the author in order to position her/himself in respect to the information conveyed (Rentel, 2012). The system of Graduation is related to the strength of the feelings expressed in the texts, which occurs

either through softening or sharpening or through intensification or amount. Lastly, Attitude refers to the evaluative resources employed by the writers/speakers to construe feelings and assess phenomena either positively or negatively (White, 2015). As Martin (2000) claims, while Engagement and Graduation can be considered “attendant resources”, Attitude constitutes the core system of the Appraisal Framework (p. 165). It is for this reason that the present study is solely concerned with the application of the latter domain.

2.4.1. Attitude Appraisal Categories

As Martin and White (2005) state, Attitude Appraisal is realised through three interacting subcategories attending to the attitudinal meanings that they represent: emotions, ethics or aesthetics. Each subcategory is thoroughly explored in the subsequent sections. In addition, a table collecting anchor examples from the texts under study for each of the Attitude Appraisal subcategories can be found in Appendix C.

2.4.1.1. Affect

The ‘affect’ subdomain describes the emotional evaluation of entities, processes and states and registers positive or negative feelings in the form of polar categories; in this way, under the ‘affect’ umbrella, one might classify the author’s expression of happiness or sadness, confidence or anxiety, or in interest or boredom amongst many others. Indeed, this category can be further divided into four subdomains that allow for a very deep understanding of the feelings conveyed in the text.

‘Un/happiness’ is the domain that deals with the emotions that relate the “affairs of the heart” (Martin & White, 2005 p. 49): those related to sadness (*cry, miserable*) or happiness (*laugh, cheerful*) fall into the domain of ‘misery/cheer’, whereas expressions conveying hate (*rubbish, abhor*) or love (*hug, adore*) correspond to the ‘antipathy/affection’ category. Dis/satisfaction collects those emotions related to achieving –or failing to achieve– goals and, therefore, feelings of satisfaction or frustration; this category divides into ‘dis/pleasure’ (*scold, bored with; reward, pleased*), or ‘ennui/interest’ (*yawn, jaded; attentive, absorbed*). In addition, ‘in/security’ covers the expression of anxiety and peace in relation the immediate environment and the people we are sharing our feelings with; those can be further divided into the systems of ‘disquiet’ (*restless, anxious*), ‘confidence’ (*assert, assured*), ‘surprise’ (*faint, startled*) or ‘trust’

(*entrust, comfortable with*). Finally, the ‘dis/inclination’ variable contemplates emotions of ‘fear’ (*shudder, wary*) and ‘desire’ (*suggest, miss*) of entities and events (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 48-51).

It should be noted, however, that some Appraisal practitioners vary from the above taxonomy. In light of Martin and White’s aim to create polar opposite domains for the ‘affect’ system, Bednarek (2008) discussed that, concerning the ‘in/security’ type, the members of the pairs ‘disquiet/confidence’ and ‘surprise/trust’ were not accurate opposites. thus, Bednarek (2008) suggests two alternative categories in place of ‘confidence’ and ‘surprise’: ‘disquiet’ and ‘distrust’. Similarly, and regarding ‘dis/inclination’, she argues that fear cannot be considered an absolute opposite to desire. Consequently, she suggests this category be renamed as ‘non-desire’. Particularly, this thesis employs Bednarek’s categories.

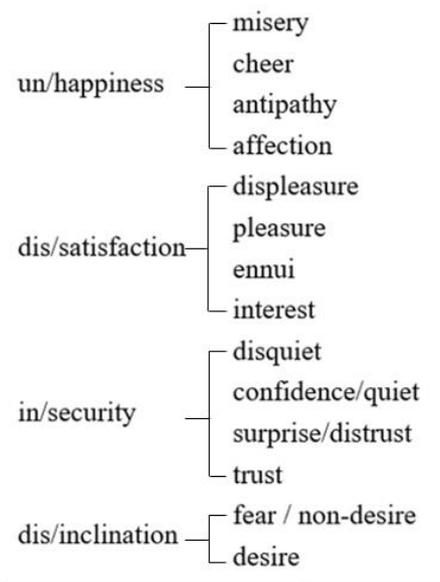


Figure 1: Affect Categories
(Bednarek, 2008; Martin & White, 2005)

2.4.1.2. Judgement

‘Judgement’ deals with the ethical evaluation of people and their behaviour by criticising, praising or condemning it. This domain is subdivided into two categories: ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’: On the one hand, ‘social esteem’ is concerned with those behaviours “policed in the oral culture, through chat, gossip, jokes and stories of various kinds” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 52) and covers the categories of ‘normality’

(how special? *lucky, natural, odd, unpredictable*), ‘capacity’ (how capable? *powerful, experienced, weak, ignorant*) and ‘tenacity’ (how dependable? *brave, persevering, timid, stubborn*). On the other, ‘social sanction’ refers to the behaviour regulated by legal and moral rules and realises into de categories of ‘veracity’ (how honest? *truthful, discrete, deceitful, blunt*) and ‘propriety’ (how far beyond reproach? *fair, respectful, corrupt, cruel*) (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 52-53).

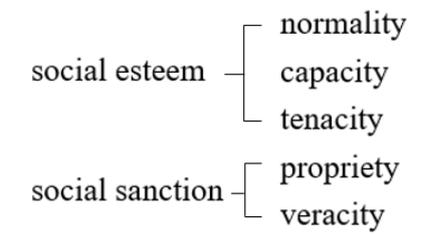


Figure 2: Judgement Categories
(Martin & White, 2005)

2.4.1.3. Appreciation

The last category of the Appraisal Framework is ‘appreciation’, which involves aesthetic and functional evaluations. It is divided into three subdomains: firstly, evaluations corresponding to the author’s reaction to the appraised element can be further classified as ‘quality’, depending on whether s/he likes it (*beautiful, appealing, nasty, plain*), or ‘impact’, depending on whether it grabbed our interest (*captivating, intense, dull, flat*); secondly, ‘composition’ deals with the questions on how ‘balanced’ (*harmonious, logical, irregular, contradictory*) or ‘complex’ (*clear, detailed, extravagant, plain*) something is; lastly, ‘social valuation’ is concerned with whether the appraiser perceives something as worthy or not (*worthwhile, effective, common, useless*) (Martin & White, 2005, p. 56).

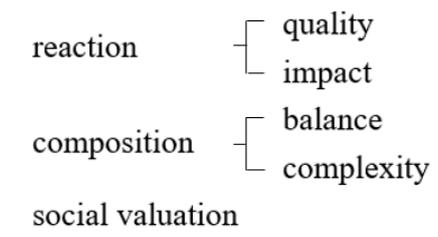


Figure 3: Appreciation Categories
(Martin & White, 2005)

2.4.2. Sources and Targets of Appraisal

The first question related to the Appraisal Framework is who evaluates whom and what, since, indeed, two of the key Appraisal elements are the figures of ‘appraiser’ and ‘appraised’. To begin with, the source of the values is the one that feels the emotion, judges or appreciates. In most occasions, the main source coincides with the writer (‘writer-appraiser’), who projects subjectivity to his/her narration. However, a text can reflect more than one voice, as the author might report someone else’s speech and, therefore, evaluations (‘other-appraiser’). This is the case, for instance, in the sentence “‘not very snappy, no style, and still too long,’ said Partridge” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 70), where the narrator projects evaluations made by an additional appraiser, Partridge. Regarding ‘other-appraisers’ throughout the analysis allows the researcher to note what the author of the texts believes that someone else feels, judges or appreciates.

Along with the source of evaluation goes the target. The target element or ‘Appraised’ is the one that is judged or appreciated or that triggers an emotion: by way of illustration, in “you got sick a week ago” *you* is appraised as lacking ‘capacity’, and, in “your skin is so smooth and soft”, the appraised element is *skin*. In the case of ‘affect’ attitude, “you cried so hard after we put you down” reveals that, while *you* corresponds to the appraiser, as s/he is feeling ‘misery’, the appraised element, what made her/him cry, is the fact that s/he was put down (Martin & White, 2005, p. 77).

2.4.3. Polarity

Attitude appraisals involve either positive or negative assessment. In the case of ‘affect’, because of its realisation into polar opposite categories, positive and negative evaluations can easily be identified in each member of the pair; by way of illustration, ‘cheer’ and ‘misery’ represent, respectively, the positive and negative sides of ‘un/happiness’. ‘Judgement’ and ‘appreciation’ express polarity similarly to ‘affect’: for instance, *natural* should be regarded as positive ‘normality’, as it holds the characteristic of being normal, whereas *odd* would fall into the negative polarity; in the same way, the ‘appreciation’ category ‘interest’ can be regarded as positive in the case of *captivating* and negative in the case of *dull* (J. R. Martin & White, 2005; O’Donnell, 2014). However, the analyst must be especially aware of the context and genre under study in order to choose the most appropriate annotation: as O’Donnell (2014) discusses, “in both ‘he

sticks to his principles' and 'he is flexible', the writer evaluates the target positively, once for being tenacious, in the other for not being tenacious", in the same way that "'he is stubborn' and 'he is unreliable' evaluate the target negatively for either being tenacious, or not" (p. 106).

2.4.4. Explicitness

As stated above, subjectivity is natural to language and, therefore, texts are always subject to the author's point of view, who moulds his language as s/he communicates. The degree of explicitness through which an evaluation is conveyed is, indeed, one of the main resources by which the author shapes a message. In this way, attitudinal information can be stated either overtly (inscribed attitude) or implicitly (invoked). On the one hand, inscribed attitude refers to that linguistic element that carries out explicit assessment regardless of the context, as the evaluative information is inherent to its meaning; some of the examples of inscribed attitude that Thomson et al. (2008) provide are *corrupt*, *virtuously*, *skilfully* or *tyrant* (p. 221). On the other hand, invoked attitude refers to the cases in which the evaluation is not inherent to a linguistic item, but rather implied by the information given and subject to interpretation; in the sentence "he only visits his mother once a year, even though she is more than 90 years old" (Thomson et al., 2008, p. 221), no explicit item expressing evaluation can be found; however, social and cultural values can lead the reader to infer that the author is expressing negative 'judgement'.

2.4.5. Value Layers

Attitude Appraisal categories are not strictly closed, but limited by a blurred line that allows them to interact with one another and overlap. Because of this, a single attitude token might have multiple value layers depending on the context, which Martin and White (2005) define as hybrid realisations. According to this approach, for instance, the sentence "I felt disgusted with them for provoking him" (p. 61) conveys both 'affect' and 'judgement' meanings. In addition, hybrid realisations can also be the result of the combination of inscribed and invoked meanings; in O'Donnell's (2014) example, "I am honoured to be in the timeless city of Cairo", *timeless* expresses positive 'appreciation/valuation' of the city explicitly while, in turn, it evaluates the Egyptian population as tenacious in an invoked way (p. 107). Moreover, hybrid realisations can also reveal different voices, as illustrated by the sentence "we are getting divorced"

(Martin & White, 2005, p. 120), which can be broken into two sources: the author's ('writer-appraiser', 'antipathy' towards 'other') and his/her ex-partner ('other-appraiser', 'antipathy' towards 'writer'). Multiple layer annotations are key to the Appraisal analysis inasmuch as they capture meanings to the finest levels and provide detailed interpretations.

3. Methodology

This section describes the methodological procedures followed to carry out this study as dealing with the expression of evaluation in anonymous first-person testimonies of sexual assaults written by both victims and perpetrators. It seeks to describe and compare the ways in which sexual victims and assaulters make use of appraisal strategies to express their emotions and judge themselves, the others and the experience. In order to do so, the evaluative resources employed by the writers were analysed following Martin and White's (2005) Attitude Appraisal Framework, since it provides a deep and accurate perspective of the writers' feelings.

3.1. Data Set and Collection

The intention of this study was to use only data produced in anonymous and non-confrontational conditions, that is, not being influenced by the presence of a court or an interviewer, believing that this type of expression would provide truthful and unconditioned recounts, as writers reveal their feelings without restricting themselves. However, as mentioned above, few cases of sexual assault are reported, and those which are include the reporter's personal information and are influenced by the presence of the authorities. This does limit the opportunities for researchers and psychologists to investigate the nature of this matter, but, most importantly, it emphasises the nature of this problem and reflects the fact that people involved in this type of experiences are afraid to speak out and look for support.

Nevertheless, the emergence of new technologies and the Internet has enabled victims to express themselves in social networks and forums in search for help and relief. In this way, increasingly sexual assault survivors are taking the step to share their stories on online communities. In addition, assaulters have a story to tell too: even though their testimonies are not usually welcomed in other media apart from police reports and research studies, several of their stories can be found on online forums and news websites.

The fact that both victims and perpetrators make use of online platforms to share their experiences indeed provides unique data for research that meets the requirements of this specific study. In this way, the present thesis looks at 63 online reports of sexual assault (11134 words in total) written by 33 victims (6308 words) and 30 assaulters (4826 words), all of them anonymous.

The testimonies written by the victims were collected from the webpage Brave Miss World (2017), a platform run by Miss Israel Linor Abargil, a rape survivor, where victims are encouraged to share their sexual assault stories and are provided support by other members of the community. 33 random testimonies, published before the 5th of May 2017, were collected. The sample was restricted to first-hand reports. Some of the stories were signed by female names, but, in order to keep the writers' privacy, all the names were deleted from the sample; the rest, the majority of the testimonials, were completely anonymous, so the only personal information about the writers was that given within their reports.

In the case of sexual assault perpetrators, as mentioned above, it is much more challenging to obtain unconditioned testimonials, since most of the reports available were collected during trials or correspond to police reports. However, on the 26th of July 2012, a user of the online forum Reddit started a thread under the questions "Reddit's had a few threads about sexual assault victims, but are there any redditors from the other side of the story? What were your motivations? Do you regret it?". Reddit, one of the most popular social websites (Duggan & Smith, 2013), is a website of user-submitted content that includes text, links, images and videos; users around the world share any kind of content and interact in different threads by means of comments. Reddit's rating system determines the order in which the content appears to the users.

This thread in particular generated over 12,000 comments. Despite the large amount of comments yielded in that thread, only around 200 comments could be visualised at the time the data for this study was collected, since the moderators of the community deleted the thread and the comments shortly after it was posted. For that reason, the forum had to be accessed from Web Archive (2013), a website devoted to the collection of online content in order to preserve it over time, which displayed only a short portion of the comments posted on the original platform. Out of the posts that could be accessed, since most of them were reactions to other comments, 30 corresponded to sexual assault

experience reports and met the first-hand requirement of this thesis. Because the webpage rules establish that no personal information can be shared in the forum, the writers of the testimonies were completely anonymous, only identifiable by means of their username. In order to protect their identity, those usernames were not included among the data.

As it is a unique source of data, it is not the first time that the content of this Reddit thread has been the subject of study: indeed, as mentioned in Section 2, Hipp et al. (2015) identified the justifications expressed by the perpetrators, and concluded that victim-blaming, objectification, biological essentialism and hostility toward women were the key ways in which the writers justified and “protect[ed] themselves from shame or negative self-evaluation” (p. 8).

In the case of both samples, due to, first, the density of content in every testimony and, second, the fact that in many cases the authors referred to events that were not related to the event, the texts were shortened to the passages in which they narrate the causes and consequences of the sexual encounter and the experience itself. This allowed irrelevant information to be left out that might have influenced the findings and ensured a more accurate approach to meeting the research objectives.

Due to the anonymity on the platforms Brave Miss World and Reddit, the writers' gender cannot be stated with certainty: amongst the victims who signed their text there was no male name, yet there is no evidence against the possibility that one or more victim writers were men; amongst the assaulters, one writer explicitly identifies herself as a woman. This, together with the fact that one of the male perpetrators reports his experience assaulting another man, allows the study not to be limited to men abusing women and to heterosexual assaults. In addition to this, the study concentrates on cases of sexual assault, yet it covers a wide range of types: rape and molestation, child sexual abuse, male and female victims, perpetrators known (acquaintances, intimate partners and family members) and strange to the victims, one-time and serial assaults, individual and group offences and involving physical violence, weapons, drugs and coercion.

3.2. Analysis Procedure

The 63-text collection was incorporated into the UAM CorpusTool (O'Donnell, 2008), software for manual corpus annotation. Then, the evaluative content of the texts was annotated following Martin and White's (2005) Attitude Appraisal Framework and

Bednarek's (2008) additions regarding 'affect'. It should be noted that, rather than only regarding the attitudes at the level of the word, this study considered as single units of analysis all those word groups, clauses, sentences and expressions that conveyed evaluative meanings. Anchor examples from the corpus representing every Attitude category can be found in Appendix C.

The Appraisal Framework, and, in particular, Attitude, is the most suitable framework to approach the research question because, as a scheme within SFL and concerned with language metafunctions, it "provide[s] analysts with complementary lenses for interpreting language in use" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). Attitude categories are not strictly closed, which poses a series of challenges and advantages: On the one hand, this interpretative freedom might involve the risk of the researcher including subjective views, which requires the analyst to be especially careful and always bear the author's purpose in mind. In order to avoid this subjectivity, however, I was very consistent in the annotation of the texts, which were later revised with my supervisor. On the other hand, thanks to this flexibility of interpretation, the Appraisal Framework can be applied to a great variety of discourses. In addition, since it must be adjusted to the context and genre under study, the Appraisal Framework provides an accurate and detailed interpretation of the texts. By way of illustration, claims such as "[he] started to kiss me", according the Appraisal categories, should be annotated, simply, as 'affection'. However, when regarding the context of a sexual assault and widening the reading frame ("[he] started to kiss me and I was like I want to go home"), the analyst can observe that the writer is judging that person's behaviour morally and condemning it, so that token should be annotated as 'judgement: propriety' as well.

The voices in the texts are key to this study. The appraisers were identified as either the victim or the perpetrator and, in turn, they were also annotated as 'writer-' or 'other-appraiser' depending on whether it was a first-hand ("I apologized profusely") or reported ("he apologized again") evaluation. Any other voices (for instance, "my friends said 'calm down'") were not considered in the study in order to focus on the evaluations expressed by the survivors and the assaulters. The targets of the evaluations were categorised as 'writer-appraised' or 'other-appraised'; the latter included evaluations of the victim, the assaulter, the event (referring to the sexual assault and including meanings closely linked to it, such as "undress" or "touch"). This detailed division permitted the corpus to be analysed using a wide variety of combinations that revealed the ways in

which the participants evaluate themselves or others as represented in their own and others' reports. The table below summarises the categorisation of the voices:

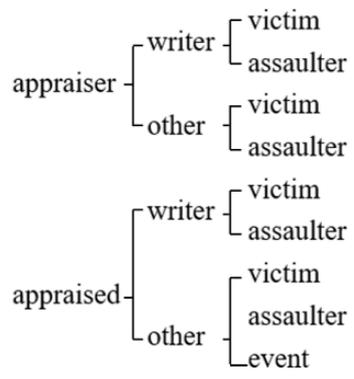


Figure 4: Voice Categories

Finally, the quantitative results obtained from the Attitude Appraisal analysis were carefully described and compared statistically. In order to determine the difference between the expressions of evaluations in the participants' texts, chi-square tests were carried out on the relations between the different Attitude categories.

4. Results and Discussion

In order to provide more insight on the critical issue of sexual assault, this thesis applied the Attitude Appraisal Framework to first-hand testimonials of assaults; particularly, it explored how the evaluative resources employed by victims and assaulters differed in their reports. The quantitative results collected from the analysis of the participants' texts are presented and discussed in this section, dealing first with the global results on Attitude and then examining 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation' in the testimonies of the two different groups.

4.1. General Results

A first look at the general results of 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation', as shown in Table 1, reveals the way in which victims and aggressors distribute their appraisal tokens. The victims, on the one hand, devote more than half of their evaluations (61%) to the expression of judgement. Their use of 'affect' tokens is importantly lower than that of 'judgement', yet it constitutes a great part of their appraisal instances (36%). In contrast to the high figures concerning 'judgement' and 'affect', victims barely express 'appreciation' evaluations (only 2%). According to this, sexual assault victims seem to

express their sorrow by judging their own and their attackers' behaviour rather than by mentioning their emotions, while aesthetic and functional evaluations seem to be of minor importance for them.

On the other hand, the most frequent category for assaulters is 'affect', accounting for almost half of the total percentage of tokens (45%). Nevertheless, they also express a great amount of 'judgement' appraisal (43%). In their evaluations, assaulters also regard 'appreciation', up to 12% of the total expression of appraisal. These numbers show that perpetrators of sexual assault, even though they judge behaviours to a great extent, seem to prefer to comment on the feelings and emotions that led to and resulted from the assault; the aesthetics, while complementary to other evaluations, are not central to their discourse.

In comparing the results of the groups of authors, significant differences can be noted. Victims express more than 17% more judgement than assaulters, yet the attackers' figures are also importantly high for this category. This difference lies in the fact that assaulters focus their testimonies on the expression of emotions, whose values are 9% higher than those of the victims. For both groups, the tokens of 'appreciation' are very limited as compared to the other categories; however, it is necessary to note that this type of evaluation is significantly less frequent (9% less) in victims' reports than it is in assaulters' reports. In sum, even though both discourses revolve around the expression of 'affect' and 'judgement', rather than 'appreciation', victims emphasise ethics while assaulters' main concern is feelings.

Table 1: *Comparison of General Attitude Results*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=677		N=473			
affect	246	36.34%	213	45.03%	4.95	+++ ¹
judgement	415	61.30%	205	43.34%	28.88	+++
appreciation	16	2.36%	55	11.63%	43.15	+++

This first and broad approach to the analysis results reveals some of the dissimilarities between the forms of expression of victims and assaulters. However, a closer look into

¹ + : weak significance (90%); ++ : medium significance (95%); +++ : high significance (98%)

each of the Attitude domains is necessary to uncover why and how victims and perpetrators focus their narrations on one or another category. This, together with the regard of the different targets of appraisal and multiple voices will provide a deeper understanding of the results and ensures a more accurate interpretation.

4.2. Affect

As seen above, one of the key Appraisal categories in these testimonies is ‘affect’, as both victims and assaulters devote a great part of their evaluation to the expression of feelings. Thus, this subsection presents ‘affect’ as targeted to victims, assaulters and assaults in victims’ and assaulters’ texts.

4.2.1. Victim- and Assaulter-appraised

Both victims and assaulters evaluate each other according to what they feel. Because emotions are especially involved in sexual assault cases, participants tend to thoroughly describe their feelings regarding the other and, consequently, ‘affect’ appraisal targeting the other to them is indeed very frequent in this study.

4.2.1.1. Victims’ Testimonies

The sexual assault victims in this study target a considerable percentage of ‘affect’ evaluations at the assaulters, as can be seen from Table 2. Victims highlight their feelings of closeness between themselves and their attackers by means of ‘affection’ (69%). Within this, rather than acts of affection, victims use these evaluations to show that they were usually very intimate with the perpetrators (“he was my favourite uncle”, “I thought I knew the ‘love of my life’”). This is linked to the relatively high percentage (18%) of ‘trust’ since, because of their closeness to their attackers, victims did not expect them to perpetrate the assaults (“I was so close to him I never would guess that he would ever do something bad to me”). Because of this, the low levels of ‘antipathy’ (10%) and ‘distrust’ (3%) are not surprising: all the ‘antipathy’ tokens reveal that, again, the assaulters were known and close to the victims, despite signalling problems in the relationships (“we kept fighting that day”, “my boyfriend but now ex and I got into an argument”). There is only one instance of ‘distrust’: “he was making me uncomfortable”.

The ‘affect’ figures in victims’ testimonies reveal familiarity and trust as key factors for victims. Firstly, the high levels of ‘affection’, especially as expressing closeness to

the assaulters, signals that a great number of the cases in this study correspond to acquaintance assaults. Within this type of assault, victims identified their assaulters as dates, friends, intimate partners and family members. This reinforces reports, statistics and research articles such as Truman and Langton (2015) that state that most sexual assaults are perpetrated by someone known to the victim, 45% being an acquaintance, 25%, a partner and 2%, other relatives. Secondly, in addition to the importance given by victims to intimacy and familiarity, the frequent occurrence of ‘trust’ evaluations show that victims did not expect their loved ones to sexually assault them, and also suggests feelings of deception and betrayal since the aggressors took advantage of their position of trust and did not respect their relationship.

Table 2: *Victims' First-hand Affect Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=39	
affection	27	69.23%
antipathy	4	10.26%
trust	7	17.95%
distrust	1	2.56%

Victims reinforce their discourse by means of introducing the voice of the assaulters in their testimonies, that is, reporting what they believe their assaulters’ evaluations would be. As Table 3 reveals, victims express their aggressors’ evaluations almost as often (33 tokens) as they use their own voice (39, from Table 2), which demonstrates the importance of the use of voice-reporting to support their arguments. Once again, ‘affection’ holds the highest percentage, 85%: by means of this category and those of ‘interest’ (3%) and ‘pleasure’ (3%), victims highlight their familiarity to the assaulters as they report that the assaulters were close and loved them (“he always looked out for me”, “he had been in love with me for years”), that they were interested in them (“one guy started showing interest in me”) and that they were attracted to the victims (“I thought he liked me”). As explained in section 2.4.5., a single token of appraisal can have multiple annotations thanks to the interactive nature of the appraisal categories and voices, which is known as hybrid realisation. In this way, the instances of ‘antipathy’ (9%) coincide with the ones above because, due to their reciprocal meaning, they are express both the

victims and the assaulters' voices ("we kept fighting that day", "my boyfriend but now ex and I got into an argument").

Table 3: *Victims' Reports of Assaulters' Affect Appraisal*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=33	
affection	28	84.85%
antipathy	3	9.09%
interest	1	3.03%
pleasure	1	3.03%

4.2.1.2. Assaulters' Testimonies

Assaulters frequently appraise victims in their texts. Table 4 reveals that a surprising 83% of the 'affect' tokens by the attackers corresponds to the conveyance of affection. By means of this subcategory, perpetrators express their closeness to the victims ("she was a good friend", "we were 'dating'") and, mostly, behaviours involving nuances of affection ("we ended up snuggling and then kissing", "we started making out"). Few tokens are left for other categories, except for 'interest' and 'antipathy': while the former reinforces the idea of assaulters liking the victims ("I showed interest in them"), the latter, "I had just broken up with my girlfriend" (*girlfriend* being identified later in the text as the victim), emphasises again the fact that most aggressors had a close relationship with their victims. This again vindicates claims such as Truman and Langton's (2015) that most cases of sexual assault are perpetrated by someone known to the victim. This closely relates to the fact that assaulters usually take the consent of acquaintances and partners for granted (Lazar, 2010; Randall, 2008), as the aggressors in this study emphasise their familiarity to the victims.

Table 4: *Assaulters' First-hand Affect Appraisal of Victims*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=24	
affection	20	83.33%
antipathy	1	4.17%
interest	3	12.50%

In the same way as in the discourse of victims, voice-reporting is key in perpetrators' testimonies: assaulters make use of the victims' voices more often (25 tokens) than they use their own (24 tokens). In Table 5 it can be observed that, again, 'affection' (92%) is a key element in their discourse, where most instances correspond to affectionate actions ("she kissed me", "she [...] started making out with me"). In addition, one assaulter reports his victims "show interest in [him]" while another one claims that his victim "missed [him]". This particularly high occurrence of affectionate behaviours by victims in assaulters' texts relates to two factors: on the one hand, the testimonies of the aggressors support the myth that the provocative behaviour of victims, regardless of the degree of affection shown, places them as responsible for the attack (Scully & Marolla, 1984). On the other, perpetrators of sexual assault usually misinterpret their victims' friendliness as sexual cues (Abbey & McAusland, 2004; Yescavage, 1999).

Table 5: *Assaulters' Reports of Victims' Affect Appraisal*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=25	
affection	23	92.00%
interest	1	4.00%
inclination	1	4.00%

4.2.1.3. Comparison

A comparison of the way in which the groups appraise each other employing their own voice (Table 6) shows that victims and assaulters use their 'affect' resources in quite a different way. Despite the fact that both resort to 'affection' as their key evaluation category, their purpose is different: while victims mainly express love and familiarity, assaulters describe affectionate actions of underlying sexual connotations. There are, in addition, significant differences in their use of 'dis/trust' and 'ennui/interest', where victims emphasise again their friendly and familiar closeness to their assaulters employing 'trust' evaluations and assaulters, in contrast, express their interest in victims.

Table 6: *Comparison of First-hand Affect Appraisal of Victims and Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=39		N=24			
affection	27	69.23%	20	83.33%	1.56	
antipathy	4	10.26%	1	4.17%	0.75	
interest	0	0.00%	3	12.50%	5.12	++
ennui	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
trust	7	17.95%	0	0.00%	4.85	++
distrust	1	2.56%	0	0.00%	0.63	

4.2.2. Event-appraised

Under the ‘event-appraised’ category can be found all instances of evaluations targeted to the sexual activity itself. This element is especially important as related to ‘affect’, since it receives the most ‘affect’ appraisal in this study, which signals its importance for both groups of participants.

4.2.2.1. Victims’ Testimonies

To begin with, as shown in Table 7, the high levels of victims’ ‘misery’ (20%) contrast with the low frequency of ‘happiness’ (only 2%): on the one hand, survivors of sexual assault express the sorrow that the aggression provoked while it was happening (“I was helplessly sobbing”, “he raped me [...] whilst I cried”) and after it occurred (“a bit of me disappeared after that”, “I still struggle a lot with what happened”). On the other, one of the ‘happiness’ instances corresponds to one victim’s positive feelings previous to the assault (“I was laughing... but then it happened”), while the other two are expressions of victims who started overcoming their trauma and feeling happy again (“now I’m starting to put it behind me”, “after a few weeks, I just cooled off”).

Given the high percentage of ‘misery’, it is not surprising that negative categories such as ‘displeasure’ and ‘disquiet’ are importantly high as well (almost 12% each), while no ‘pleasure’ or ‘quiet’ tokens can be found. Under the category of ‘displeasure’ are victims’ statements that they disliked the event (“I hated it”, “it felt like hours”). By means of ‘disquiet’, they express their shock and anxiety at realising what has happening (“I was in shock”, “I was completely frozen”). Victims also convey evaluations of ‘distrust’, but

to a lesser extent (4%), which complement the previous categories by expressing their confusion and nuisance (“I was uncomfortable”, ‘thinking what the hell’).

Nevertheless, the percentage that stands out the most among victims’ appraisals is ‘disinclination’, which represents more than 45% of the total event-evaluation instances. This category collects victims’ claims that they did not want the event to occur or that they were scared. In their testimonies, therefore, victims express their ‘disinclination’ in four ways: first, they describe that they verbally told their aggressors ‘no’ (“I screamed ‘no’ and ‘stop’”, “I begged him to stop”); secondly, they let their assaulters know about their disinclination by means of physical demonstrations (“I kept pushing him away”, “I kept turning my body away from him”); in addition, many instances under this category correspond to mental processes (“[I] wanted to go home”, “I was terrified”); finally, victims also stated that the event occurred against their will as their aggressors obliged them (“he made me have sex”, “my dad force[d] himself on me”).

There are only seven instances where victim produce ‘inclination’ tokens: they intended to have sexual relations, but regretted either before it happened or while it was happening because they felt uncomfortable (“we had been planning to have sex”, “I brought the condoms”). This is related to the myth on withdrawal of consent, which stands for the belief that, once agreed to engage in a sexual activity, people involved in it cannot change their minds (Lyon, 2004). As a consequence of this myth, victims in this study expressing ‘inclination’ place themselves as responsible for the assault (“I know I didn’t want sex and I know I expressed that to him all three times but I did go to his house with intent for sex”). In addition, there are two instances of ‘ambiguous inclination’, where the victim questions whether hers was an actual assault, since she was inebriated and could not recall refusing to sleep with her aggressor (“I doubt I actually said ‘no’”, “I doubt I said it”). With this, the victim lessens her aggressors’ fault and blames herself for her behaviour and victimisation as described by WHO (2003), which states that women under the influence of alcohol or other substances are likely to be blamed for their assaults. Indeed, most victims of sexual assault assign fault to themselves, usually as a result of the acceptance of rape and sexual assault myths (Burkhart & Fromuth, 1996; Donde, 2015; Vidal & Petrak, 2007).

Table 7: *Victims' First-hand Affect Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
N=153		
misery	30	19.61%
happiness	3	1.96%
displeasure	18	11.76%
disquiet	18	11.76%
distrust	6	3.92%
inclination	7	4.58%
disinclination	69	45.10%
ambiguous inclinat.	2	1.31%

Regarding the use of other voices in the appraisal of events, victims do not report their assaulters' voices to a great extent, since it is not important for them what the assaulters thought of the act; rather, victims base their testimonies on their own feelings and desires and, thus, they mostly use first-hand evaluations (Table 8). Despite this, the highest percentage concerning assaulters' reported appraisal in victims' narrations, more than 80%, corresponds to 'inclination', by which they emphasise that the assaulters, contrary to them, did want the sexual activity to happen ("he asks me to give him head", "my dad wanted sex"). 14% of these evaluations describe how assaulters enjoyed the act under the 'pleasure' label ("they made a game of it"). A single instance of 'displeasure' can be found, by which a survivor describes her violent assault, where the aggressor was angry at her lack of cooperation ("after telling me get up in anger").

Table 8: *Victims' Reports of Assaulters' Affect Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
N=21		
pleasure	3	14.29%
displeasure	1	4.76%
inclination	17	80.95%

4.2.2.2. Assaulters' Testimonies

Assaulters talk little about their feelings concerning the event, as Table 9 reveals. However, within this, more than half of their evaluations (53%) correspond to the 'inclination' category. Under this label, assaulters describe their desire to engage in sexual

activities, by means of both actions (“we jumped into bed”, “I [...] kissed him, and went ahead with it”) and mental processes (“I found myself wanting to go further”, “I felt I just had to touch her”). ‘Misery’ (15%) collects mostly the tokens by which assaulters convey remorse (“I woke up feeling the worst feelings”, “I still don’t know how to live after this”). In contrast, a single token of ‘happiness’ can be found, which describes the victim and the assaulter having fun at the act (“we were all laughing”). With ‘pleasure’ (11%) they claim that they enjoyed the assault (“it felt pretty good”, “I got really, really into it”). ‘Disquiet’, yet of a negative polarity, in this case expresses mostly nuances of positive surprise (“I was shocked when she said, ‘alright let’s go [to have sex]”, “this was one of my first kisses so naturally I was pretty shell-shocked”). The categories of ‘distrust’ and ‘interest’, like ‘happiness’, are barely employed by assaulters to appraise the event: in the case of the former, assaulters express confusion at their victims’ reactions (“I was confused”) and, as for the latter, an assaulter describes himself as “a curious 20 year old virgin”).

Table 9: *Assaulters’ First-hand Affect Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=53	
misery	8	15.09%
happiness	1	1.89%
interest	1	1.89%
pleasure	6	11.32%
disquiet	7	13.21%
distrust	2	3.77%
inclination	28	52.83%

In contrast, assaulters in their arguments do make strong use of the victim’s voice evaluating the event. Indeed, the figures concerning victims’ reported ‘affect’ appraisal in assaulters’ testimonies double assaulters’ first-hand evaluations (Table 10). To begin with, while other categories remain importantly low, ‘inclination’ gathers 43% of all instances. With this, assaulters emphasise that victims desired the act to happen and provoked them (“she ran to my bed”, “in my mind, at the time, she wanted it”). The extremely high occurrence of these reported evaluations can be related to several rape and sexual assault myths, such as ‘they were asking for it’, ‘it was consensual’ and ‘they were seductive and provoked the assaulters with their behaviours’ (Brownmiller, 1975; Scully

& Marolla, 1984; Ward, 1995), which help the perpetrators normalise their actions and blame the victims. Assaulters report ‘disinclination’ (26%) half as often as they do ‘inclination’. They mainly report explicit verbalisations (“she asked me to stop”, “he had said no”), but only a few mention the victims’ physical demonstrations of disinclination (“[she] tried to clamp her legs shut”). Some expressions of ambiguous disinclination can also be found (“she didn’t say no”, “just maybes and I don’t know”).

‘Inclination’ tokens are complemented by expressions of ‘pleasure’, by which assaulters express that their victims actually enjoyed the activity (“he was definitely loving it”, “some of them were into it”). This is grounded in the myth pointed out by Brownmiller (1975) that victims ultimately relax and enjoy. On the contrary, some assaulters do report their victims displeasure (“she didn’t take it too well”, “they didn’t like what was going on”), surprise (“the girls usually didn’t know how to respond”) and discomfort (“she wasn’t really comfortable with this”, “she seemed uncomfortable”) and described victims’ unhappiness about the assault (“she was crying”), sometimes to the extent of showing sympathy (“I can’t begin to imagine how that made her feel”). To finish with, a few tokens of ‘happiness’ can also be found (“she keeps saying she’s fine”, “are you okay?’ she says ‘yeah’”).

Table 10: *Assaulters’ Reports of Victims’ Affect Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=107	
misery	5	4.67%
happiness	3	2.80%
pleasure	7	6.54%
displeasure	4	3.74%
disquiet	4	3.74%
distrust	6	5.61%
inclination	46	42.99%
disinclination	28	26.17%
ambiguous inclinat.	4	3.74%

4.2.2.3. Comparisons

Table 11 compares the distribution of first-hand ‘affect’ tokens by victims and assaulters. Despite the fact that ‘misery/happiness’, ‘dis/quiet’ and ‘dis/trust’ are

employed in a similar way by both groups, significant differences are found in ‘ennui/interest’, ‘dis/pleasure’ and ‘dis/inclination’. To start with, while no victim mentions whether they were interested or not in the event, assaulters’ expressions of ‘interest’ are significantly higher. In addition, even more significance is found in ‘dis/pleasure’, as, on the one hand, victims make clear that they did not enjoy the assault while, on the other, assaulters emphasise that they did take pleasure in it. Lastly, the distribution of ‘dis/inclination’ is extremely significant: most evaluations by victims express rejection towards the sexual activity, whereas assaulters, conversely, exclusively emphasise their desire to perform it.

Table 11: *Comparison of First-hand Affect Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=153		N=53			
misery	30	19.61%	8	15.09%	0.53	
happiness	3	1.96%	1	1.89%	0.00	
interest	0	0.00%	1	1.89%	2.90	+
ennui	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	00	
pleasure	0	0.00%	6	11.32%	17.84	+++
displeasure	18	11.76%	0	0.00%	6.83	+++
quiet	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
disquiet	18	11.76%	7	13.21%	0.07	
trust	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
distrust	6	3.92%	2	3.77%	0.00	
inclination	7	4.58%	28	52.83%	64.99	+++
disinclination	69	45.10%	0	0.00%	35.94	+++
ambiguous inclinat.	2	1.31%	0	0.00%	0.70	

Regarding the ‘affect’ appraisal of the assault, it is especially interesting to compare the actual affect evaluation expressed by each participant to that assigned to them by the other participant. Table 12 reveals significant differences between victims’ first-hand appraisals, in their testimonies, and reported appraisals, in the assaulters’ testimonies. To begin with, victims express their misery 4 times as often as the assaulters report (20% vs. 5%), which indicates that, whereas their victim’s feelings of sadness are especially important for victims and key to their discourse, they are almost completely ignored by their aggressors.

Whether victims enjoyed the event or not is dealt with by both groups. The difference, however, lies in the fact that assaulters emphasise that their victims liked the sexual activity, while, on the contrary, victims express high levels of ‘displeasure’ and do not mention enjoyment in any case. Similarly, a medium significance is found in their expression of ‘disquiet’, which is especially high for victims, whereas assaulters barely regard their victims’ state of shock. Nevertheless, even though most of both groups’ event-appraised tokens fall under this label, the greatest difference is in the ‘dis/inclination’ pair. According to their texts, assaulters believe to a great extent (43% of their total evaluations) that their victims did desire the sexual activity and even provoked them to perform it. However, the reality could not be more different, as 45% of victims’ evaluations convey that the assault was perpetrated against their will. These comparisons indicate that either most assaulters have a mistaken view of how the victims felt about the aggression or they manipulate reality through their testimonies to justify their behaviour and blame the victims.

Table 12: *Comparison of Victims’ First-hand and Reported Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=153		N=107			
misery	30	19.61%	5	4.67%	12.06	+++
happiness	3	1.96%	3	2.80%	0.20	
pleasure	0	0.00%	7	6.54%	10.29	+++
displeasure	18	11.76%	4	3.74%	5.24	++
quiet	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
disquiet	18	11.76%	4	3.74%	5.24	++
trust	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
distrust	6	3.92%	6	5.61%	0.40	
inclination	7	4.58%	46	42.99%	57.25	+++
disinclination	69	45.10%	28	26.17%	9.65	+++
ambiguous inclinat.	2	1.31%	4	3.74%	1.65	

Contrasting the assaulters’ first-hand ‘affect’ evaluations of the events and those ascribed by the victim to the assaulter, not many significant differences can be found, yet some categories do stand out (

Table 13). To start with, assaulters do feel significantly more sorrow about the assault and empathise with the victims more than the victims believe and express. In addition, while victims do not report their aggressors to be shocked or surprised, assaulters do

express it in terms of ‘disquiet’; however, as mentioned above, most of those cases are expressions of positive surprise at victims’ reactions. Lastly, both groups express high levels of ‘inclination’; however, victims emphasise the fact that assaulters desired the victimisation significantly more than the assaulters express. The small number of perpetrators’ first-hand and reported evaluations, however, show that their feelings are not key to any of the groups’ arguments.

Table 13: *Comparison of Assaulters’ First-hand and Reported Appraisal of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=21		N=53			
misery	0	0.00%	8	15.09%	3.55	+
happiness	0	0.00%	1	1.89%	0.40	
interest	0	0.00%	1	1.89%	0.40	
ennui	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
pleasure	3	14.29%	6	11.32%	0.12	
displeasure	1	4.76%	0	0.00%	2.56	
quiet	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
disquiet	0	0.00%	7	13.21%	3.06	+
trust	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
distrust	0	0.00%	2	3.77%	0.81	
inclination	17	80.95%	28	52.83%	4.99	++
disinclination	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	

4.3. Judgement

Like ‘affect’, the role of ‘judgement’ is central in the discourse of both victims of sexual assault and assaulters, as they criticise, condemn or praise their own or the other’s. Since this category deals with the behaviours of the appraised elements, ‘judgement’ is only targeted to victims and perpetrators (their behaviour or character traits), and not to the assault itself.

4.3.1. Victim-appraised

4.3.1.1. Victims’ Testimonies

As Table 14 shows, the victims of sexual assault in this thesis tend to judge themselves often. Indeed, approximately 80% of their self-judgement is negative, appraising

negatively their capacity (47%), propriety (18%), tenacity (9%), veracity (6%) and normality (1%). The negative evaluation of ‘capacity’ includes judging themselves for being naïve (“I was still a virgin and very innocent”, “I was naive”), inebriated (“I was too drunk”, “the more I drank, the more I allowed it”), not strong enough to fight back (“he was behind me holding my hands in a locked position”, “he pinned me to the bed”) or afraid (“I can’t seem to speak. Or scream”, “I was [...] too afraid to do anything”). Concerning ‘propriety’, victims place themselves responsible for the assault (“I started slowly blaming myself”, “it’s all my own fault”) and express regret for not having taken actions (“I regret not doing something”, “I wish I had done something before it was too late”). Once again, self-blame proves to be core to most victims’ discourses, as WHO warned. By means of negative ‘tenacity’ victims condemn themselves for giving up fighting against their aggressors (“I gave up. I stopped trying”, “maybe if I fought back harder it wouldn’t have happened”). Lastly, to a lesser extent, victims also judge themselves negatively in terms of ‘veracity’ and ‘normality’. As for the former, victims criticise hiding the truth by not reporting their assaults (“I haven’t told anyone until now”, “I went home acting like nothing had happened”). The latter corresponds to the instances “I have an STD” and “I was suffering with an eating disorder”). As these figures show, victims criticise themselves for not being strong enough, they gave up fighting, they lied and did not feel normal. They, again, blame themselves and wonder what they could have done to avoid the assault.

However, despite the importantly high levels of negative ‘judgement’, by means of positive ‘capacity’ and, especially, ‘tenacity’ some victims insist on the fact that they did everything they could. Indeed, even though there is little emphasis on their positive capacity (only 5%), some victims value themselves in terms of intelligence (“I knew exactly what was happening”, “I wasn’t dumb or naïve”), being sober (“I wasn’t very drunk”, “I didn’t feel the alcohol anymore”) or physical strength (“I managed to kick him off”). In addition, some others (14%) praise their perseverance to make clear that they did not desire the sexual activity and to defend themselves. They are tenacious both verbally (“I kept telling him to stop”, “I screamed ‘no’ and ‘stop’ countless times”) and physically (“I tried to knee, kick, hit”, “I tried to fight back”).

Table 14: *Victims' First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Victims*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
N=156		
normality (neg)	2	1.28%
capacity (pos)	8	5.13%
capacity (neg)	73	46.79%
tenacity (pos)	22	14.10%
tenacity (neg)	14	8.97%
propriety (neg)	28	17.96%
veracity (neg)	9	5.77%

Concerning the 'judgement' evaluation of victims in their testimonies, no instance of reported voices was found. This reveals that victims were not interested in what the assaulters thought about their behaviours and, rather, they based their discourse on their own perspective.

4.3.1.2. Assaulters' Testimonies

In contrast, assaulters judge their victims' behaviour very little (Table 15). When they did appraise them, they mostly did so in a negative way. The most frequent corresponds to the evaluation of victims' lack of capacity (39%), usually in relation to their inability to consent to the sexual activity ("she was too drunk", "I knew she wasn't able to consent"). In addition, with negative 'propriety' (14%), assaulters criticise the fact that some victims reported the aggressions ("she told at least some of my friends and my roommate", "she escaped with only a lost undergarment"). They judge the victims' behaviours as not normal (11%) when victims did not respond to the sexual activity as expected ("her behaviour was weird", "I went down on her, she didn't respond"). 8% of the evaluations emphasise the assaulters' irritation at victims being persistent ("she kept saying I was too drunk", "she kept telling me I could do whatever I wanted"). Finally, concerning 'veracity' (3%), one assaulter evaluates his victim as a deceiver because "she came or faked it". The fact that 75% of their 'judgement' of victims is negative indicates that assaulters tend to condemn victims' lack of collaboration at the time of carrying out the sexual activity, which might have encouraged assaulters to perpetrate the assault against the victims' will.

The tokens of positive appraisal, in contrast, correspond to only 25% of the total instances. By means of positive ‘capacity’ (17%), assaulters evaluate positively both the victims’ capability to do things or their knowledge (“she actually wasn’t that bad at it”, “she knew far more sex than I did”) and their impossibility to do things or their ignorance (“they couldn’t do anything about it”, “they didn’t know what was going on”), the latter contributing to the aggressors perpetrating the assault. Moreover, some regretful assaulters praise their victims’ positive ‘tenacity’ (“she kept whispering no, but I ignored it”, “she told me verbally to stop multiple times”).

Table 15: *Assaulters’ First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Victims*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=36	
normality (neg)	4	11.11%
capacity (pos)	6	16.67%
capacity (neg)	14	38.89%
tenacity (pos)	3	8.33%
tenacity (neg)	3	8.33%
propriety (neg)	5	13.89%
veracity (neg)	1	2.78%

Like victims, the perpetrators of sexual assault in this study did not resort to reporting the others’ ‘judgement’ evaluations and based their testimonies on their own voices.

4.3.1.3. Comparison

In comparing victims’ and assaulter’s first-hand ‘judgement’ evaluations of the victims (Table 16), not many significant differences were found except for the categories of negative ‘normality’ and positive ‘capacity’. The negative ‘normality’ figures indicate that assaulters consider their victims’ behaviours significantly weirder than victims do. Positive ‘capacity’, a feature emphasised significantly more by assaulters than by victims, must be regarded with caution: while victims evaluate their own intelligence, awareness and strength, assaulters appraise victims’ sexual abilities and lack of capacity to escape the assault. The rest of the categories are evaluated similarly by both groups, as they highlight victims’ negative ‘capacity’ as the key to their discourses, followed by negative ‘propriety’ and ‘tenacity’.

Table 16: *Comparison of First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Victim*

Feature	Victim		Assaulter		Chisqu.	Signif.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
	N=156		N=36			
normality (pos)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
normality (neg)	2	1.28%	4	11.11%	9.33	+++
capacity (pos)	8	5.13%	6	16.67%	5.76	+++
capacity (neg)	73	46.79%	14	38.89%	0.74	
tenacity (pos)	22	14.10%	3	8.33%	0.86	
tenacity (neg)	14	8.97%	3	8.33%	0.01	
propriety (pos)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
propriety (neg)	28	17.96%	5	13.89%	0.34	
veracity (pos)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
veracity (neg)	9	5.77%	1	2.78%	0.53	

4.3.2. Assaulter-appraised

Since sexual assault is a socially-condemnable act, it is not surprising that assaulters are a frequent target of ‘judgement’ appraisal. Thus, both victim and assaulter express disapproval of the assaulters’ behaviour.

4.3.2.1. Victims’ Testimonies

As presented in Table 17, ‘judgement’ appraisal by victims is especially outstanding when targeting to assaulters. Particularly, more than 96% of the values express negative meanings. To begin with, 69% of the total number of evaluations corresponds to negative ‘propriety’, noting that it is morality and legality that victims regard as the most important. In this way, victims emphasise the fact that the assaulters did not respect their desires (“he did it anyways”, “he wouldn’t listen”) and perpetrated condemnable actions (“he did what he wanted to me”, “he raped me”). In addition, victims of sexual assault condemn assaulters’ use of physical violence (“he pushed me against the wall”, “he forcefully pinned me down”), weapons (“he followed me upstairs with a knife”, “he stabbed me 3 times”) and, less frequently, drugs (“he drugged me”). This figures vindicates the findings by the FBI (as quoted in RAINN, 2017a) and WHO (2003) that most cases of sexual assault involve the use of violence, two out of three cases being physical violence and 11% including a weapon. Concerning the use of drugs and alcohol, however, contrasting with empirical studies such as Abbey et al. (1998), victims in this

study do not report many cases in which the assaulter employed drugs or alcohol to compromise their ability to consent; conversely, in this thesis, most victims of substance-facilitated assault were intoxicated prior to the aggression, which the assaulters took advantage of.

Negative ‘tenacity’ is used frequently as well (20%), although less than for ‘propriety’. This category collects tokens in which victims judge assaulters’ determination to perform the sexual activity (“this person will do what he wants to do at any price”, “he was determined”), their verbal insistence (he kept asking me to have sex with him”, “he insisted I come inside”) the duration of the assault (“he made me have sex with him for hours”, “I was repeatedly sexually assaulted [...] for about 3 years”) and its recurrence (“then he repeatedly did it again”, “he tried to pull away so many times”). Less often, they judge their aggressors lack of capacity (4%) to control themselves because of being inebriated (“he was crazy drunk”, “he had been really drunk”) or consider them liars (3%) (“he denied it”, “he blamed me”). In addition, one victim regards her aggressor as strange (0.4%) (“who has their own apartment and car in college?”).

Despite the extremely high occurrence of negative instances, some positive evaluations are found. Under the label of positive ‘propriety’ (3%), firstly, some victims describe the polite ways in which their assaulters behaved before the assault (“he was speaking nicely”, “he was acting decent”) and, secondly, some others claim to have forgiven them (“he’s not aggressive or violent”, “I don’t think he should be judged forever”). The latter is closely linked to the only instance of positive ‘tenacity’ (0.4%), where one victim praises her aggressor’s insistence to beg pardon (“he apologized again”).

Table 17: *Victims' First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=244	
normality (neg)	1	0.41%
capacity (neg)	10	4.10%
tenacity (pos)	1	0.41%
tenacity (neg)	50	20.49%
propriety (pos)	8	3.28%
propriety (neg)	167	68.44%
veracity (neg)	7	2.87%

In a few (but not many) the victims' testimonies reports of the assaulters' voices can also be found (Table 18), as they base their arguments on their own judgements. One of the victims quotes a claim made by her assaulter, "we all know when alcohol is involved mistakes happen", in which the assaulter lessens his responsibility by stating that, since he was drunk, he was not capable of avoiding the assault. This illustrates Scully and Marolla's (1984) statement that perpetrators of sexual assault often resort to the use alcohol and drugs to excuse their behaviour. In addition, other victims mention that their aggressors intended to apologise: on the one hand, negative 'propriety' covers those cases in which the apology was not well received ("he had the nerve to text me and apologize", "[he] said he [...] wanted my forgiveness"). On the other, positive 'propriety' collects those instances in which the victims are happy to receive the apology ("he tried to apologize to me the next day", "he never really meant to rape anyone"). The fact that so few apologies are reported by the victims might be due to either most assaulters never ask pardon or their apologies being unimportant to most victims.

Table 18: *Victims' Reports of Assaulters' Judgement Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=8	
capacity (neg)	1	12.50%
propriety (pos)	3	37.50%
propriety (neg)	4	50.00%

4.3.2.2. Assaulters' Testimonies

Table 19 presents the distribution of the evaluations that assaulters did of themselves, where mainly negative appraisal is found. For instance, assaulters blame themselves for lying (1%) in order to get closer to their victims (“I was pretending to myself to be more drunk than I was”, “I pretended to be more inebriated for her benefit”). In addition, they judge their ‘tenacity’ in a negative way (15%), confessing the recurrence of their acts (“I had been abusing for years”, “I [...] raped several girls [...] over the course of 3 years”) and admitting to ignore the victims’ desires (“she was uncomfortable, but I continued”, “I [...] went ahead anyways”). More importantly, the highest figure, 39%, corresponds to negative ‘propriety’, by which they admit their fault (“I knew what I was doing was wrong”, “that’s a pretty shitty thing to do”) and beg pardon (“I apologized profusely”, “I am sorry that I did this”). These three categories, especially ‘propriety’ because of its high occurrence, reveal assaulters’ strong feelings of remorse.

Nevertheless, a close look at the remaining categories shows that they do not contribute to expressing regret, but to lessen the assaulters’ feelings of guilt. To start with, the frequent expression of remorse is closely followed by the figure of negative ‘capacity’, 31%. By means of these appraisals, assaulters claim that, even though they regret having perpetrated the assaults, there was nothing they could do about it, since they simply do not know how it happened (“I can’t remember how it happened”, “I can’t recall what happened”) or they lacked the capacity to direct themselves at that moment. Assaulters’ lack of control, according to their testimonies, are grounded on three different reasons: first, uncontrollable and unexplainable urges (“I just felt I had to touch her”, “I [...] felt a sudden urge to lift her skirt”); second, sexual arousal (“I’ve always had a hyperactive libido”, “an erect dick has no conscience”); and lastly, alcohol consumption (“I was pretty sloshed”, “I was really drunk”). Scully and Marolla (1984) noted that most participants in their study who admitted to having committed a morally-wrong action often gave excuses to diminish their responsibility. This is also the case of the assaulters in this thesis. In particular, these aggressors mainly resort to two rape and sexual assault perceptions and myths: on the one hand, assaulters feel their crimes were justified when under the influence of alcohol because they are supposed not to be able to control themselves (WHO, 2003); on the other, they rely on biological essentialism, the myth that men are driven by sexual arousal (MacKinnon, 2005; Papilota-Diaz, 2012).

Negative ‘capacity’ figures are complemented by negative ‘normality’ (2%), with which assaulters justify their behaviour by the fact that they had problems and were social outsiders at that time (“being a social recluse”, “I have never had many friends”). Positive ‘normality’ (1%) (“I have a wife and a couple of kids” and “I’m currently married”) and ‘propriety’ (5%) (“I’m a pretty moral guy”, “I’m a good man”) are, curiously, employed in a similar way: serve to express assaulters’ status of normality and depict them as good and decorous people. The participants in Lisak (2011) and Scully and Marolla (1984) also employed the strategy of normalisation of identity.

Some other instances of ‘judgement’ are not related to the expression of remorse or excuses, corresponding to positive ‘capacity’ (6%). With these, the aggressors boast about their abilities to attract their victims and force them to perform sex (“I can get girls pretty easily”, “I was much stronger than her”).

Table 19: *Assaulters’ First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
N=163		
normality (pos)	2	1.23%
normality (neg)	4	2.45%
capacity (pos)	10	6.13%
capacity (neg)	50	30.67%
tenacity (neg)	25	15.34%
propriety (pos)	5	3.07%
propriety (neg)	64	39.26%
veracity (pos)	1	0.61%
veracity (neg)	2	1.24%

Assaulters’ reports of ‘judgement’ evaluations ascribed to victims are very limited (Table 20). This might be due to assaulters believing that victims did not judge them excessively or to them considering victim’s judgements unimportant. Only one negative instance is found, corresponding to ‘capacity’, in which the aggressor reports his victim’s opinion that he had drunk too much (“she kept saying I was too drunk”). The rest of the evaluations are positive, where one assaulter claims to have got his victim’s pardon (“she forgave me”) and another one reports that victims to consider him intelligent (“they think you [...] should pick up on the hints”) and normal (“they think you’re a good guy”).

Table 20: *Assaulters' Reports of Victims' Judgement Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	N=4	
normality (pos)	1	25.00%
capacity (pos)	1	25.00%
capacity (neg)	1	25.00%
propriety (pos)	1	25.00%

4.3.2.3. Comparison

To conclude this section, Table 21 shows the comparison between victims' and assaulters' first-hand appraisals of assaulters. The fact that the categories of 'tenacity' and 'veracity' show similar figures for both groups indicates that both victims and assaulters judge the latter's obstinacy and untruth similarly. However, the main difference resides in the fact that, while victims devote 70% of their appraisals to the judgement of negative 'propriety', assaulters distribute that figure into the categories of negative 'propriety' and 'capacity' and both positive and negative 'normality'. Assaulters insist on their remorse; however, these feelings seem to disguise their excuses: as they claim, mostly, they were not able to control themselves due to being intoxicated or aroused. Conversely, victims do not justify the assault on their aggressors' lack of self-control: rather than valuing the reasons, or excuses, that led the assaulters perpetrate their crimes, victims simply judge them in terms of legality and morality.

Table 21: *Comparison of First-hand Judgement Appraisal of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=244		N=163			
normality (pos)	0	0.00%	2	1.23%	3.01	+
normality (neg)	1	0.41	4	2.45%	3.36	+
capacity (pos)	0	0.00%	10	6.13%	15.35	+++
capacity (neg)	10	4.10%	50	30.67%	54.91	+++
tenacity (pos)	1	0.41%	0	0.00%	0.67	
tenacity (neg)	50	20.49%	25	15.34%	1.73	
propriety (pos)	8	3.28%	5	3.03%	0.01	
propriety (neg)	167	68.44%	64	39.26%	33.90	+++
veracity (pos)	0	0.00%	1	0.61%	1.50	
veracity (neg)	7	2.87%	2	1.24%	1.22	

4.4. Appreciation

Surprisingly, the figures related to the expression of ‘appreciation’ are importantly low, which reveals that neither victims nor assaulters consider functional and aesthetical evaluations as essential for their argumentations.

4.4.1. Victim-appraised

Table 22 shows victims’ and assaulters’ appraisals targeted at victims. Only one victim appraised herself in terms of ‘appreciation’. In that case, the victim evaluated the quality of her body as negative (“I was very petite”) because her small size allowed her assaulter to perpetrate the aggression more easily. Many of assaulters’ evaluations are negative as well: 17% of their 24 appraisals correspond to negative ‘quality’, where assaulters degrade the victims as objects rather than human beings (“she wasn’t a person anymore”, “women – were merely objects”). The examples collected under negative ‘impact’ (also 17%) are evaluations of the victims being dull during the sexual activity (“she was kind of stiff/lifeless”, “she was passive”). Finally, by means of negative ‘social valuation’ (8%) one assaulter degradingly describes his victims as “sluts and sorority girls”. However, assaulters mostly evaluate their victims positively: under the label of ‘quality’ (54%), they praise the victims’ physique (“she was gorgeous”, “girls who were pretty”), while by means of ‘impact’ (4%) an assaulter relates falling for his victim immediately after meeting her (“I had a hard crush after the first time we spoke”).

Table 22: *Comparison of First-hand Appreciation Appraisals of Victims*

Feature	Victim		Assaulter		Chisqu.	Signif.
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
		N=1		N=24		
impact (pos)	0	0.00%	1	4.17%	0.04	
impact (neg)	0	0.00%	4	16.67%	0.19	
quality (pos)	0	0.00%	13	54.17%	1.13	
quality (neg)	1	100.00%	4	16.67%	4.17	++
social valuation (pos)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
social valuation (neg)	0	0.00%	2	8.32%	0.10	

In the reported ‘appreciation’ appraisal, victims are the only targets. However, as shown in Table 23, the number of tokens is, again, minimal. On the one hand, victims report that assaulters appraised their appearance positively (“he’d always found me

attractive”, “he said ‘you’re so beautiful’”). On the other, one assaulter mentions that his victims were usually women who disliked their physique, that is, that evaluated themselves negatively in terms of ‘quality’ (“girls that were self-conscious about their looks”).

Table 23: *Comparison of Reported Appreciation Appraisals of Victims*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
		N=2		N=1		
quality (pos)	2	100.00%	0	0.00%	3.00	+
quality (neg)	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	3.00	+

4.4.2. Assaulter-appraised

The appraisal of assaulters in terms of ‘appreciation’ is, once again, scarce (Table 24). Victims’ evaluations of assaulters are mainly negative. Negative ‘quality’ corresponds to 62% of their appraisal and collects descriptions of the assaulters as not attractive (“he was my height and missing a front tooth”) or too strong for the victims to defend themselves (“he was almost twice my size”). The rest of the victims’ appraisals, ‘impact’ (“I thought he was cool”) and ‘quality’ (“he was so sweet”, “J was [...] pretty nice”) are positive. However, it is essential to note that these evaluations express what the victims thought before the assault was perpetrated.

On the contrary, and not surprisingly, all evaluations made by the assaulters of themselves are positive. They mainly praise themselves physically (71%) (“I’m a good-looking guy”, “I can get girls pretty easily”). In addition, one claims himself to be socially valuable (29%) (“they’d almost be shocked that a popular, [...] well liked guy would be talking to them”). Indeed, it can be claimed that, while victims consider their assaulters mainly unattractive, assaulters see themselves as beautiful, which, according to their texts, helps them engage their victims. No tokens of reported evaluations were found concerning the appraisal of assaulters.

No tokens of reported evaluations were found concerning the appraisal of assaulters.

Table 24: *Comparison of First-hand Appreciation Appraisals of Assaulters*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=8		N=7			
impact (pos)	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	0.94	
impact (neg)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.94	
quality (pos)	2	25.00%	5	71.43%	3.23	+
quality (neg)	5	62.50%	0	0.00%	6.56%	+++
social valuation (pos)	0	0.00%	2	28.57%	2.64	
social valuation (neg)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	

4.4.3. Event-appraised

Some tokens of appraisal as targeted to the assault can also be found (Table 25). To begin with, victims evaluate the assault exclusively in terms of negative ‘impact’ and emphasise the fact that “it was horrible”, “it wasn’t cool”. Assaulters, conversely, appraise the event as negative importantly less than victims do: 23% of their appraisals are ‘impact’ tokens (“boring sex”, “an awkward hook up”), and 14% corresponds to negative ‘social valuation’ (“one of my first sexual experiences was clearly non-consensual”, “it involved the forcible partial undressing of a [...] schoolmate”).

Indeed, the figures reveal that most assaulters appraise the assault positively. 32% of the tokens corresponds to positive ‘impact’ (“that excited me”, “that’s hot”) and, similarly, 23% express positive ‘quality’ (“fuck, this is good”, “each time has been among my most enjoyable and memorable sexual experiences”). In addition, some assaulters (9%) relate that the assaults they perpetrated were at the beginning consensual (“[it] started as consensual”, “consensual, as I said”). These values indicate that, despite the fact that the total occurrence for both groups is very low, assaulters give more prominence to the characteristics of the assaults than victims do. As in the case of the assaulters, there are no instances of reported appraisal targeting to the event.

Table 25: *Comparison of First-hand Appreciation Appraisals of Events*

<u>Feature</u>	Victim		Assaulter		<u>Chisqu.</u>	<u>Signif.</u>
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		
	N=5		N=22			
impact (pos)	0	0.00%	7	31.82%	2.15	
impact (neg)	5	100.00%	5	22.73%	10.43	+++
quality (pos)	0	0.00%	5	22.73%	1.39	
quality (neg)	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0.00	
social valuation (pos)	0	0.00%	2	9.09%	0.49	
social valuation (neg)	0	0.00%	3	13.64%	0.77	

4.5. Major Findings

As presented throughout this section, the way in which victims and assaulters employ appraisal in their testimonies of sexual assault is importantly different. To begin with, as seen in the findings, victims’ feelings of sorrow are tangible, especially as highlighted by the fact that the polarity of their expressions was significantly negative. Victims stressed the fact that most of their assaulters were people to whom they were close: friends, dates, partners, relatives. Indeed, Truman and Langton (2015) noted that approximately 73% of sexual assault cases are perpetrated by someone known to the victim. As their appraisals reveal, this was of special importance for the victims, whose feelings of closeness and trust were unexpectedly betrayed by a loved one. In order to express this, victims made use of ‘affect’ and ‘judgement’ evaluations, mostly ‘affection’ and ‘propriety’, and supported their arguments by reporting the assaulters’ supposed fondness of victims. In addition, the lack of substantial ‘appreciation’ indicated that their assaulters’ physical appearance was irrelevant for victims since what really mattered for them was the fact that they were close.

Another key element in the victims’ discourse was the expression that the victimisation occurred against their will. Victims convey this by means of categories such as ‘affection’, ‘disinclination’, ‘propriety’ and ‘tenacity’, explaining that they were disinclined to engage in those particular sexual activities, and put special emphasis on the fact that they consistently let the assaulters know about their refusal. Moreover, they highlighted the violence with which the acts were perpetrated: the use of physical violence and guns was frequently reported, as well as assaulters’ determination to perpetrate the aggression and recidivism. As mentioned above, this collaborates statistics noted by the FBI (as quoted in RAINN, 2017a) and WHO (2003) that most cases of sexual assault are

perpetrated by means of violence, whether physical or involving weapons. The absence of reported apologies and the minimal emphasis made on the assaulters' reasons indicated that victims did not care about what led their assaulters to commit their crimes and that they had not forgiven them.

Lastly, victims' expressions of self-blame were recurrent in their testimonies. They condemned their behaviour by means of 'capacity' and 'tenacity' evaluations as they were not strong enough to fight back or they gave up fighting. Indeed, victims of sexual assault tend to blame themselves for their victimisations, as noted by scholars such as Burkhart and Fromuth (1996), Donde (2015), Fanflik (2007) and Vidal and Petrak (2007).

Assaulters, on the contrary, devoted their narrations mainly to condemn their behaviour and express regret, as revealed by high levels of negative 'propriety'. Their feelings of regret, however, contrasted with the frequency of negative 'capacity' and reported positive 'inclination', which served them to lessen their guilt. Firstly, assaulters frequently blamed alcohol for their lack of capacity to control themselves. Abbey et al. (2001) noted alcohol and drug consumption as a precipitant of sexual assault because it increases aggressors' impulsivity, but, in addition, Scully and Marolla (1984) indicated that most assaulters use it as an excuse to justify their actions. Secondly, assaulters claimed being unable to avoid the assault because of their sexual drive. The myth of biological essentialism, as MacKinnon (2005) and Papilota-Diaz (2012) describe, allows perpetrators of sexual assaults to excuse their behaviours by claiming that it was their hormones and sexual arousal, and not conscience, that drove them to commit the aggressions.

Complimentary to these findings are the frequent tokens of reported inclination. Assaulters employ their victims' voice frequently to support their arguments; particularly, positive 'affection' and 'inclination'. By means of the numerous instances of affectionate actions with sexual connotations such as "kiss" or "touch", the assaulters reported victims' supposed provocation. This, indeed, is supported in the common myths that the victims were asking for it (Brownmiller, 1975) and that victims are seductive (Scully & Marolla, 1984). The frequent report of positive 'inclination' allowed the assaulters to claim that they were doing nothing against their victims' will, since the victims actually wanted to carry out the sexual activity. Similarly, Scully and Marolla (1984) indicated

that those assaulters who acknowledge their fault tend, however, to give excuses to lessen their feelings of guilt.

The fact that assaulters' use of 'appreciation' was scarce was, indeed, surprising. It would have been expectable that perpetrators of sexual offences had praised their victims' physical appearance. However, in the testimonies under study, the extensive use of 'appreciation' would have contrasted with the assaulters' conveyance of remorse: perpetrating an assault under the effects of alcohol, driven by uncontrollable arousal or incited by the victim is, because of rape and sexual assault myths and perceptions, socially more accepted than doing so simply because the potential victim is attractive. Scholars such as DeGue et al. (2010) and Suarez and Gadalla (2010) had indeed noted the dangerous correlation between the acceptance of these myths and the perpetration of assaults. "I am personally thankful for our 'rape culture'", stated one of the assaulters in this study.

5. Conclusion

The present study was set out to examine the way in which victims and perpetrators of sexual offences express their experiences and evaluate them. Because the perpetration of sexual assaults is a problem widely spread around the world, increasingly more people are concerned with providing safety to potential victims and support to survivors. Studies on sexual violence play an important role in this cause as they provide a necessary and eye-opening point of view on this matter. Therefore, this thesis sought to contribute to the fight against sexual violence by offering a linguistic perspective; the aim of this study was, in this way, to discover the possible differences in the employment of evaluative language in anonymous online testimonies written by assault victims and perpetrators.

In order to provide empirical insight on this matter, 63 narrations were analysed and contrasted following Martin and White's Appraisal Framework. In comparing the results obtained from the Attitude Appraisal analysis of the texts, highly significant differences were found: On the one hand, victims emphasise the fact that they did not want the sexual activity to be performed and criticise the aggressors' behaviours, who were usually known to the victims; however, they also express importantly high levels of self-blame. The assaulters, on the other hand, evaluate their behaviour negatively showing remorse,

but excuse themselves by claiming that they were not able to control themselves or that they were seduced by their victims.

5.1. Implications

The following remarks describe the theoretical and empirical implications of the findings of this study. The results contribute, on the one hand, to expanding the existing literature of sexual assault perpetration and, on the other hand, to raise awareness about this concern.

Firstly, this study highlighted the relevance of CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 2006) and the Appraisal Framework (J. R. Martin & White, 2005) as very useful approaches to study the problem of sexual assault. On the one hand, the findings proved that, indeed, survivors and perpetrators of this type of aggression rationalise it according to their ideology, that is, the myths, perceptions and attitudes on sexual assault available in their social context. On the other hand, the findings confirmed that the Appraisal is very suitable framework for the analysis of the participants' expression of subjective meanings, thanks its categories' wide range of interpretative possibilities.

This thesis sought to overcome some of the methodological limitations noted by Dale et al. (1997) and Greathouse et al. (2015), who found that most research on sexual assault only dealt with a small number developmental, psychological and sociological factors, disregarded women assaulting men and homosexual assaults and relied on data produced in sensitive contexts likely to influence the recounts. In this way, this study analysed testimonies of assaults perpetrated in a wide range of circumstances and by different offenders, as well as counted on anonymous online-produced data. This allowed new insights on this issue to be delivered by offering a novel and broad perspective that treated sexual assault as the complex issue it is. Because of this, in addition, this thesis reinforced scholars such as Daly and Bouhours (2010) and Held and McLaughlin's (2014) definition of sexual assault as encompassing a broad spectrum of factors and sexual offences.

As stated previously, research on the perpetration of sexual assault is especially necessary as it provides a solid ground to understand this matter. The findings of this thesis, therefore, contributed to the existing literature on the different types of sexual assault offences. For instance, it ratified claims by statistics and research articles on the

frequency of acquaintance sexual assault or the use of physical violence and weapons (Rose, 2004; Truman & Langton, 2015; WHO, 2003).

Very importantly, the results of this study indicated that the argumentations of most participants reflect societal perceptions and myths, which influenced both the victims and the perpetrators to justify and rationalise the assaults (Brownmiller, 1975; Burgess, 2007; Burt, 1980; DeGue et al., 2010; Kippenstine & Schuller, 2012; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Because of this, this paper contributed to raising awareness about the role played by sexual assault myths and other widely-held attitudes.

These findings on the nature of sexual assault perpetration could indeed have important implications if incorporated into sexual education curricula. Letting students know the truth about these perceptions and myths, as well as the feelings expressed by survivors and perpetrators, would ultimately both prevent new cases of sexual assault and encourage victims to report aggressions against them.

Lastly, this type of study and its results also have empirical applications for the authorities and law professionals. Having knowledge of the analysis procedures and patterns of this type of discourse would allow the writer or listener to perceive the true meanings behind each testimony. For instance, a specialist would be able to notice if an assaulter expressing remorse, in turn, does not perceive her/himself as guilty, but implicitly blames her/his status of intoxication or the victim's seductiveness.

5.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This last section deals with the limitations encountered during the completion of this study, as well as with a discussion of potential opportunities for scholars to expand this research in the future.

To begin with, as mentioned in section 3.2, given the interpretative nature of this framework, Appraisal analysis as applied to such a complex sample involves the risk of the analyst being misled by their subjective views. In order to guarantee consistency in the annotation of the texts, I counted on my supervisor's guidance on and revision of the annotation, which ensured a more objective approach. Future research could face this challenge by having a team of SFL experts working together on the annotation and the revision of the data.

The Appraisal analysis carried out in this study provided an informative answer to the research question revealing the ways in which the participants evaluated their sexual assault experiences. However, the Attitude Appraisal classification scheme fell short in describing some complex chunks; for instance, tokens like “he wanted me not to be afraid” required the ‘other-appraiser’ category to unfold into subcategories expressing reported and desired nuances. For this reason, this study advocates for research expanding the Appraisal Framework domains so that more complex meanings can be accurately annotated and interpreted.

Even though the Appraisal Framework is broken into the categories of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement, this thesis focused only on the first one in order to provide a closer perspective on the use of evaluative resources. However, this limited the analysis to a certain extent. In particular, Graduation would have been useful in this study to capture some nuances; as the sentence “in my mind, it wasn’t anything too serious” illustrates, softening and intensifying their evaluations seem to be resources that the writers, especially perpetrators, employ frequently to shape the meaning they convey. In addition to this, even though some aspects of Engagement were covered in this thesis by coding for source or appraisal, the examination of the ‘writer-’ and ‘other-appraiser’ categories could be complemented by applying a complete analysis Engagement, since the authors frequently resort to using the other’s voice to support their own claims. In sum, to obtain a more holistic understanding of the evaluation patterns in sexual assault testimonies, future research should attempt to analyse the domains of Engagement and Graduation.

The fact that all the testimonies were completely anonymous and that no personal data, were known (except from those shared by the authors in their texts) entailed having no guarantee that the writers were in fact victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse and that their reports were true to the events. In addition, there was no evidence of the gender of most writers. Therefore, this study advocates for research on samples where the identity of the participants can be confirmed.

As mentioned in section 2.1., most research on sexual assault focuses on female victims and, consequently, males are substantially under-represented in reports, statistics and research articles. Similarly, most assaulters under study are men rather than women. In this way, claims and generalisations reached concerning this topic usually regard men

abusing women and heterosexual assaults. Thus, in this thesis those claims had to be extended to the analysis of a variety of victims and perpetrators that included male victims and female assaulters. Indeed, further research is needed that regards different types of sexual assault so that this problem can be approached in the most accurate way possible.

Moreover, in order to contribute to forensic linguistic studies and given the growing interest of this domain in sexual violence, anonymous and unconditioned testimonies of people involved in sexual assault experience and their reports in trials would be interesting to compare. This would allow scholars to test to what extent the language of speakers in trials is shaped by the context of speaking as compared to what they honestly think and would express if in more free circumstances.

To finish, this study opens the door to the barely-explored conjunction of sexual assault and Appraisal, which, however, has much to deliver to not only research, but also to the fight against sexual violence. Because it is, unarguably, a critical problem that threatens the safety of millions of people around the world, every little consciousness-raising, prevention, detention and understanding effort is indeed important. Ultimately, working together, we will eradicate sexual violence.

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Appendix A: Victims' Testimonies

V01. "I've never told anyone this but the detectives on my case. My rapist told me his reasons. I was 17 he was 23. It was my best friend's brother, I had known them all since I was 5. Families were very close etc.. At his going away party, with his family there, he drugged me and raped me. Every time I would start to drift out of consciousness he would shake my head to keep me awake. He said he wanted me to remember. He said "you're so beautiful. I wouldn't do this if I didn't really care about you" while he was raping me. The next day, he had the nerve to text me and apologize, saying "we all know when alcohol is involved mistakes happen" and fucking asked me to dinner. Said he "didn't want me to be afraid of him" and "wanted my forgiveness" I asked him why he did it.. He said he had been in love with me for years but knew I wasn't interested and this was his last chance before moving out of state. Completely fucked up my life."

V02. "This was back in high school, his parents were out of town so he threw a party. Pretty much everyone there was a big group of friends, all pretty close. I was actually dating another guy at the party, we messed around a little then he started throwing up and passed out in the bathroom. So once I made sure he was OK I went and passed out in one of the beds. My friend came in, took my top off, put his hand down my pants, etc. I honestly have about 1% memory of what happened, everyone was wasted. But I remembered enough to know it wasn't cool.

He tried to apologize to me the next day, but I was pissed and wouldn't talk to him. Since we had tons of mutual friends and everyone had been at the party, there was a lot of talk, and mostly everyone told me the standard "it wasn't OK" stuff. But after a few weeks, I just cooled off. He had been really drunk, I had been really drunk, I doubt I actually said "no" because I was too drunk. Obviously molesting a girl who is too passed out to say no doesn't mean it isn't rape, but for what it's worth I doubt I said it. So I talked to him, he apologized again, and we moved on. And continued to be great friends until I moved away for college.

Honestly, his motivations were that he was crazy drunk, he'd always found me attractive, and he stumbled into a bedroom and there I was and I didn't say no. It wasn't OK, but he isn't a terrible guy. He's not aggressive or violent. He never actually meant harm. And I don't think he should be judged forever because he did something stupid when he was drunk."

V03. "He called me into his room, where I found him laying in his bed with the covers on. I hadn't a clue if he was wearing anything, it honestly never came to mind, I honestly figured he had been in there long enough that he had been changing. I sat next to him in bed, showing him photos from an event I had been at earlier in the day. We spoke some more and then started to mess around a bit.

The next thing I knew, he started tugging at my pants, I told him to stop nicely, then nicely, became yelling. He wasn't listening, he didn't care what I had to say. He was determined and I could see it in his face. I yelled and kicked and before I knew it, my bottoms were gone. I tried to knee, kick, hit and nothing got him off. He climbed on top of me and pinned my arms above my head and forced himself inside of me. There was nothing I could do, I was completely frozen. I gave up fighting and closed my eyes. It felt like hours, but it was a mere few minutes. As he got off me, I got up immediately, grabbed my pants and ran out of his apartment, not even bothering to put them on. I ran over to my apartment (two next door), and immediately started crying."

V04. "One night after class, he asks to hang out. I tell him I am not in the business of doing anything. He says that he just wants to talk and hang out, "no harm". I finally give in and let him drive us to his place. My heart soon sank when I got there, as I realized he had his own place. I had expected his family to be around or even roommates, something. Who has their own apartment and car in college? I hadn't even considered that he'd have his own place. I sit down and go through the Cable to calm my nerves.

He begins to get undressed next to me. He asks if I'd like to join him in the shower. I say no. After his shower he puts of shorts and sits next to me. Wraps his arm around me and lays down. For some reason I let myself lay down. I keep my arms folded on my chest.

He asks to see my body. I say no.

He asks me to give him head. I say no.

He begins to kiss me roughly and then my neck. I begin to panic and I say "please slow down you're scaring me" He does not.

Suddenly, he's pulling off my pants and there's a lump in my throat. I can't seem to speak. Or scream. I can't seem to move.

And he's committing a terrible crime to my body. Im frozen and afraid, so I do nothing. But squeeze my eyes shut and pray it's over soon.

He calls an Uber when it's done, so I can get back to the dorms.

I left feeling disgusting. I felt so sick to my stomach. I told myself I had cheated and that I was awful and that I was terrible. That I was a "slut."

V05. "He kept asking me to have sex with him, and I said no every time he asked. His friend was in the house and even though I was aware that Adam didn't have any kind of restraint, I did, so I kept pushing him away. He disappeared and returned with a condom in his hand. That was when I realised that this person will do what he wants to do at any price. He walked up to me and I kept refusing him. He took off his pants and underwear and put on the condom, while i kept saying that i won't have sex with him. It all happened so fast. He didn't even take of my shorts,

he just slipped them to the side and entered me. A bit of me disappeared after that, and more pieces have fallen during the years. Pieces i can't take back.”

V06. “I met guy few times got on well met up few times. He offered me a night out to meet his family. I did and I felt anxious wanted to go home. This guy in front of his sister pulls me across the floor by my hair. After telling me get up in anger. I got up says we going to the shop. He took me to some woods pulls a knife out and say I have a sharp knife do what I say or I use it. I panicked he raped me 5 times drugged me and went back to his sister. He tells me to keep quiet. I go to the toilet. I bleeding really bad thinking what the hell.”

V07. “I was very young at the time. Not for sure exactly but I was younger than 9. My babysitter left her son to watch me really quick while she ran an errand. I asked him for a snack and he told me to sit on top of him and he would give me one. I had to take of my pants and underwear so he could touch me down there. I believe this happened twice as far as I can remember. We were then caught..... well at least I was. He blamed me for coming out of the bathroom without my pants on and I got sat in a corner. I remember crying and trying to tell my babysitter what happened but her son won. My mom asked me what happened later that day but I told her nothing happened. I didn't know it was bad since I was a child and didn't know any better. I've kept all the anger, disgust, and shame in for years.”

V08. “I was 16 years old at the time and the boyfriend that I was with for a year had just told me he lost feelings. My best friend, her boyfriend and his friends always had “bros nights”. I was invited by my best friends boyfriend so he picked me up at my house around 2 am. I had to sneak out my parents would never let me go out that late. So I got in his car and was wondering where everyone else is. He told me he wanted to talk to me about something. He drove out to the beach and we walked on the dock. When we got to the end he dared me to go skinny dipping and that's when I knew something was wrong. So I started walking back to the car my excuse was that I was cold. So I got in the car and he started touching me inappropriately. I didn't know what to do I couldn't walk home I couldn't call my parents because I snuck out. I was stuck. He proceeded to seduce me into the back seat where he raped me. I haven't been able to tell me story to anyone.”

V09. “When I opened the door to my apartment to greet him I was immediately unattracted to him. He was my height and missing a front tooth. He immediately tried to sleep with me. I kept telling him no and turning my body away from him. At one point I was sitting on the ground with my body turned away from him wrapped up in a ball, he kept trying to touch my even when I was moving away. He was persistent. He was a marine and a lot stronger than me. He begin to guilt me into sleeping with him. His advances made me feel so weak and powerless... I lost.”

V10. “He was a member of a fraternity. I thought he was cool. He invited me to his place for dinner. I thought he liked me. I got to his place he had picked me up from campus. So I was stuck at his place. But I thought I could trust him. Needless to say I never got that dinner. He held me down. I asked him to stop. He would not. He held me down until I gave in. He made me have sex with him for hours. I asked to be taken back to campus. He would not take me. He made me stay until the next morning. He dropped me off with no words. I never talked to him again.”

V11. “In the Uber, he immediately told me to sit closer to him, and he put his arm around me. He wanted to make out more, but I told him no because I was embarrassed. Our driver said nothing and didn’t look at us. Then his hand crept toward me, and he started going under my dress and playing with my underwear. I kept telling him to stop, but I thought “he’s drunk,” excusing every time he would go back and start doing it again. Eventually, he started fingering me and wouldn’t listen every time I would quietly ask for him to cut it out, or move away. He would just put my legs down and go back again. I didn’t feel the alcohol anymore- I knew exactly what was happening and I felt helpless.”

V12. “I was 12 years old (now 21), I was naive, thinking nothing would ever happen to me. I started talking to guys I met online. Big mistake. ‘James’ would talk to me late into the night, when I was lonely and sad, he would always be there for me. I started to see him as a friend rather than a stranger. He asked to meet up with me, I didn’t think anything of it, I thought it would be nice, I would finally have a friend to hang out with. I invited him to my house, and we started to watch a film. He kept putting his hand on my leg, I kept removing it. He grabbed higher and higher up my thigh and i kept saying stop. He asked to have sex with me, I refused as I was only 12 and didn’t want to. He pushed himself on top of me. I managed to kick him off and ran upstairs. He followed me upstairs with a knife from my kitchen. He told me that if I made a noise he would stab me. He cut off my clothes and raped me whilst I cried as quietly as I could. When he was finished he just got up and left. I haven’t told anyone until now.”

V13. “I was out with a couple friends when someone grabbed my wrist. He had a drink in one hand and my wrist in the other. I tried to pull away so many times, but he was too strong. Then he put his drink down and grabbed both my wrists, and suddenly he was behind me holding both my hands in a locked position. I couldn’t move, I tried and I couldn’t. He whispered something in my ear. And I felt his dick, I felt him trying to grind on me. Thankfully one of my friends pulled me out. When we got outside I was shaking. I was so scared. But my friends said “calm down nothing happened to you.” They kept saying at least I wasn’t raped, that I was being a little dramatic. Telling me nothing happened and I needed to calm down.”

V14. “When I was 9 years old I was sexually abused by the man who was my grandma’s husband (but he wasn’t exactly my grandfather). I remember it perfectly. It was at night. My grandma was in the bathroom. And it all happened in just a couple of minutes. At first he was tickling me and I was laughing...but then it happened. He put his hand inside my PJs and started touching me. I knew it was wrong. And I hated it. I still remember his exact words: “Let’s keep this beautiful secret.” And I nodded. Just to play along for my own safety. But I felt so filthy. So disgusted by this whole act. And I wasn’t going to keep quiet. I was terrified. So I waited ’till he fell asleep and since he, my grandma and I were sharing a bed, I told her. She was shocked and told me to wait until the morning so we could talk about it. And I fell asleep. The next morning I was terrified. And my grandma confronted him. And he denied it. Right in front of my face. It was repulsive. I told him “Deny it all you want. But there’s a God above us. And he knows the truth.”

V15. “We were pretty friendly, we studied for a midterm together a couple weeks earlier, and I ran into him at the party. We we’re talking and whatnot, but I was pretty tired and had to be up early the next day for a meeting. He lived in the same building as me, just 1 floor directly below, and offered to walk me back.

When we got to the dorm, he asked if I wanted to hang out and I told him i should really get to bed. He insisted I come inside and chill for like “10 minutes” so I went into his room. Then he started pulling me into him and kissing me and grabbing my clothes, and I kept saying “I need to leave, I have to go.” I’d try to get to the door and he would pull me back onto the bed and say “no don’t leave.” He pinned me to the bed and threw my dress across the room. I wasn’t very drunk, but I’d had a couple drinks earlier in the night and couldn’t comprehend what was happening. He pulled off his shirt and pants, looked in his drawer for a condom, didn’t find one but pinned me down saying, “It’s fine, I’ll pull out.” He pinned me down with his legs and was choking me and it was horrible. Ever since, I’ve been paranoid that I have an STD from him, and how could I explain an STD?

It was horrible, but eventually I got to leave.”

V16. “I was 16 and “in love”. I thought I knew the “love of my life”. He was so sweet to me how could someone like that hurt me? I was over his house and we were watching tv and cuddling. Then he started touching me and trying to take off my clothes. I told him no and that I didn’t want to, But he insisted. He didn’t listen I kept telling him no & he just kept on going like he didn’t even hear anything. I lost my virginity to him previously so I guess it didn’t matter to him cause he thought I’d always stay.”

V17. "I went to his apartment. We had been planning to have sex and I brought the condoms. When I got there I was terrified. I wanted to back out. I wanted to go home but since I couldn't I wanted to watch tv or play cards. He told me we didn't have to do it if I wasn't comfortable but that he would feel really let down and sad about it. It made me feel guilty. I let him get on top of me but then I got scared again. I tried to talk him out of it but he wouldn't listen. He had sex with me three times that night and forced me to give him a hand job. I don't know if what happened was rape. I used to clearly define it as such but it's so muddy to me now. I know I didn't want sex and I know I expressed that to him all three times but I did go to his house with intent for sex."

V18. "I was 13 years old and had a "boyfriend". It was that childhood kind of boyfriend, that we barely kissed.

One day I was with a girlfriend at my place and she invited her boyfriend over. Just so I wouldn't be alone, I invited mine as well. Once they were there, she decided to lose her virginity. She went to a close bathroom.

J. (my boyfriend) looked at me and said "other we go as well, or I'll leave you" – I was still a virgin and very innocent. A innocent girl who was in love with a stupid boy. So I accepted.

While it was happening, it wasn't comfortable AT ALL. I was disgusted, crying a lot, but too afraid to do anything. I asked him to stop and he didn't.

Once I told my mom, she said it was disappointed at me, and told my father who was very angry and stopped talking to me for months. I was guilty for what happened. That's what everyone thought and so did I."

V19. "Soon after when I was about 12 one of my other uncles came to stay the night. I knew him for a while I was so close to him I never would guess that he would ever do something bad to me. He used to give me money and buy me everything he would also buy for his kids. My other siblings would be so jealous and I would be so happy. But that night I started to look at him differently. That night he asked if I wanted to sleep near him, he was my favorite uncle so I thought why not? My mom slept next to us too but he was in the middle and my mom was on the other side. When I was sleeping I felt someone's hands moving down my thighs I thought it was my mom and just ignored it. Soon the hand started moving up to my private part and I got up and looked and it was my uncle. He was shocked to see my reaction pretending like he didn't know why I was so jumpy. I got up and went to the bathroom I started to cry. It was so painful it was like everything came pouring down why is this always happening to me. When I came out the bathroom I took a separate sheet and wrapped around me and tried to stay far from him as possible on the bed."

V20. "I was repeatedly sexually assaulted by the same person for about 3 years. He was my best friend from when we were small children until then. At first it was small things, him standing too close to me or his hand being too low on my back or too high on my thigh. Eventually it escalated to him groping me, shoving me against a wall and dry humping me, sending me explicit pictures, and verbally abusing me when I tried to fight back. I still see him at school everyday and seeing him or hearing his name gives me anxiety attacks. I wish I had done something before it was too late. If you're questioning taking legal action do it. I regret not doing something."

V21. "One day my Boyfriend but now ex and i got into an argument over something stupid. We kept fighting that day so we didn't talk that day but then the next day came along and he was like hey since you are walking home today from school i want to go with you to make sure that you are safe. of course i replied " sure" so he came along. He told me to go down a street because it would be a lot faster to get to my house than the way that i was taking So i agreed well he took me behind this house and started to kiss me and i was like i want to go home. He was like your not going anywhere. so i just stayed trying to find a way to get out of there. Well eventually he started to make out with me so i told him to stop i dont want to do this especially if your cheating on me. so He stopped for like 2 min well i was wrong he eventually picked me up and put me on the grass and got on top of me as he took off my skirt and i kept pulling them up. i was like i really do not want to be doing this. He did it anyways. That night changed my life."

V22. "I had known him for 14 years and was like my older brother. He always looked out for me, he always cared like an older brother does (I would know, I have 3 older brothers). So, of course when he asked if I wanted to hang out I said YES. He was like my brother, I trusted him.

So we went into the woods, went mudding (trail riding in the woods). I took a friend of mine along for the trip because we were already hanging out, but she needed to be home by 7. So we did just that, went out then got her home by 7, he then asked me if I wanted to go back out. I, once again said yes (because I love the woods).

We went back, a different trail this time. But he pulled over, put his truck in park, then turned it off. He turned to me and started trying to kiss me, but I kept telling him to stop. He started to get aggressive and push me down onto the seat and pulled my shorts down. I was doing everything I could to push him off, but nothing worked.

So I gave up. I stopped trying. He did what he wanted to me, and I didn't stop him, because I couldn't. My mind shut down and I just gave up."

V23. "When I was 19, I was raped. I had just gotten off work and one of my friends texted me asking me if I wanted to go over to her house. I agreed since it was a Friday and was off the next day.

I got to her house and knocked at her door. Her brother opened the door. It was obvious he was drunk. He invited me inside but I declined because of the state he was in and it was clear that my friend wasn't home. I was leaving when he grabbed me by the arm and pulled me inside. I kept screaming at him to let me go but he wouldn't listen. He dragged me to his room and pushed me onto his bed then got on top of me. I screamed 'No' and 'Stop' countless times and pushed him as hard as I could trying really hard to get him off of me but he wouldn't. He then went on to cover my mouth with his left hand. I was wearing a skirt so he found it easy to remove my underwear with his free hand. He then proceeded to rape me repeatedly. I kept pushing him and hitting him but he just kept going and going and going. When he was finished he whispered in my ear, 'I finally had you.'"

V24. "I was 17 when I was raped. I was at a school function when a guy I knew as one of my school mates older brother approached me.

Being in a verbally abusive relationship at the time, I liked the fact he was speaking nicely to me and was acting decent. Eventually I noticed it was getting dark, and he offered me a ride. I was naive, I was trusting and some say I was foolish.

He got his friend and they drove me to somewhere secluded. The doors had child locks on the doors and windows. I was not above throwing myself out the door while in motion.

He and his friend took turns raping me and sodomizing me. I don't know how long it lasted it felt like forever. My screams seemed to excite them more.

I didn't fight back, because I was held immobile and looking back I was in shock, and I was scared out of my mind."

V25. "J was 2 years older than me and pretty nice at first. My parents went out of town for just one night like they did a lot for medical reasons. They left the two of us at home. Late that evening he came into my room and asked me to have sex with him. I told him to get out, that he was making me uncomfortable and I had a boyfriend. He said he did not care and he raped me. I was so confused and broken at first. My whole world turned upside down."

V26. "This past December I was raped by a guy from my school. I went to his place and he raped me on his couch 4 separate times. I didn't know where I was and neither was I able to use my phone because it had died. 2 months later, my dad made me think about him less, because he started doing it. My dad makes an effort to touch my body and force himself on me, since Feb 12. I got really drunk last week and my dad started feeling on my body and he would take off my clothes. All I wanted to do was sleep, but my dad wanted sex, and I told him I didn't want him to do it and he stopped and started doing it again. He won't stop at all, and he would talk to me like it was mutual."

V27. "Throughout the night, one guy began to show some interest in me by trying to put his hands up my shorts and grabbing my breasts and I just continued to remove his hands from my body. The more he drank, the more aggressive he got and the more I drank, the more I allowed it. He followed me into the toilet and after we had both washed our hands I asked him to do up my zip. He pulled down my whole outfit and left me standing in nothing but a bra and I froze. He put his fingers inside of me as he fell on to me, pushing me up against the wall. I was suffering with an eating disorder at the time and was very petite and he was almost twice my size. Thankfully someone called us from downstairs and I made him leave first."

V28. "I'm 15. It's been several (6) months since I have been raped. At the time I was 14. I liked this boy. We had so much in common. Music mainly. We loved the same bands and I became really good friends with him. Once our summer before freshman year hit we started hanging out even more. I started to like him even more. We had hung out at his house alone maybe times, so why would I say no to it again? I wish I did. We were just watching a movie and talking and he started to get touchy. I was fine with hugging him, but his hand would roam my thigh and I became uncomfortable. He wasn't a virgin. He had told me his sex stories. I was a virgin. Once I figured out what he wanted to do I tried to leave. But he wouldn't let me. He forcefully pinned me down on his bed and raped me as I begged him to stop. He didn't. Once he was done he left telling me not to tell anyone. I was scared. So, I didn't tell anyone."

V29. "Later on when I was on my way home, I got to where the dorms was and went down the small alley way (I guess that's what you called it) but it was wider and longer than you'd expect. I probably got a third way down and the next thing I know someone calls my name. I turned to see a rather tall and wide guy, probably my age. I had never seen him before and I was confused to how he knew my name. He walked over to me and said "you dropped your purse" pointing at the floor. That should have been a warning sign because my purse would have been deep within my handbag. I awkwardly laughed and thanked him before I lent over and tried to pick it up. I felt his knee hit where my diaphragm was and it winded me. I fell backwards and within no time he straddled on top of my 5'2 figure. The next 5 minutes were horrible, I couldn't scream or fight back, either due to the pain or the shock. I wore a dress that day. He pulled my tights down and raped me. After he ran off, I recall just sitting there and crying. I dragged myself back to my dorm and cried for hours."

V30. "I've been basically dating this guy for a few months.. we just haven't made things official. Almost every time were alone we end up having sex. On Valentine's Day he invited me to go out to eat with him so after school he picked me up and we left. He said he had to get something from his brothers house so I just said okay. When we got there he invited me inside and asked please so I went with him. We went in and he pushed me against the wall, kisses me

and eventually we make our way to the bedroom. He began trying to take my pants off and I said no, then he repeatedly did it again and I continued to say no. Eventually I gave up and he gets them off. I tried pushing his hand away and saying no but he continued. Eventually I gave up and just cooperated, doing everything he said to do... He always jokes around about rape and stuff and when I told him how I felt the next day, saying that I really didn't want to and that I felt like he forced me to. He apologized and said that he knew he joked around but he never really meant to rape anyone especially not someone he loved so much."

V31. "I was 15 years old when I came from school waiting for a taxi to go home. Normally that taxi spot is always busy but that specific day there was a witness with no one in site when suddenly 3 guys came from across the road making as if they are also waiting on a taxi. They robbed me took my cellphone, money, jewelry... pointing a gun at me I was so scared to shout. The one asked me did I ever had sex and I said no...his reply to me was he will show me what sex is. He pulled me in the bushes pushed me on the ground pointing the gun at me if I shout he shoots me. He raped me. I was so in fear he might kill me. He felt me and ran away. I felt so dirty, hated myself thought it's all my own fault. I reported it at the police station after 2 weeks that guy was caught and the court cases was running for 2 years when he somehow got hold of my house address and came there to kill me... thinking if he kill me there won't be any court case. He stabbed me 3 times in my neck 2 times on my shoulders as I passed out he most probably thought I was dead but to God be the glory for the blood of Jesus never loose its power.

After that I the court cases still proceeded and I lost the case due to the rapist paid the police officer

I couldn't forgive myself, I couldn't forgive the rapist. I tried several times to commit suicide but was always unsuccessful."

V32. "Just 2 weeks before school was supposed to start I was raped. It was by a friend. Somebody I trusted. We we all over at his house just hanging out. A bunch of us. Swimming and having fun. People started to slowly leave but I decided to hang around longer. He asked if I wanted to hang out in his room. I knew it was a bad idea. I was 14 and never even had my first kiss, little alone been in a boys room alone with them. But I said yes. We hung out and he started to get touchy. I was uncomfortable but didn't say anything. I didn't want to be rude. Things happened fast. He pushed me back on the bed and kissed me. I was shocked. I froze. Once he started to move his hangs around I then started squirming but he pinned me. I wasn't dumb or naive. I was aware what was most likely about to happen. I started crying and begging him to stop. He just told me to "shut up" I was helplessly sobbing. Once it was all over he left the room. Leaving me. I gathered my clothes and walked home. I was crying all the way home. I felt wrong. I didn't tell anybody. I was embarrassed. I though nobody would understand. Then I slowly started

blaming myself. Maybe I led him on, maybe if I fought back harder it wouldn't have happened, if I left earlier. I kept it all to myself. Isolated myself and started failing my first year of high school. I'm still dealing with it. I'm still scared it will happen again. I go to school with him. I don't know what to do."

V33. "It sounds crazy but in some way it feels kind of good to write this down here. When I was 14 I knew a Muslim boy in school. He was super sweet and we were really good friends with each other. At one point he wanted to have a relationship with me and he was pretty open about it. I said I'd rather just remain friends but he wasn't very happy to hear that, then he pushed me against the wall and ran off. A few days later on my way to the bus stop, I saw him standing in the park, which I had to go through to get to the bus, along with 2 other friends. They made a game of it. Disgusting. After it happened, I went home acting like nothing had happened. It took me a year and a half to finally tell someone about it and when I did it was such a relief. Now 6 years later, I still struggle a lot with what happened. You're so ashamed and disgusted of yourself, although you know that you couldn't have done anything about it. It happened once and now I'm slowly starting to put it behind me."

Appendix B: Assaulters' Testimonies

A01. "She invited me in specifically to have sex, using those exact words: "let's have sex. right now." That excited me and i was ready to do it for sure. I was inexperienced and she was kind of stiff/lifeless. I went down on her, she didn't respond, i came up and penetrated her, didn't finish, realized it was going nowhere, got off of her and rested for awhile til I decided to slip out into the night".

A02. "I'm somewhat remorseful for what I did to those girls, but I don't think I could ever face them to apologize. I knew what I was doing was wrong, but I had this certain insatiable thirst that brought me to do what I did. I didn't know how to stop, and just when I thought maybe I could, I'd find myself back in my pattern, back on the hunt."

A03. "I got obliterated one time at a party. I mean completely out of my mind. A person, also drunk, lied down next to me to cuddle, and eventually I decided to fool around with them. It took me a solid five or ten minutes in my drunken stupor to realize they had been passed out the whole time I was doing this. When I realized, I felt fucking sick with myself, and decided to tell them the next morning."

A04. "When we got back to her house I was shocked when she said, "alright, lets go (gesturing to the bedroom with a smile)". I don't remember asking for sex, I don't remember discussing it, I don't remember it even crossing my mind, just in her living room with her and the words "alright, lets go".

We went into her room and began to undress with what started as consensual, as we did she seemed preoccupied. We jumped into bed. Little of this, little of that. Slowly as things progressed I can't recall what happened. I honestly can't, it's not that i'm scared or afraid, I really don't remember. All I do remember is she was crying. She was having a flash back from her father raping her. I remember pulling off her and she kept crying. I then do remember doing something i'm probably most ashamed of is asking her to finish me off, more begging for it. My hormones were going insane, I didn't have any empathy in my heart at that moment just my own concerns. She wasn't a person anymore just a path, a tool, a means to an end. Then once again, I can't remember. I don't remember what happened, I never asked her".

A05. "I was seventeen and had been invited by a pretty but somewhat timid girl to go to a club with a few of her friends. Being a social recluse, I eagerly accepted. As soon as we got onto the dance-floor she grabbed me quite roughly and started making out with me. This was one of my first kisses so naturally I was pretty shell-shocked.

We ended up in the backseat of a car with her 2 friends driving. It was about a 30 minute drive back to the suburbs. We started making out. I started fingering her. She grabbed my wrist. "Not here" she said. I didn't care. I kept on with her anxiously checking the front seat to see if her friends noticed. "Not here, they'll see." For some reason it didn't faze me. I felt justified. I could sense she was uncomfortable, but I continued. We eventually made it to her house, her friends dropping us off. She ran up the path to her doorstep and turned around. "Bye" she'd say."

A06. "We hit it off and talked a lot. I remember one of our first phone conversations lasting 'til like 3 am. She talked a lot about sex, sometimes about her old boyfriend. She was gorgeous, totally my type. I had a hard crush after the first time we spoke.

Eventually we hung out after school one day, and she took me to starbucks, only we didn't actually go to starbucks. Instead, we went under a staircase in the shopping center and she kissed me.

We saw each other on and off for a few weeks. I guess we were "dating." Making out with her was fucking magic. Absolute heaven. Like I said, I had barely ever held hands with a girl, let alone made out before I met her. Best couple weeks of my life at the time.

Then, New Years Eve (I think) things got a bit heavier. We were in my bedroom in a marathon hours-long makeout session, and she takes off her shirt and offers to blow me. I accepted of course, and she went to work. I didn't get there right away though, and she was really tired, so she said she wanted to stop and sat down a little ways away. I said okay, thought for a minute, and went back over to her.

Being the genius I am, I thought "hey, I'll do the work for her!" I rolled her over, got on top, and put my dick on her face. She put it in her mouth for a second (I think, I'm honestly not sure), and I started to finger her. She had a tampon in (I guess that's why she was tired, period stuff) and she mumbled something. Much later I realized she had said "no..." very quietly."

A07. "I'm a good man. I have a wife and a couple of kids now and I'm a good father and husband. I'm a pretty moral guy. But I think the thing that has always stuck with me...is how close I came to actually doing it. If I hadn't looked up at her face and seen what she was feeling, I might have continued. In my mind, at the time, she wanted it. I can remember staring at the ceiling while on the couch thinking "in a couple of minutes she's going to come out here and get on top of me."

A08. "I completely ignored this request of his one time. Worse, I ignored him completely at the time..

I was on top of him, consensual as I said. I got really, really into it.. so did he. Normally when he was close to cumming, he'd ask me to slow down (and I would, so he could pull out and cum somewhere else of his choice) or he would pull me off if there was no time to speak. This time,

however, I was being really aggressive and forceful - he liked that, as in a sexual act, the domination. He had told me this before. He loved women being aggressive in bed, and he was definitely loving it now. I took it too far.

So I was speeding up. I heard him say 'Oh.. No.. please.. I'm going to cum.. slow down.. no'. That was a proper no. I knew he liked being dominated, but we hadn't discussed safewords yet - no still meant no. It very much meant no. I knew it meant no.

I didn't. I didn't slow down, I didn't stop.

I'll try to tell you what was going through my head.

'Fuck, this is good. Heh, he's playing with me, he likes being dominated. So hot'. At that moment in time, I felt fucking great. I ignore him, outright. That's all. That's all.

It's not that I forgot that he didn't want to cum inside me. It's not that I didn't hear that no. There, in the heat of the moment, I just assumed he was into it. At that moment in time, I really believed my own justifications. I told myself he was enjoying it, really. Screw his 'no'. Cum inside me. That's hot.

That changed the moment he had cum, and I had gotten off of him.

I cracked then. I ran to the bathroom. I thought I was going to throw up. I was disgusted at myself. I knew his wishes. He had said no, and I'd ignored it. When someone says no, you get off or stop right the fuck there and then. I didn't."

A09. "I was ~11. I got it into my head that I wanted to do something sexual and my best friend's sister (she was ~7) happened to be the closest/easiest target. So while we were all swimming I'd take whatever toy she happened to be playing with and tell her she could have it back but she'd "owe me" later on. I even went as far as inappropriately fondling her in the pool, in front of everyone: my friend, even our parents. No one caught on when she screamed - they thought I was just grabbing her leg or something... I can't begin to imagine how that made her feel.

So when she "owed me" enough, and at a sleepover at their place, I had her come to bed with me and did pretty much everything but intercourse (I tried but ... let's just say I couldn't quite figure it out). Then I told her we'd both be in a lot of trouble if she told anyone.

I knew at the time that what I was doing was bad, but in my head it was more of a "I'll get grounded" bad rather than "you'll regret this for the rest of your life", "she'll probably need therapy", and "you'll lose your best friend".

My only consolation, as weak as it is, is that I couldn't have known at that age the full implications of my actions.

So yes, I regret it; a million times yes. It's the only thing I've ever done that I ACTUALLY regret (there's other stupid things people say they regret - I have my share of those - but fucking up someone's life at such an early age has a way of putting things in perspective).”

A10. “She ran to my bed and didn't want me to touch her. I didn't understand what had happened. This hypersexual person who had offered to give me head suddenly didn't want to touch me.”

A11. “Basically this girl flirted with me a little bit, and I pushed it further, grabbed her tits and her ass, repeatedly after she asked me to stop. I misinterpreted her not removing herself physically as her really wanting it, rather than what it probably was--like the other girl, she felt unable to stand up for herself. This time the physical contact was less serious--only groping--but I kept going and going after she told me verbally to stop multiple times. This event happened at a soccer field in Carolina around the same time and her name was Christina.”

A12. “The first really bad thing I did was at a party and met a girl I thought was cute. This happened in New York state maybe four years ago. I was pretending to myself to be more drunk than I was. I had gotten handsy without her permission earlier in the night and she responded positively, though in hindsight this was clearly not because she liked it, but instead because she was passive and afraid to say anything. Eventually I think she told me to stop and I think I did for a while. I later found out that she was vomiting in the bathroom so I went to go check on her and apologize; this was honestly my only intent on entering the bathroom. She said, "you can feel me up some more if you want," and I'm not sure when I switched from checkup mode to sex assault mode, but I did, even though she was bent over the toilet vomiting. Eventually I ended up taking out my penis and putting her hand on it. She said "no" or "stop" but I didn't. She was too drunk even to remove her forehead from the toilet seat. Then I asked her if I could do more and she said "no" and that time I realized I was doing something bad and I pulled back. Never saw or talked to her again.”

A13. “I’ve always had a hyperactive libido. I never showed much shame about my body, which was something my parents absolutely hated. I learned to repress my urges and subvert my desires. They used to separate me from girls, even if the girls were the ones showing interest in me. As a preteen with developing hormones, this was torture. Around age 11 I used to fool around with a girl from my neighborhood. She was around 7 or 8 at the time and the fact that she knew far more about sex than I did leads me to assume that she was sexually abused as well. We used to kiss and do other things, but we’d always have to hide it from our parents. One night, I decided to grope her in her sleep when she slept over. I knew it was wrong at the time but only in the sense that I would get yelled at and possibly beaten if caught. I think that is the reason I chose to do this to

her while she slept. Since people – especially women – were merely objects, all that mattered was my own satisfaction. I did pretty much everything short of intercourse on several occasions.”

A14. “I touched a friend of mine in her sleep during my senior year of highschool, which was 6 years ago now. In my mind, it wasn't anything too serious (I lightly grazed her pubic mound)...but I felt really guilty the next day and decided to write a long letter explaining what I did. She didn't take it too well and I'm still unsure if she told anyone. My best friend's dad was dealing with cancer that year (and eventually succumbed to it) so my circle of friends' attention was mostly fixated on that.”

A15. “At 24-25, I was really drunk and horny. She was asleep on the couch. I just needed to touch her and see her tits out of that tanktop. A friend of a friend saw me, told my friend. They never said anything. Wish they had.

But it did wake her and she got up and ran out. I woke up feeling the worst feelings about myself and my actions. I couldn't believe I could let myself go as far as to molest a good friend. I have never had many friends. She told at least some of my friends and my roommate. He kicked me out, and I lost all my friends.

I still do not know how I live after this. I told my dad. He was not of any help, just told me not to tell my mom or my sisters because they wouldn't understand. I wish I knew how to apologize for this. I wish my friends could have the courage to help me. Sometimes I wish I had never promised myself that I would never commit suicide.”

A16. “She kept whispering no, but I ignored it. lasted maybe a minute, two tops. no condom, that was stupid. When I finished, I fingered her until she came or faked it.

Hooked up with her a few more times. I rationalize the first time through the other times, but I know that's a pretty shitty thing to do. The other times, I used a condom, and she didn't say no, but she seemed uncomfortable, except with the fingering.

Now I feel terrible about it and wish I hadn't done it. A while ago I saw a thread where someone said "An erect dick has no conscience." Very true.”

A17. “I had just broken up with my girlfriend. She came to visit me at work right before we closed because she was sad and missed me. She proceeded to chug on the bottle of bourbon we were all passing around. Gets shit faced FAST. Passes out on the floor. I drag her to my car, load her into the backseat and drive her home. She then just magically woke up and bolted from the car and ran inside her apartment. I followed her to make sure she was ok. She was laying on her bed passed out. I knelt beside her and kissed her goodbye. That's when she squirmed and rubbed her ass on me. Turned me on, a lot. I proceeded to take her pants off and have sex with her right there;

keep in mind she's completely unconsent. That's when her roommate walks in, sees her passed out and my pants around my ankles going to town. She screamed for me to get the fuck out.

Afterwards, I explained all of this to her and she barely remembers any of it. I apologized profusely. I still feel like a piece of shit for it.”

A18. “I always felt a little weird about it, until I read the thread about men being raped. Then I felt awful. A friend of mine came over one night just to watch a movie. We ended up snuggling and then kissing, then it progressed almost to sex. He stopped me and said he wasn't really comfortable with this, looked nervous, and said "maybe we should stop". I basically ignored him, kissed him, and went ahead with it anyway. Afterwards, I told him that we should keep this between us. I assumed he was going to leave so when he mentioned sleeping over and cuddling, I seemed pretty put off by the idea but agreed. The next morning he left and we haven't talked since.”

A19. “Ended up happening again after a party. She was a good friend. I was drunk and super horny. I looked at her and knew I could never be with her. She had already hooked up with my friend. It was that feeling of never being able to do something, or have something. I looked at her and just saw something I would regret not trying for. So I thought if I could feel her I would know what it was to be with her. I grabbed her boob, over the shirt. I touched her lip and she moved her head. I stop dead thinking I woke her up, but she relaxed again. I started going upstairs but felt a sudden urge to lift her skirt. I ran my hand across her ass and between her legs. I was so drunk I turned on the light to get a better look, then quickly realized that it would wake her up and turned the light off.”

A20. “I was a freshman and hooking up with this girl who got naked in bed with me, then said no. I think she just wanted to do oral. I was extremely horny and already close to doing it, so I ignored her and did it. She realized what was happening and tried to clamp her legs shut, but it was too late and I was much stronger than her.”

A21. “I can't remember how it happened, but me and the girl (she was maybe 17) ended up play wrestling with me pinning her down. We were all laughing, but we when made eye contact...it was "that" look we exchanged. The.. "I'd fuck you" look.

Now, I remember exactly what I was thinking at the time. This girl gave me "the look" earlier, she invited me into her bed. What teenage girl would pass up the opportunity to be with a 22 year old guy? She MUST want it. I tried again, and slid my hands over her body.”

A22. “One of my first sexual experiences was clearly nonconsensual and involved the forcible partial undressing of a junior schoolmate by myself and a classmate. Although at the time we

were annoyed that she escaped with only a lost undergarment, I am on reflection glad that we did not carry through our intent to 'put things in her', since she would have certainly then reported us. The fact that she apparently did not (or was not believed) is one of the reasons I am personally thankful for our 'rape culture'.”

A23. “I have raped both the girls I have had long-term relationships with, each on more than one occasion, and each time has been among my most enjoyable and memorable sexual experiences. Retaining the relationships despite this fetish has been difficult although my current girl is at least attracted to BDSM and consensual non-consent.

I have succeeded in blaming events: on substance abuse (too drunk, too wired), on physical accident (it slipped), on claiming to have thought they were 'playing along' with a fantasy, on 'not realising' they were too intoxicated to consent, and more.”

A24. “I am a post-colleged age male who raped several girls through use of coercion, alcohol, and other tactics over a course of 3 years.

First off, I must say, I was at a dark and horrible place in my life, that I’ve since grown from. I’m ashamed of the person I was, if the people who I’m close to now knew who I was, I would be ruined.

I’m a good looking guy, and I can get girls pretty easily. I’m currently married to a beautiful woman that I met during this time of my life (not someone I raped, but someone who knew my mask during this time). So, anyways, after a while it became boring to go after the sluts and sorority girls that would easily throw their cunt after you. I wanted the thrill of the chase, and that’s what led me to forcing myself on girls.

I would find attractive girls that were self-conscious about their looks. Girls who were pretty in their own unique way, but not the outgoing sort, mostly introverts, and girls that didn’t party or do wild things. Hopefully a girl who was a bit damaged, had a shitty ex-boyfriend, or family issues, came from a small shut in town, that sort of thing. So, when I showed interest in them they’d be completely enamored, they’d almost be shocked that a popular, good-looking, and well liked guy would be talking to them.”

A25. “They would come over, and I’d always make sure it was real cold in the room, cold enough so that when we started watching the movie I’d say something about being chilly, and grab a big fleece blanket for the both of us. We’d get kind of close, and then maybe ignore the movie for some kissing. After a while, we’d talk some more, and I’d start edging my hands around the under strap of the bra, or maybe a bit into her pants, just kind of playing on the edge to gauge her response. Some girls would stiffen up a little, and that’s when you knew they didn’t like what was going on. We were in my studio apartment, so the bed served as the couch, and it was easy

to start sliding down throughout the movie so we'd be laying down. It was then that I could turn around and get on top of her. The girls usually didn't know how to respond. Some of them were into it, and those nights were usually consensual and boring sex, sometimes followed up by a few more nightly visits before getting the boot. However, the great nights were the ones who squirmed, ones who didn't want to give in. I'd have to shush them down, and try to work on them slowly enough so they didn't know what was going on until it was pretty much already happening.

I'm a muscular guy, over 6' around 200 lbs. and most of these girls may have been 125-130, really tiny and easy to pin down. To be honest, even remembering it now, the squirming always made it better, they didn't want it to happen, but they couldn't do anything about it. Most girls don't say no either. They think you're a good guy, and should pick up on the hints, they don't want to have to say "no" and admit to themselves what's happening."

A26. "The last time I abused anyone was just months after the divorce, when I found myself wanting to go farther than ever with this girl I had been abusing for years. I remember realizing that she was awake and that she didn't say a word. I couldn't bring myself to do it, but I didn't know why. I specifically remember wanting to know why."

A27. "This girl and her mom were visiting when I was about 14-15. She was about 16 with huge tits. I kept fantasizing about sneaking into the room next door and playing with her tits.

Then about 16-17 this girl falls asleep on the couch next to me. I felt I just had to touch her. I gently brushed my hand across her shirt. I immediately had to go to the bathroom and masterbate. I came back out to her with my dick out. Almost ejaculated on her."

A28. "We quickly jumped on her bed and she started to blow me. It felt pretty good, she actually wasn't that bad at it, but I was absolutely wasted so it was taking me forever to cum. She looked tired and I told her she could stop if she wanted, I said we could just do other stuff. She said okay thats fine and laid down next to me.

So I got up and asked if she wanted to have sex, she says "i don't know". I say "come on, you're really hot blah blah blah" just spitting anything that might get me some pussy. Eventually I was on top of her with my tip rubbing against her pussy. She had never said no I don't want to have sex just maybes and I don't knows. So I'm in this position on top of her and she says "okay I guess".

So I put it in slow and start doing my thing, we're kissing and stuff but then I look at her face and it doesn't look right. She looks scared and confused so I ask "Are you okay?" She says "yeah are you almost done?" I said "No we just started." At this point I'm like wtf? What the hell did I do, why is she so uncomfortable? So even my drunk ass knows somethings off, so I pull out and try to find out whats wrong.

She keeps saying shes fine its nothing but I just feel weird about the whole situation so I leave and say I'll see you tomorrow. I went back to my room and partied with the other 2 girls for the rest of the night.

I woke up the next morning thinking we had just had an awkward hook up and she didn't like the sex or was unsure or something. So in my world everything is fine, but she felt differently.

I found out she felt like I had raped her, I was so blown away by this I had no idea what to do. I was confused and hurt and just felt like shit.”

A29. “We were both 14-15, and I was a little shit who insisted on "copping a feel" (through her dress). I'll never forget how upset she was, and I got up and left after she asked me in a terrified voice if I was going to rape her.

I am sorry that I did this. Completely, and utterly sorry.”

A30. “While she was still sober enough she pulled me aside and made sure I got her home safe. She kept saying I was too drunk and I pretended to be more inebriated for her benefit (although I was pretty sloshed) and eventually got us home.

So I helped her into pajamas, made sure she got some water, and got a container in case she puked. I had already given up on her at this point and didn't have a problem getting her changed etc etc without any urges.

The problem came when I got into my bed and she kept calling my name in her drunken stupor/sleep. I thought something was wrong so I got up and went over to check on her. She then grabbed my arm and snuggled up to it as I stood beside her bed. Some other things were said by her that I don't remember because at that point the feelings I used to have for her came rushing back.

We kissed a bit and me being a curious 20 year old virgin just wanted to know what ladies' downstairs were like so I fingered her. I don't remember what tipped me off but her behavior was weird so I realized what I was doing and stopped there (definitely would have raped her without that observation)

She kept telling me I could do whatever I wanted. But I knew she wasn't able to consent and stopped.

I moved out the next day by coincidence and threw up from guilt when I moved into my new house. We talked it out a month later and she forgave me but that really doesn't mean much.”

Appendix C: Anchor Examples

Table 26: *Affect Anchor Examples*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Example</u>
un/happiness	cheer	“I would be so happy”, “I was laughing”
	misery	“I was lonely and sad”, “I started crying”, “I was at a dark and horrible place in my life”, “I cracked then”
	affection	“we were dating”, “he was like my brother”, “he was my best friend”, “we started making out”, “we used to kiss”
	antipathy	“we kept fighting”, “but now ex [boyfriend]”, “I had just broken up with my girlfriend”
dis/satisfaction	interest	“the girls were the ones showing interest in me”, “being a curious 20 year old virgin”
	ennui	
	pleasure	“he was enjoying it”, “I got really, really into it”, “it felt pretty good”
	displeasure	“I was disgusted”, “it felt like hours”
in/security	quiet	
	disquiet	“I felt anxious”, “she seemed preoccupied”, “thinking what the hell”, “I was shaking”, “hearing his name gives me anxiety attacks”
	trust	“I trusted him”, “how could someone like that hurt me?”
	distrust	“he was making me uncomfortable”, “[he] looked nervous”
inclination		“I eagerly accepted”, “she ran to my bed”, “consensual”, “she said alright let’s go”
disinclination		“she asked me to stop”, “I refused”, “[he] forced me”, “they don’t want to have to say no”

Table 27: *Judgement Anchor Examples*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Example</u>
normality	positive	“in my world everything is fine”, “I have a wife and a couple of kids now”
	negative	“I have an STD”, “who has their own apartment and car in college?”
capacity	positive	“I managed to kick him off”, “I have succeeded in blaming events”, “I can get girls pretty easily”
	negative	“made me feel so weak and powerless”, “I was inexperienced”, “she wasn’t able to consent”, “I was too drunk”
tenacity	positive	“he was determined”, “I kept telling him no”
	negative	“I gave in”, “I was repeatedly sexually assaulted”, “led me to forcing myself on girls”, “he made me have sex with him for hours”
propriety	positive	“he tried to apologize”, “I felt justified”
	negative	“he raped me”, “he’s committing a terrible crime to my body”, “he started touching me inappropriately”, “I’m somewhat remorseful”, “I felt really guilty”, “I’m ashamed of the person I was”
veracity	positive	
	negative	“I didn’t tell anyone”, “pretending like he didn’t know”, “she came or faked it”

Table 28: *Appreciation Anchor Examples*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Example</u>
reaction	impact	“it was that look we exchanged”, “that excited me”, “turned me on”, “we just had an awkward hook up”, “it was horrible”
	quality	“she was gorgeous, totally my type”, “my most enjoyable and memorable sexual experiences”, “people -especially women- were merely objects”
composition	balance	
	complexity	
social valuation		“those nights were usually consensual and boring sex”, “a popular, good-looking and well-liked guy”, “sluts and sorority girls”