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Running head: *CONSENT, WANTEDNESS, AND PLEASURE*

**Consent, wantedness, and pleasure: Three dimensions affecting the perceived distress of  
and judgements of rape in sexual encounters**

### **Abstract**

Participants conflate consent and wantedness when judging situations as rape (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007). Pleasure might also affect how such situations might be appraised by victims, perpetrators, and jurors. In four experiments, participants read vignettes describing sexual encounters that were consensual or not, wanted or unwanted, and pleasurable or not pleasurable. Participants judged whether they thought each situation described rape and how distressing they thought the encounter would be. Wantedness affected perceived distress when consent was given. Wantedness and pleasure also influenced whether participants considered the situation rape in non-consensual scenarios. In additional experiments, we analysed the results by gender, manipulated perspective (being the subject or initiator of the encounter), levels of aggression, and compared the results to a group of participants who had viewed an anti-abuse campaign. Male participants and those higher in benevolent sexism were more likely than women to utilise pleasure and wantedness in judging whether situations described rape. Perspective and viewing the media campaign did not significantly affect judgements of rape. Our results have implications for models of the consequences of consent, wantedness, and pleasure of sex, and important implications for educational programmes aimed at reducing sexual assault and training for those involved in criminal justice.

### **Keywords**

Consent; rape; wantedness; pleasure; perceived distress

### **Public Significance Statement**

We have shown that when participants judge sexual scenarios for how much they resemble rape, they do not simply use a lack of consent in their definitions. Instead, participants conflate consent, wantedness, and pleasure when making such judgements. Such conflation might lead to a lack of acknowledgement of what rape is, a reduction in reporting rape and reduced conviction rates.

## Consent, wantedness, and pleasure: Three dimensions affecting the perceived distress of and judgements of rape in sexual encounters

The stereotypical 'real rape' involves an attack committed by a stranger, at night, in a secluded area, with a weapon, and culminating in violent sexual intercourse (Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Hockett, Saucier, & Badke, 2015). While there are differences in rape definitions across jurisdictions, typically it is defined as intentional penetration of the vagina, anus, or mouth of another person without their consent (in the US and UK: Department of Justice, 2012; Home Office, 2003). Notably, across a two-year period in the UK there were no reported incidents of rape meeting all the characteristics of a stereotypical 'real rape' (Waterhouse, Reynolds & Egan, 2016). In fact, official statistics show that the victim is aware of the identity of the offender in approximately 90% of reported rapes (acquaintance rape<sup>1</sup>, Black, 2011) with the most common victim-offender relationship being a current or ex romantic partner (Ministry of Justice, Home Office, & Office for National Statistics, 2013; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; National Victim Center, 1992).

Acquaintance rape is less likely to involve violence or force (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000) and is more likely to occur in the victim's home than stereotypic rape. It is, however, more likely to involve coercion to obtain consent. Legal definitions of consent usually require that the person agrees to participate by choice, with the freedom and capacity to choose (in Canada and the UK for example; Department of Justice, 2015; Home Office, 2003). This, therefore, means that consent can be given, but the act is rape if the consent was forced through threats, drug, or alcohol use (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987).

Accompanying the stereotype of a 'real rape' is the belief that rapes committed by acquaintances are less psychologically distressing than those committed by strangers (McGregor, Wiebe, Marion, &

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the UK police define acquaintance rape as the interactions between the offender and victim were over more than one day. This definition is used to aid the investigation process rather than it being treated as a different crime.

Livingstone, 2000; Simonson & Subich, 1999), but this belief is unfounded (DiVasto, 1985; Koss, Dinero, Seibel, & Cox, 1988; Yeater, & O'Donohue, 1999). Rape can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and suicidal ideation (Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003). Believing that stranger rape is more psychologically distressing may increase tolerance of acquaintance rape (Paludi, 2008; Sleath & Bull, 2010; Yescavage, 1999). Males, in particular, have been found to perceive that when in a romantic relationship they have more 'right' to have sex and the victim has less right to say no than when not in a romantic relationship (Sheldon-Keller, Lloyd-Mcgarvey, West, & Canterbury, 1994; Grubb & Harrower, 2008). It follows that sexual assault and rape occurring through subtle coercion rather than brute force is less likely to be viewed as rape and contributes to victim blaming (Hockett et al., 2015; Maier, 2008). A lack of acknowledgement of the occurrence, severity, and existence of acquaintance rape by the public and courts (Gamble, 2014; Wilson & Leith, 2001) may be partially responsible for the low reporting and conviction rates of rape and acquaintance rape (with only approximately 6% of reported rapes resulting in a conviction, Rape Crisis England and Wales, 2017; Temkin & Krahé, 2008). It is therefore important to understand how people (who could be perpetrators, victims, and potentially jurors) appraise sexual scenarios involving acquaintances (Angelone, Mitchell, & Grossi, 2015).

Within the confines of a relationship, where potential consensual sex could have taken place, the possibility of misinterpreting behaviour is likely (Cohn, Dupuis, & Brown, 2009; Weller, 1992). Society has constructed a grey area around consent and coercion within relationships, potentially inhibiting victims from reporting due to a lack of knowledge of what constitutes rape (Gunnarsson, 2017). This means many people may not label their experiences as rape despite them meeting the legal definition (e.g., Layman, Gidycz, & Lynn, 1996; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004; Wilson & Miller, 2015), with survivors labelling their experiences as "bad sex" or "miscommunication" (Bondurant, 2001; Littleton, Breitkopf & Berenson, 2008; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007). Unacknowledged rape occurs more frequently when there is a lack of force and a lack of resistance (Lim & Roloff, 1999; Wilson & Miller, 2016), also traits of acquaintance rape. Less acknowledgement leads to fewer

victims coming forward (Miller, Du Mont, & Myhr, 2003). This highlights an important need to understand the factors that affect when people think a sexual situation is rape and to educate the public regarding consent. Many such educational packages have been created (for example Thames Valley Police's 'consent is everything', May, 2015; and Project Consent's, 2014, 'If it's not yes, it's a no'). Directly highlighting abuse within relationships, the UK Government introduced the "This Is Abuse" campaign in 2010 (Home Office, 2010), which involved a series of televised adverts over a two year period, depicting teenagers in a relationship where the male coerced and pressured the female into a sexual act. In general, educational campaigns can be effective in providing information to those who attend them (Smith, 2013), but rarely lead to lasting attitudinal change (Lonsway, 1996; Lonsway et al., 2009). Behavioural changes have not been measured.

Given consent is fundamental to legal definitions of rape, it is important to consider how it is understood. In relationships, consent is typically provided through non-verbal behaviours (Beres, Herold & Maitland, 2004) which are not always clear (Beres, 2007). Some cues to consent are less ambiguous and understood, such as reciprocation in acts (and cues to a lack of consent, for example pushing someone away, Beres, 2014). However, there are a large number of behaviours that communicate consent (or a lack of) and they may not be universal or consistently understood. Indeed, the apparent need for consent depends on a number of factors including length of relationship (Humphreys, 2007), previous sexual experience of the individual (Humphreys, 2004), gender (Humphreys, 2007; Humphreys & Herold, 2007), type of sexual act (Hall, 1998), and timing within the sexual scenario (Beres, 2014). Outward behaviours indicative of consent may not always reflect the cognitive feelings behind them (Muehlenhard, 1996). In fact, only a mild to moderate relationship between internal and external expressions of consent has been demonstrated (Jozkowski, Sanders, Peterson, Dennis, & Reece, 2014). Potentially, this difference between internal and outward behaviours may relate to the concept of wantedness.

Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) introduced the concept of 'wantedness' as separate to 'consent' when considering the labelling of sexual encounters as rape, due to the problem of conflating wanting and consenting to sex. Wanting is defined as a desire for something or believing that it is good. Consent is the agreement to do something. Wantedness might influence consent, but it is distinct. For example, a person may want sex (e.g., with person A), but not consent to it (as person A is married to someone else). Sexual acts can therefore fall into one of four categories: wanted and consensual; unwanted and consensual; wanted and non-consensual (rape); unwanted and non-consensual (rape).

Clearly, wanted and consensual sexual encounters are those that can be considered 'appropriate' sex. Similarly, there is clarity over the unwanted and non-consensual types of sexual encounters as these are clearly rape: the victim did not want nor consent to the sexual activity. Traditional views on sexual encounters only include these two categories, however there is evidence for individuals consenting to unwanted sex and not consenting to wanted sex.

Extensive research has shown people regularly consent to unwanted sex (Krahé, Scheinberger-Olwig, & Kolpin, 2000; O'Sullivan & Graines, 1998). Vannier and O'Sullivan (2010) reported that 17% of sexual encounters are sexually compliant (engaging in undesired sexual activity). O'Sullivan and Allgeier (1998) found over a two-week period, 38% of participants in committed relationships consented to unwanted sex for a variety of reasons including to build intimacy, satisfy partners' desires, pleasure, avoiding relationship tension, avoiding hurting partners' feelings, maintaining a relationship, or feeling obligated (Drouin & Tobin, 2014; Gavey, 2005; Impett & Peplau, 2003; Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Tolman & Szalacha, 1999). Consenting to unwanted sex occurs in both marital and dating relationships where one partner may know they will be coerced if they do not comply (Katz & Tirone, 2010) and may reflect the 'hooking up' culture (Flack et al., 2007; Gavey, 2005). A reported 44% of a female undergraduate sample admitted consenting to unwanted sexual intercourse because of fear of consequences, to fulfil sexual script,

and meet relationship obligations (Conroy, Krishnakumar & Leone, 2015; Koss et al., 1987). Consenting to unwanted sex may sometimes lead to distress including unwanted memories, avoidance, and emotional numbing (Flack et al., 2007; Larimer, Lydum, Anderson, & Turner, 1999, but see O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998). However, it can have limited or even be beneficial consequences in building relationships (Conroy et al., 2015).

There is also evidence that people do not consent to wanted sex. There are many reasons for this such as not having a condom (Muehlenhard & Peterson, 2005), wanting to wait until after marriage, or can be due to 'token resistance' (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988; Muehlenhard & Rodgers, 1998). Non-consensual but internally wanted sexual scenarios are less likely to be acknowledged as rape, despite meeting the legal definition (Artime & Peterson, 2015; Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1999; Morgan, Johnson & Sigler, 2006). Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) found 18.9% of their participants who had been raped actually wanted the sexual act, but not the consequences.

In Peterson and Muehlenhard's (2007) definition of wanting, they include a desire for something to happen and to believe that it is positive. They include pleasure as one of the reasons for wanting sex. These two aspects reflect distinct constructs. Physiological pleasure is typically defined as how enjoyable intercourse is in terms of sexual arousal (Basson, 2001). Arousal should not always be conflated with psychological pleasure, however. While Tolman and Szalacha (1999) suggest pleasure seeking is a reason for wanting sex, other researchers indicate pleasure is not the only reason for wanting sex (Cain et al., 2003) - reasons can include help building a relationship or because the couple are trying to get pregnant.

Physiological pleasure is an autonomous mechanism that creates sexual arousal at a sub-cortical level (Levin & Van Berlo, 2004). Research reports lubrication and orgasm are possible in non-consensual scenarios, despite subjective emotional states being described as 'anxiety-provoking,' 'feared,' and 'unpleasant' (Basson et al., 2004; Levin & Van Berlo, 2004; Suschinsky & Lalumiere, 2010). This highlights that physiological pleasure can be separate from psychological pleasure.



Within relationships, by managing a partner's needs, it is possible a person might find physiological pleasure in sexual intercourse that was not consensual (Basson, 2001, 2005). A person might want and consent to a sexual intercourse, but due to poor practice feel dissatisfied or even distressed (Basson et al., 2003). Pleasure however, has no bearing on the definition of rape.

Physiological pleasure is possible from unwanted and non-consensual sex. This dimension, therefore, influences how a sexual act might be appraised and the subsequent psychological disturbances that might occur. It may explain why some people do not report negative consequences from unwanted consensual sex. Levin and Van Berlo (2004) indicate females reportedly express heightened arousal to a non-consensual situation in which the victim experienced an orgasm but no pain, in comparison to a mutually consenting sexual scenario. This may be interpreted as a sexual power display (Malamuth, Heim & Feshbach, 1980), where mutually accepted acts of dominance and submission might be considered sexually arousing (MacKinnon, 1997). The consequences of this might be that pleasure may mitigate how distressing people find non-consensual and/or unwanted sexual scenarios. Indeed, pleasure affects how an individual labels an experience as rape and how much psychological distress they feel afterwards (Basson, 2005). In a non-consensual scenario, sexual pleasure from rape strongly predicted blame attribution and high judgements of rape (McCaul, Veltum, Boyechko & Crawford, 1990). Pleasure can alleviate or increase psychological distress and labelling of rape (Basson, 2005; Kilpatrick, Veronen & Resick, 1982). We therefore, predict that pleasure may mitigate how participants rate scenarios depicting consensual and non-consensual sex.

Thus far, we have summarised how consent, wantedness, and pleasure depicted in a sexual scenario may moderate how it is appraised, despite only consent mattering in the legal definition of rape. However, there are also participant variables that also may explain how sexual encounters are appraised. Here, we focus on sexism and gender.

Sexism, in both genders, has been found to correlate with the acceptance of rape myths (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2007). Benevolent sexism (the attitude that women are subjectively positive, but

should remain in stereotypical gender roles, Masser, Lee, & McKimmie, 2009) has been found to predict the amount of victim blaming and ratings of seriousness in acquaintance rape cases (Abrams et al., 2003; Viki et al., 2004; Yamawaki, 2007). Similar victim blaming and low acknowledgement of the consequences of rape have been found in those high in hostile sexism (strong beliefs in traditional gender roles, such as men should take the initiative even when the woman does not consent, Abrams et al., 2003; Check & Malamuth, 1983) in acquaintance and stranger rape (Cohn et al., 2009; Yamawaki, 2007). These data indicate that those high in benevolent sexism might utilise factors other than consent in their appraisals of sexual scenarios. We shall test this prediction.

Further to sexism, gender differences have been observed in perceptions of rape. In college students, males, in comparison to females, had significantly fewer positive attitudes towards victims of rape (Sakallı-Uğurlu, Yalçın & Glick, 2007). Males tend to endorse rape myths more (Bell, Kuriloff & Lottes, 1994; Burt, 1980; Schewe, 2006), are more likely to blame the victim (Angelone, Mitchell, & Smith, 2014), and attribute more responsibility and pleasure to a victim of sexual assault than females (Schult & Schneider, 1991; Szymanski, Devlin, Chrisler, & Vyse, 1993; Thornton, Ryckman, & Robbins, 1982; Whatley, 2005). Caron and Carter (1997) suggest men are more tolerant of pressuring someone into having sex, and see it as having a less harmful effect on the victim than women. This seems to match sexual scripts and gendered stereotypes (Bogle, 2008; Gagnon & Simon, 2009) but can add confusion as to whether consent has been given. In many heterosexual relationships, the male initiates sexual activity (Bowleg, Lucas & Tschann, 2004; Gavey, 2005), the female then accepts (potentially explicitly consenting, but not necessarily).

### *The Present Work*

Given the potential lack of understanding of what rape is by potential victims, perpetrators, and jurors and its potential relevance to low reporting and conviction rates, it is important to understand the factors that affect people's understanding of what is rape. Such work can lead to improvements in sex education and training in schools, colleges, and criminal justice. Therefore, this study aims to

investigate the interactions between the three factors - consent, wantedness, and pleasure - in university students' perceptions of rape and distress in vignettes describing sexual encounters. We tested university students because this group is at a high risk for experiencing sexual assault and acquaintance rape (Bachar & Koss, 2001; Cooper, 2002; Daigle, Fisher, & Cullen, 2008; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007, *Revolt Sexual Assault & The Student Room*, 2018) especially first-year students (McCluskey-Fawcett, Berkley-Patton, Towns, & Prosser, 2001). For the purpose of this study, we used the definition of consent in the Sexual Offences Act (Home Office, 2003) provided above. Wantedness is defined as desire for the sexual intercourse that is based on individual feelings and beliefs towards the intercourse (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007). Pleasure is defined as how enjoyable intercourse is in terms of sexual arousal (Basson, 2001) and psychological appraisal.

We employed an experimental design to investigate participants' subjective ratings of distress and rape using vignettes portraying sexual encounters. In these scenarios, consent, wantedness, and pleasure were varied systematically. Participants read these scenarios and provided their ratings for how distressing they would find the situation and whether they felt the scenario described rape. We anticipate wanted non-consensual sex will be less likely to be considered rape than unwanted non-consensual sex (Morgan, Johnson & Sigler, 2006; O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998). Similarly, pleasurable, non-consensual sexual encounters will receive a lower judgement of rape and distress (Basson, 2005; Kilpatrick et al., 1982) implying consent, wantedness and pleasure are distinct concepts in the context of rape (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007). Males will be less likely to consider the scenarios as depicting rape than females (given males typically are more tolerant of sexual assault within relationships than women, Sheldon-Keller, et al., 1994; Grubb & Harrower, 2008). We also anticipate to find a negative relationship between sexism and appraising the scenarios as rape (Chapleau, et al., 2007).

All experiments reported here utilise the same methodology, exploring the effects of consent, wantedness, and pleasure on ratings of rape and distress. Experiment 1 explored the effects of gender. Experiment 2 explored how the role taken in the scenario (perpetrator or victim) affected appraisals. Experiment 3 assessed whether increased aggression depicted in the scenarios would increase the ratings of rape and distress (given that aggression and violence is consistent with the stereotype of a 'real rape'). Finally, Experiment 4 assessed whether passively viewing a campaign video "This is Abuse" changed participants attitudes to the scenarios.

### **Experiment 1a**

Since most people explicitly understand the lack of consent is the only necessary factor in determining whether a sexual scenario is rape (Beres, 2010, 2014), we anticipate when participants read vignettes describing sexual scenarios, they will rate any without consent as rape. However, because the scenarios are based around acquaintance and partner sexual scenarios and we do not ask participants about consent, we hypothesise they will not be considered rape by all participants. This contradiction is a result of participants not necessarily always reading consent in the scenarios unless explicitly asked to. We hypothesise that in acquaintance scenarios, wantedness (McHugh, 1996) and pleasure will affect such judgements (thereby predicting main effects). Further, we expect that for the effects of wantedness and pleasure will moderate the effect of consent (thereby predicting an interaction). We also anticipate male participants will be more likely to use pleasure and wantedness in their judgements of rape than female participants.

### **Method**

#### *Participants*

An opportunity sample of 131 (94 female, age range 18- to 36-years, mean age 22-years) psychology undergraduates took part in this study in return for course credits. Sample size was determined

through an estimated effect size based on gender differences in victim blaming from Suarez and Gadalla (2010). This was the between-subjects effect and the one predicted to be the smallest. The effect size was medium ( $r=.28$ ), therefore to achieve adequate power (.80), at least 84 participants would be required (Howell, 1998). This assumed an equal group size - we did not have this for this study. These were recruited from two Universities in the UK and 80% of them were studying in their first year. One-hundred-and-fourteen self-reported they were White. Participants were recruited via an online advertisement that asked participants to take part in a study "exploring people's attitudes to sexual scenarios" and informed that some of the scenarios would depict non-consensual sexual encounters and anyone with experience of rape was advised not to take part.

### *Design*

A 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-subjects design was employed with the factors: participant gender, consent, wantedness, and pleasure depicted in the scenarios. The dependent variables were perceived distress and perception of rape, measured on an 8-point Likert-type scale.

### *Materials*

Twenty-four gender-neutral vignettes, written in the second person, were developed for this study (presented in the Supplementary Material). These were short (two- to three-sentence) hypothetical scenarios that described whether the sexual encounter between acquaintances was wanted, consensual, and pleasurable. Each vignette described a situation that might occur when the perpetrator and survivor were acquaintances. They were developed from the 'Reasons for Wanting Sex and Reasons for Not Wanting Sex Subscales' of Peterson and Muehlenhard's (2007) Wanting Questionnaire. These vignettes displayed highly different scenarios. This variability meant that the scenarios described in the vignettes were not entirely parallel across the conditions. Instead, each vignette presents a totally different scenario (for example, some vignettes referencing a cheating partner, some referencing no condoms, and others referencing a desire for power). Since the additional reasons were not manipulated systematically, it is possible for confounding variables to

be impacting participants' ratings. Nevertheless, the variation better reflects potential sexual scenarios in a non-artificial manner.

In these vignettes, we systematically manipulated whether they described consensual, wanted, and pleasurable scenarios, creating eight types of vignette and three vignettes for each variant. For example, a wanted consensual but not pleasurable encounter was "You are in a mood to engage in sex and both you and your partner agree to do so. However, you disliked your partner's behaviour during the intercourse, which makes you feel uncomfortable."

To ensure face validity, the vignettes were given to a similar group of 18 participants (taken from the same population as the main study) to rate whether they displayed consent (agreement to take part in a sexual act), wantedness (desire to take part in a sexual act), and pleasure (whether the sexual act felt nice). All participants were able to correctly identify the conditions every vignette was supposed to reflect.

Further testing of these vignettes was conducted on another group of 12 participants (taken from the same population as the main study) to rate whether they were believable and plausible (to further assess face validity), ease of understanding, level of detail (to ensure that they were usable and meaningful), and how much they reflected wantedness, pleasure, and consent (to ensure that the vignettes were matched equally across the scenarios). All scales were measure on a 10-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 ("not at all") to 9 ("completely"). All vignettes scored above 8.5 for each measure (or below 1 for the vignettes that had did not display wanting, pleasure, or consent for the respective ratings). There were no significant differences in any of the metrics across conditions.

### *Procedure*

The study was granted full ethical approval by the Research Ethics Panels at both universities. The study was run online in order for the participants to feel comfortable giving open responses: anonymity was ensured. After providing consent, participants read the first vignette at their own

pace. They were asked to imagine themselves in the described situation. Participants then rated how distressing they found the situation on an eight-point Likert-type scale with anchor points 1="not at all distressing" and 8="extremely distressing." Participants then rated how much they thought the particular situation described rape on an eight-point Likert-type scale with the anchor points 1="not at all rape" and 8="definitely rape." Each participant completed every vignette and were not permitted to go back to a previous vignette to change their answers. The order of the vignettes was randomised across participants. Once participants had completed all 24 vignettes, they were thanked and debriefed. Only during debriefing were participants provided with the legal definition of rape.

## **Results and Discussion**

While perceived distress of the vignettes and how likely the participant thought the situation was rape were highly correlated,  $r(129)=.54$ ,  $p<.001$ , we analyse these measures separately as the consequences (distress) of sexual encounters may be different to whether they are considered as rape. Throughout this manuscript, we report the highest-level significant interaction and decompose this with appropriate lower-level ANOVAs (e.g., 4-way interactions broken down with two 3-way ANOVAs; see Field, 2010). We also report other effects not covered by such a decomposition. All data and analyses are available from Bournemouth University's Data Repository (BoRDar). Bonferroni-Šídák-corrected pairwise comparisons are used throughout the manuscript when decomposing significant interactions. Figure 1 shows the mean subjective ratings for how much they depicted rape and how distressing the situation was perceived.

*Figure 1 about here*

### *Ratings of rape*

The 'perception of rape' dependent variable (rated out of 8) data were subjected to a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVA presented in Table 1. Consent, wantedness, and pleasure all affected how sexual scenarios were appraised. Scenarios lacking in either consent ( $M=5.03$ ,  $SE=0.16$ ), wantedness ( $M=3.86$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ), or pleasure ( $M=4.28$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) were appraised as more likely to be rape than scenarios containing such features ( $M=2.22$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ,  $M=3.39$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ,  $M=2.97$ ,  $SE=0.11$ , respectively: Table 1, rows 1-3). Given UK legal definition of rape only includes consent, it is interesting to note how both wantedness and pleasure affected how scenarios were judged. Females did not differ significantly in their perceptions of rape than males overall (row 4), however gender did interact with consent (row 5): When the scenarios were consensual, females ( $M=2.43$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ) were more likely to rate them as rape than males ( $M=2.02$ ,  $SE=0.16$ ),  $t(129)=2.05$ ,  $p=.043$ . However, when the scenarios did not display consent, females ( $M=4.82$ ,  $SE=0.17$ ) did not differ significantly from males ( $M=5.23$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ) in their judgement about whether the scenario displayed rape,  $t(129)=1.29$ ,  $p=.20$ . Pleasure did not significantly interact with participant gender, though the effect was approaching significance (row 7). Wantedness did not interact with participant gender (row 6). Female participants deemed scenarios as representing rape more often than males when they contained consent, potentially because of the influence of the other variables: since the four-way interaction was significant (row 17).

*Table 1 about here*

For *female* participants wantedness moderated the effect of consent on ratings of rape (row 18): When scenarios were consensual, those that were unwanted ( $M=2.75$ ,  $SE=0.15$ ) were rated as more likely to be rape than those that were wanted ( $M=2.10$ ,  $SE=0.09$ ),  $t(93)=5.93$ ,  $p<.001$ . While the same



was true when the scenarios were nonconsensual, the difference in ratings for wanted ( $M=4.62$ ,  $SE=0.17$ ) and unwanted ( $M=5.02$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ) encounters was smaller,  $t(93)=4.63$ ,  $p<.001$ . Pleasure also moderated the effect of consent and wantedness (row 19): When the scenarios were consensual, the effect of pleasure was smaller than when it was not consensual. Consensual pleasurable ( $M=1.77$ ,  $SE=0.08$ ) scenarios were rated as less likely to be rape than consensual not pleasurable scenarios ( $M=3.09$ ,  $SE=0.16$ ),  $t(93)=10.26$ ,  $p<.001$ . Non consensual pleasurable ( $M=3.99$ ,  $SE=0.17$ ) scenarios were rated as less likely to be rape than non consensual not pleasurable scenarios ( $M=5.65$ ,  $SE=0.19$ ),  $t(93)=13.46$ ,  $p<.001$ . Finally, scenarios that were wanted and pleasurable ( $M=2.37$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ) were rated as much less likely to be rape than wanted but not pleasurable ( $M=4.36$ ,  $SE=0.16$ ) ones,  $t(93)=16.80$ ,  $p<.001$  (row 20). A smaller effect was found when scenarios were unwanted: unwanted and pleasurable scenarios ( $M=3.40$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) were rated as less likely to be rape than unwanted but not pleasurable ( $M=4.38$ ,  $SE=0.17$ ) ones,  $t(93)=8.89$ ,  $p<.001$ .

For *males*, the same interactions were significant (rows 22-24), but so too was the three-way interaction (row 22). To explore this further, two 2 x 2 within-subjects ANOVAs (for consensual and non-consensual scenarios) revealed the interaction between wantedness and pleasure was smaller when the scenarios were consensual (row 26) than when they were not consensual, (row 27). Specifically, when they displayed consent, participants were more likely to rate the not pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=2.04$ ,  $SE=0.21$ ) as rape than the pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=1.11$ ,  $SE=0.07$ ),  $t(36)=4.59$ ,  $p<.001$ . For unwanted scenarios, the difference between not pleasurable ( $M=2.55$ ,  $SE=0.28$ ) and pleasurable scenarios ( $M=2.36$ ,  $SE=0.25$ ) was not significant,  $t(36)=0.78$ ,  $p=.442$ . When non-consensual, not pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=6.54$ ,  $SE=0.33$ ) were rated as more likely to be rape than the pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=3.94$ ,  $SE=0.30$ ),  $t(36)=9.53$ ,  $p<.001$ . Not pleasurable unwanted scenarios ( $M=5.66$ ,  $SE=0.32$ ) were rated as more likely to be rape than not pleasurable wanted ones ( $M=4.80$ ,  $SE=0.30$ ),  $t(36)=2.75$ ,  $p=.009$ .

Taken together, these results indicate participants do not simply use consent to appraise whether a depicted sexual scenario between partners is rape. Indeed, pleasure and wantedness can have separate (for females) and combined effects (for males) on the appraisal of rape. If a non consensual scenario is wanted and/or pleasurable it is less likely to be considered rape than the converse. This finding has important implications for the criminal justice system. If potential jurors consider originally wanted or pleasurable situations as not reflecting rape (even though consent is not present), then potential perpetrators may not be convicted. It is therefore imperative to educate jurors and criminal justice practitioners regarding these findings. We also found that consensual scenarios that were unwanted and/or not pleasurable were rated as more likely to be rape than the converse. This situation also has implications as those who have not committed legal rape may be arrested and potentially charged. Once again, education regarding the importance of consent as the sole factor in judgements of rape is important.

#### *Perceived distress*

A parallel analysis was run on the perceived distress of the scenario (statistical results presented in right column of Table 1), revealing significant main effects (Table 1, rows 1-3) with non-consensual ( $M=5.19$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ), unwanted ( $M=5.16$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ), and not pleasurable ( $M=5.66$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) scenarios rated as more distressing than consensual ( $M=4.10$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ), wanted ( $M=4.13$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ), and pleasurable ( $M=3.63$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ) ones. Consent interacted with participant gender (row 5): For females, non-consensual scenarios ( $M=5.34$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ) were rated as more distressing than consensual scenarios ( $M=4.09$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ),  $t(93)=15.26$ ,  $p<.001$ . This effect was larger than for males,  $t(36)=7.91$ ,  $p<.001$ , who also rated non-consensual scenarios ( $M=5.03$ ,  $SE=0.24$ ) as more distressing than consensual ones ( $M=4.12$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ).

In this analysis, the four-way interaction was not significant (row 17). However, the three-way interaction between consent, wantedness, and pleasure was. When the scenarios were consensual, the interaction between wantedness and pleasure was significant (row 15). Not pleasurable wanted

scenarios ( $M=4.84$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ) were rated as more distressing than pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=1.46$ ,  $SE=0.07$ ),  $t(130)=26.10$ ,  $p<.001$ . A smaller effect in which not pleasurable unwanted scenarios ( $M=5.55$ ,  $SE=0.15$ ) were rated as more distressing than pleasurable unwanted scenarios ( $M=4.54$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) was also found,  $t(130)=8.69$ ,  $p<.001$ . A similar pattern was observed when the scenarios were non consensual: Not pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=6.21$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ) were rated as more distressing than pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=4.10$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ),  $t(130)=17.60$ ,  $p<.001$ , and not pleasurable unwanted scenarios ( $M=6.12$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) were rated as more distressing than pleasurable unwanted scenarios ( $M=4.59$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ),  $t(130)=15.59$ ,  $p<.001$ , however, the effect size was smaller (row 16).

The variables tested in the current experiment affected how distressing participants perceived the scenarios to be in a slightly different way to how likely they were to be perceived as rape. Pleasure had a larger influence on the perceived distress than consent or wantedness (compare the effect sizes of these main effects). Females also found the lack of consent in the scenarios more distressing than males did. Furthermore, the wantedness of a scenario affected perceived distress more when consent was given: the lack of consent made wanted sexual encounters seem more distressing than with consent. Pleasurable situations were rated as more distressing when they were unwanted compared to when they were wanted. Moreover, not pleasurable situations being rated as more distressing than pleasurable ones in consensual and wanted scenarios indicate that disappointment with sex leads to a distressing situation, even when it is consensual and wanted (consistent with Basson et al., 2003). We also found that experiencing pleasure from unwanted sex leads to as great distress as when the sex is non-consensual.

In this study, we requested that participants rated how much they thought a scenario represented rape. In a legal context for the US, Canada, England and Wales, people are either guilty of rape or not guilty. While many of our participants gave ratings in between the two extremes indicating a grey area in defining rape, this does not match the legal requirement for judgements of rape. Given

that we were interested in how participants might judge rape in a legal context, this was explored further in a follow-up experiment.

### **Experiment 1b**

In this experiment, we enquired as to whether participants felt the situation was rape or not in a binary decision (as in a legal verdict). We also took two additional measures: how much participants thought they, or their partner were responsible for sex occurring in that situation (recall we ask participants to imagine themselves in the scenario). This allows us to assess potential victim-blaming attitudes. We have indicated men may be more likely to consider the victim more responsible compared to women (Bell, et al., 1994; Brems & Wagner, 1994; Foley, Evancic, Karnik, King, & Parks, 1995; Schult & Schneider, 1991; Szymanski, et al., 1993; Thornton, et al., 1982; Whatley, 2005). In the present task, participants are asked to imagine they are the victim to facilitate higher empathy (Davis, 1996) and potentially higher judgements of rape (Weir & Wrightsman, 1990). This additional cognitive appraisal may alter how men consider the situation.

### **Methods**

The methods were identical to Experiment 1a, except participants were also asked whether they thought the scenario depicted rape or not in addition to using a scale to respond. We did not ask participants how distressing they thought the situation would be. Participants were also asked to provide a rating as to how much they took responsibility for sex occurring in the scenario and how much responsibility their partner should take. Both were rated on a 1 ("not at all") to 8 ("completely") Likert-type scale. Participants were a different set of 88 (52 female, age range 18-54 years, mean age= 21 years, 80 were White) students recruited from Bournemouth University. Sample size was calculated similarly to Experiment 1a, using the effect size from Suarez and Gadalla (2010).

## Results

We ran parallel analyses on the four dependent measures in this Experiment as in Experiment 1a. The summarised results are presented in Figure 2. Since participants made binary decisions to each vignette and there were three vignettes for each condition, we were able to compute the percentage of guilty verdicts for each condition in a similar vein to how accuracy is measured in cognitive psychological experiments (e.g., Cohen, Rissman, Hovhannisyan, Castel, & Knowlton, 2017; Gais, Lucas, & Born, 2006). This, therefore, allows for the analysis to be run in the same way as the scale analysis and direct comparisons to be made. While the data were provided in binary decisions, each participant gave three verdicts per condition, which violates Chi-Square's assumption of independence.

### *Judgements of Rape (as a scale)*

The first analysis serves as a direct replication of Experiment 1a, but with a reduced sample size. Since the primary purpose was to establish if the same effects are observed when making binary decisions compared to a scale, this reduction in power was not of great concern). The perception of rape dependent variable (rated out of 8) data were subjected to a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVA (see results in Table 2). Here, and throughout this manuscript, we only present results that are different (in terms of significance) to Experiment 1 when describing the same dependent variable. Full results are in the Supplementary Material. In this analysis, all results replicated Experiment 1a, except the four-way interaction was not significant (row 17) possibly due to a lack of power. Wantedness and pleasure did moderate the effect on consent on ratings of rape (row 14) for all participants in the same way as described for males in Experiment 1a.

*Figure 2 about here*

### *Judgements of Rape (as a binary measure)*

A parallel analysis on the judgement of rape (as a binary measure) was conducted. These data are represented as proportions. In this analysis, wantedness did not affect binary judgements of rape significantly (rows 2). The four-way interaction was not significant (row 17). However, the three-way interaction between consent, wantedness, and pleasure was significant (row 14). Specifically, when they displayed consent, participants were more likely to rate the not pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=.05$ ,  $SE=.01$ ) as rape than the pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=.03$ ,  $SE=.01$ ), though not significantly,  $t(87)=1.22$ ,  $p=.227$ , unlike the previous results. All other results were consistent with the scalar analysis.

*Table 2 about here*

Experiment 1b largely replicates Experiment 1a: for the scalar judgement of rape, the pattern of results was very similar. Marginal results from Experiment 1a did not replicate into Experiment 1b. When using the binary decision, the pattern replicates, with the exception of the main effect of wantedness. However, wantedness still interacted with the other variables in a similar manner as in Experiment 1a and in the scalar judgement. One difference concerns when the three factors interact. When judging rape in a binary manner, pleasure did not moderate the effect of wanted and consensual scenarios, whereas it did when the judgement of rape was scalar. An explanation may be this particular condition may well be easier to judge as not rape when making a binary rather than scalar judgement. This may reflect the low proportion of rape verdicts given in such conditions.

Of note, only 65% of non-consensual sexual scenarios were considered rape in the present study. Considering 9.35% of consensual sexual scenarios were considered rape, this indicates a large number of 'coerced' sexual scenarios are not considered rape by undergraduate students. These

figures highlight the lack of understanding that university students (and presumably the general public) have of acquaintance rape. Not only do they under estimate its consequences (Experiment 1a), they do not appear to acknowledge it legally as rape. We will return to this issue in Experiment 4.

#### *Judgements of Responsibility: Subject Responsibility*

A parallel 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA was run to consider how much responsibility the participant would take for sex occurring in the scenarios. Some participants did not complete these questions, resulting in a slight reduction in the degrees of freedom for this analysis. Statistical results are presented in Table 3. Main effects revealed that, participants took more responsibility in consensual ( $M=2.83$ ,  $SE=0.24$ ) and pleasurable scenarios ( $M=2.51$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ) compared to non consensual ( $M=1.97$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ) and not pleasurable ones ( $M=2.29$ ,  $SE=0.15$ ; Table 5, rows 1 and 3). Females took more responsibility ( $M=2.75$ ,  $SE=0.21$ ) than males ( $M=2.05$ ,  $SE=0.25$ ; row 4) potentially indicating belief they are the 'gatekeepers' to sexuality (Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013) from traditional gender socialisation (Abrams, et al., 2003; Buddie & Miller, 2001).

*Table 3 about here*

The four-way interaction was not significant (row 17), however, the three-way interaction between consent, wantedness, and pleasure was (row 14). For consensual scenarios only, the interaction between wantedness and pleasure was significant (rows 15 and 16). For consensual scenarios, participants took more responsibility when the scenario was not pleasurable but wanted ( $M=3.13$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ) than when it was pleasurable and wanted ( $M=2.78$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ),  $t(87)=2.16$ ,  $p=.033$ . Conversely, participants took more responsibility when the scenario was unwanted and pleasurable

( $M=3.00$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ) than when it was unwanted and not pleasurable ( $M=2.61$ ,  $SE=0.23$ ),  $t(84)=3.57$ ,  $p=.001$ , indicating they may take more responsibility for negative sexual encounters.

#### *Judgements of Responsibility: Partner's Responsibility*

The analysis on the judgements regarding the partner's responsibility revealed when consent was given ( $M=3.32$ ,  $SE=0.22$ ), intercourse was wanted ( $M=4.03$ ,  $SE=0.23$ ), or pleasurable ( $M=3.98$ ,  $SE=0.23$ ), participants suggested their partner had less responsibility than when consent was not given ( $M=5.09$ ,  $SE=0.26$ ), unwanted ( $M=4.38$ ,  $SE=0.23$ ), or not pleasurable ( $M=4.43$ ,  $SE=0.22$ ; Table 5, rows 1-3). The main effect of participant gender was not significant (row 4).

The four-way interaction was significant (row 17), indicating gender differences in how responsibility was apportioned. For *female* participants, the three-way interaction was significant (row 21). This revealed a non significant interaction between wantedness and pleasure in the consensual scenarios (row 22), but a significant interaction in the non consensual scenarios, (row 23). When the scenarios were unwanted, there was no difference between pleasurable ( $M=4.96$ ,  $SE=0.32$ ) and not pleasurable scenarios ( $M=5.25$ ,  $SE=0.36$ ),  $t(51)=1.43$ ,  $p=.160$ . However, participants allocated more responsibility to their partners when the scenario was wanted and not pleasurable ( $M=5.78$ ,  $SE=0.35$ ) than when it was wanted and pleasurable ( $M=4.59$ ,  $SE=0.31$ ),  $t(50)=5.20$ ,  $p<.001$ . Females tended to give their partners more responsibility when the sexual encounter was non consensual, wanted but unpleasant than when it was non consensual wanted and pleasant. This indicates that if a female wanted sex but did not consent to it, they expect their partner to make it enjoyable.

For *male* participants, responsibility depended on somewhat different factors. The three-way interaction was not significant (row 27). While there was no difference between wanted ( $M=4.93$ ,  $SE=0.44$ ) and unwanted ( $M=5.18$ ,  $SE=0.43$ ) scenarios when there was no consent,  $t(35)=1.38$ ,  $p=.177$ , participants awarded more responsibility to their partners in unwanted consensual scenarios ( $M=3.83$ ,  $SE=0.36$ ) than wanted consensual scenarios ( $M=2.91$ ,  $SE=0.38$ ),  $t(35)=4.39$ ,  $p<.001$  (row 24). There was no difference between consensual pleasurable ( $M=3.36$ ,  $SE=0.39$ ) and consensual not



pleasurable ( $M=3.37$ ,  $SE=0.33$ ) scenarios,  $t(35)=0.03$ ,  $p=.976$ , however, participants allotted more responsibility to their partners in the non consensual not pleasurable scenarios ( $M=5.48$ ,  $SE=0.47$ ) more so than non consensual and pleasurable scenarios ( $M=4.64$ ,  $SE=0.41$ ),  $t(35)=3.13$ ,  $p=.004$  (row 25). Finally, there was no difference between unwanted pleasurable ( $M=4.43$ ,  $SE=0.40$ ) and not pleasurable ( $M=4.58$ ,  $SE=0.38$ ) scenarios,  $t(35)=0.75$ ,  $p=.460$ . However, participants indicated more responsibility to their partners in unwanted not pleasurable ( $M=4.26$ ,  $SE=0.38$ ) than unwanted pleasurable ( $M=3.58$ ,  $SE=0.39$ ) scenarios,  $t(35)=3.37$ ,  $p=.002$  (row 26). This suggests that males apportion responsibility based on when the situation was less 'good' (i.e., unwanted and/or not pleasurable). Consent had less of a central importance to males than females.

## Experiment 2

Experiment 1 has indicated that consent, wantedness, and pleasure interact to help construct a way of appraising sexual scenarios as to whether they represent rape and how distressing they are. The results reliably indicate that consent, wantedness, and pleasure independently contribute to participants' definitions of rape. They also interact such that pleasure affects the appraisal of wanted scenarios. If scenarios are wanted, then a lack of pleasure leads to higher indications of rape irrespective of consent. For non-consensual scenarios, wanted and not pleasurable scenarios are considered more like rape than unwanted and not pleasurable scenarios, indicating a moderation of consent based on perceived pleasure and wantedness. These issues will be returned to in the General Discussion.

Thus far, we have asked participants to take the perspective of the victim in the scenarios we have presented. Taking the perspective of the victim can result in rape minimization (David & Schneider, 2005) or increased empathy for other victims of rape (Weir & Wrightsman, 1990), encourage supportive behaviour (Anastasio & Costa, 2004; Baker, 2015), and enhance altruistic behaviour (Davis, 1996). Conversely, asking the participants to imagine themselves as the initiator, they might

reappraise the sex as less unpleasant. We can base this supposition on Beres, Senn, and McCaw's (2015) findings that when participants are asked to complete a narrative in which their partner initially refuses sex but they then initiate it – scenarios of playfulness, convincing and coercion were far more commonly described than rape. As such, we ran an experiment in which participants were asked to take on either the perspective of the subject (victim) or initiator, expecting an initiator perspective judgements of rape might decrease.

## **Methods**

The methods were identical to Experiment 1a with revisions for those given the initiator's perspective. For example, the vignette 'Your partner is not sexually aroused when you initiate sex, your partner refuses. However, after you persist your partner engages in sexual activity that they enjoy a lot' represents non consensual, unwanted, but pleasurable sexual encounter from the initiator's perspective. Participants were a different set of 155 (143 female, age range 18-57 years, mean age=20 years) students recruited from Bournemouth University. Sample size was calculated similarly to Experiment 1. However, we had no basis for the size of the effect of perspective. We therefore based expected effect size on the effect of empathy on rape judgements ( $r=.21$ , Sakalli et al., 2007). With required power of .8, the required sample size was 138 (calculated using G Power). Participants were randomly allocated to read the vignettes from the subject's or the initiator's perspective.

## **Results**

The results (summarised in Figure 3) were subjected to parallel 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 mixed-subjects ANOVAs with the factors: Perspective (initiator or subject); consent; wantedness; and pleasure.

### *Judgement of Rape*

Statistical results are presented in Table 4. Most of the results replicated Experiment 1 (see the Supplementary Material). The main effect of participant perspective was not significant (row 4), nor

was the four-way interaction (row 17). Consent is a critical issue in considering whether a scenario is considered rape, however, pleasure (and wantedness) appear to moderate the effect of consent on judgements of rape (row 14). Our data (that the introduction of pleasure reduces the ratings for rape) supports McCaul, Veltum, Boyechko and Crawford's (1990) assumption that the introduction of pleasure in a scenario that legally defines rape may predict victim blaming and consequently low labelling of the scenario as rape.

*Figure 3 about here*

*Table 4 about here*

#### *Perceived Distress*

The parallel analysis revealed a similar pattern in how participants rated the distress of the scenarios (Table 4). We did not find that participant perspective affected distress (row 4) and this factor did not interact with consent nor wantedness (rows 5 and 6). This result is contrary to our expectation that taking the perspective of the initiator would decrease the ratings of rape and distress. While it is difficult to conclude from the non-significant main effect of perspective and interactions with it, it suggests limited effects of perspective taking on rape judgements in the acquaintance rape scenarios used here. Both groups of participants may create a narrative of how sex occurred that did not involve rape. It might have been playfulness, seduction, coercion, pressure, etc. Further qualitative research could untangle this. Such internal narratives not involving stereotypical rape might explain the lower ratings for rape than we might expect.

### Experiment 3

Our scenarios depicted acquaintance rape with a lack of physical violence contrary to rape myths regarding what constitutes a 'real rape' (Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Siebler, & Viki, 2009; Hockett et al., 2015). We wondered whether this lack of aggression might be causing low ratings of rape. In Experiment 3 we revised the vignettes used in Experiment 2, introducing aggressive terminology to better understand if more violent acquaintance rape scenarios produce differences in judgements of rape. Research indicates the more aggressive and characteristic of a rape myth a rape scenario is, the more distressing and more rape-like it will seem (Kahn et al., 2003; Hockett et al., 2015). Furthermore, participants are more likely to assign perpetrator blame when the act is driven by violence compared to sexual needs (Mitchell, Angelone, Kohlberger & Hirschman, 2009). In light of this, we expect a greater difference across the initiator and the subject, and higher judgement of rape and distress scores in Experiment 3 than in Experiment 2.

#### Methods

The method remained the same as Experiment 1. Aggressive terminology was introduced in the revised vignettes in both the initiator and the subject groups in Experiment 2 materials. For example, "You feel uninterested and bored about the possibility of a sexual act. Your partner becomes angry when you reject their initiation for sex. They are verbally and physically persistent. Despite your resistance, you eventually find pleasure in the intercourse." One-hundred-and-four participants (84 female; age range 18-38 years, mean age 20 years, 93 White) were recruited through online sampling. Participants were randomly assigned to either the Initiator group ( $N=53$ ) or the Subject group ( $N=51$ ). Required sample size was determined based on the notion that aggressive terminology would make the scenarios more similar to stereotypical rape, thereby increasing the estimated effect size to  $r=.30$ . Required sample for power=.8 is therefore  $N=84$  (calculated using G Power).

## Results

The results, summarised in Figure 4, were analysed in the same way as in Experiment 2, with statistical results presented in Table 5.

### *Judgement of Rape*

Overall, the pattern of results for Experiment 3 was highly similar to those presented previously: Only differences to Experiment 2 are reported here. Perspective interacted with consent and wantedness: For both initiators (row 12) and subjects (row 13), there was no significant difference in ratings of rape in non-consensual wanted ( $M_{initiators}=6.45$ ,  $SE=0.15$  and  $M_{subjects}=6.25$ ,  $SE=0.19$ ) and unwanted scenarios ( $M_{initiators}=6.26$ ,  $SE=0.15$  and  $M_{subjects}=6.54$ ,  $SE=0.20$ ),  $t(52)=1.22$ ,  $p=.227$  (initiators) and  $t(50)=2.44$ ,  $p=.018$  (subjects). However, for consensual scenarios, initiators rated the unwanted scenarios ( $M=4.29$ ,  $SE=0.18$ ) as more like rape than the wanted scenarios ( $M=2.30$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ),  $t(52)=13.10$ ,  $p<.001$ . This effect was smaller for subjects, the unwanted scenarios ( $M=3.48$ ,  $SE=0.20$ ) were rated as more like rape than the wanted scenarios ( $M=2.07$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ),  $t(50)=9.12$ ,  $p<.001$ .

*Figure 4 about here*

While consent was important for appraising situations as rape, pleasure and wantedness mitigate its influence: The wantedness by pleasure interaction was significant (row 10). There was a larger difference in perception of rape between the wanted not pleasurable ( $M=5.34$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ) and the wanted pleasurable ( $M=3.20$ ,  $SE=0.09$ ) scenarios,  $t(103)=21.63$ ,  $p<.001$ , than between the unwanted not pleasurable ( $M=6.05$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ) and the unwanted not pleasurable ( $M=4.41$ ,  $SE=0.14$ ) scenarios,  $t(103)=14.42$ ,  $p<.001$ .

*Table 5 about here*

*Perceived Distress*

The parallel analysis revealed a similar pattern in how participants rated the distress of the scenarios. In addition, perspective interacted with consent and wantedness (row 11). For both initiators (row 12) and subjects (row 13), perceived distress was different in non-consensual wanted ( $M_{initiators}=6.76, SE=0.13$  and  $M_{subjects}=6.46, SE=0.12$ ) compared to unwanted scenarios ( $M_{initiators}=6.40, SE=0.15$  and  $M_{subjects}=6.87, SE=0.13$ ),  $t(52)=3.85, p<.001$  (initiators) and  $t(50)=3.70, p=.001$  (subjects). For consensual scenarios, initiators rated the unwanted scenarios ( $M=5.87, SE=0.14$ ) as more like rape than the wanted scenarios ( $M=3.49, SE=0.11$ ),  $t(52)=21.76, p<.001$ . This effect was smaller for subjects, the unwanted scenarios ( $M=5.67, SE=0.12$ ) were rated as more like rape than the wanted scenarios ( $M=3.65, SE=0.12$ ),  $t(50)=20.37, p<.001$ .

Of importance here are the differences in this study relative to Experiment 2. Here, we found perspective interacted with consent and wantedness (row 11). Specifically, for those initiating consensual sexual acts, wantedness affected judgements of rape and perceived distress more than for subjects, contrary to what we had expected. In this case, participants appear to be reacting against imagining themselves being aggressive: potentially they do not want to perceive themselves as aggressive and therefore reappraise the situation.

To explain this effect, we can look at a direct statistical comparison between Experiments 2 and 3. The inclusion of aggression (Experiment 3) made participants more likely to rate a situation as more likely to be rape ( $M=4.75, SE=0.10$ ) than no aggression (Experiment 2;  $M=3.91, SE=0.08$ ),  $F(1,254)=41.03, MSE=8.47, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.14$ . The effect of aggression did not interact with perspective,  $F(1,254)=0.31, MSE=8.47, p=.578, \eta_p^2<.01$ , but did with consent and pleasure,  $F(1,254)=25.71, MSE=1.21, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.09$ , in which the moderating effect of pleasure was greater

when the scenarios were aggressive than when they were not (see results). Similarly, for perceived distress, aggressive scenarios were considered more distressing ( $M=5.65$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ) than non aggressive ones ( $M=4.87$ ,  $SE=0.08$ ),  $F(1,254)=40.98$ ,  $MSE=7.26$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.14$ , and it did not interact with perspective,  $F(1,254)=0.44$ ,  $MSE=7.26$ ,  $p=.507$ ,  $\eta_p^2<.01$ .

This comparison highlights that making the scenarios more aggressive did make them appear more like rape and more distressing as predicted. However, the effect of aggression did not change the effect of perspective. Therefore, we can suggest that when our participants imagined themselves aggressively having sexual encounters, the moderating effect of wantedness and pleasure on content was magnified. It might be that this type of imagination might have caused participants to think through the consequences of their actions. Further research is warranted to explore why imagining being an initiator of sexual acts causes their appraisal to be dependent on factors other than consent.

#### **Experiment 4**

Thus far, we have established participants do not judge all sexual scenarios as rape despite them meeting the legal requirement for the offence. It might be that participants do not understand what rape is (we did not give participants a definition until after the study). Similarly, participants were less likely to class a non-consensual scenario as rape if it was pleasurable than if it was not. These results may explain some of the under-reporting of acquaintance rape to the police: If survivors of acquaintance rape gained pleasure through the act, they may be less likely to appraise the situation as rape and therefore less likely to report it as such. This highlights the scope for more educational interventions regarding rape within relationships, explaining clearly what is and is not acceptable.

Due to the under-reporting (rates of reporting rape are approximately 15%, Rape Crisis England & Wales, 2017; Sable, Danis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006, Kelly, Lovett, & Regan, 2005), under-

acknowledgement of rape and psychological distress it can cause, many campaigns aim to educate young people about consent. One such campaign is the UK televised 'This is abuse' video (Home Office, 2010). There is evidence to suggest campaigns are effective in enhancing viewers knowledge (Rheingold, Campbell, Self-Brown, de Arellano, Resnick, & Kilpatrick (2007). For example, Ogunfowokan and Fajemilehin (2012) gave female school students a sexual abuse prevention education package and found whilst this increased knowledge about sexual abuse, no significant change was found in their attitudes.

Our final experiment aimed to assess whether the 'This is Abuse' film would influence participants' attitudes toward the scenarios. The campaign video targeted specifically the type of sexual assault that our vignettes described, as such we hypothesised it may lead to higher ratings of rape. However, given the difficulty of such campaigns in changing attitudes (Ogunfowokan & Fajemilehin, 2012), we were not expecting large effects.

## **Methods**

The same methods were employed here as in Experiment 1, except that prior to rating the vignettes, participants passively viewed the film ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r\\_IWQJPLd-8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_IWQJPLd-8)) as if they were watching the films on television. The campaign is a short clip of two teenagers in a relationship where the male pressurises the female to engage in sexual activity. The male is aggressive and it is clear the female does not want to partake. After the male threatens to tell her friends that she is 'frigid,' the female agrees to engage in sexual activity. While this is happening, the clip shows the female behind a glass screen shouting at herself to leave the room<sup>2</sup>. In addition to rating the vignettes for how much they depicted rape (on a 1 to 10 scale in this Experiment), participants were also asked if they met the legal definition of rape (note, we did not provide the definition, so this tested participants' knowledge).

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<sup>2</sup> There is another version of this film that we did not use, in which the male is behind the glass shouting at himself to stop.



Participants also completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI, Glick & Fiske, 1996). The ASI measures hostile and benevolent sexism in a 22-item questionnaire. Hostile sexism refers to overt negative sexism that is typically displayed in an adversarial manner. Those scoring higher in this scale typically believe strongly in traditional gender roles which are predictive of rape myth acceptance and victim blaming (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Yamawaki, 2007). High scorers in the benevolent sexism scale typically believe that women should remain in stereotypical gender roles. The questionnaire has high internal reliability ( $\alpha=.85$  for hostile sexism and  $\alpha=.74$  for benevolent sexism) and external validity.

Participants were 60 (10 male, age range 18-62 years, mean age=21 years, 50 were White) undergraduate students at Bournemouth University. Based on Experiment 1, the effect size for the critical interaction was  $r=.59$ , thereby to achieve Power=.80, required participants was 56.

## **Results**

Results are summarised in Figure 5, with statistical results presented in Table 6.

### *Judgements of Rape (as a scale)*

The results of this study demonstrated a similar pattern of significance to Experiment 1a (Table 6).

*Figure 5 about here*

In order to assess the effect of sexism, we reran the above analysis but included hostile and benevolent sexism as covariates in a 2 x 2 x 2 ANCOVA. Table 6 reports the new effects. In text, we highlight the interactions between effects and the covariate only. Sexism reduced the effect of wantedness and pleasure (rows 2 and 3). By measuring participants' levels of sexism, we anticipated we would find higher ratings for rape in those participants who scored lower in the sexism scales.

Hostile sexism had limited effects on judgements of rape. However, we did find that benevolent sexism did moderate the influence of pleasure,  $F(1,57)=6.80$ ,  $MSE=1.13$ ,  $p=.017$ , and, to a lesser extent, wantedness,  $F(1,57)=4.10$ ,  $MSE=1.12$ ,  $p=.047$ , on how the situations were appraised. The three-way interaction also interacted with benevolent sexism,  $F(1,57)=4.48$ ,  $MSE=1.04$ ,  $p=.039$ . Benevolent sexism correlated negatively with the effect of pleasure,  $r(58)=-.28$ ,  $p=.028$ , indicating that as the moderating influence of pleasure on judgements of rape increased, sexism scores increased. Hostile sexism correlated with the effect of consent,  $r(58)=.27$ ,  $p=.037$ , such that as sexism increased, the difference in judgements of rape depending on whether consent was present or not increased. This individual difference may account for some of the subtle differences across the previous experiments.

Benevolent sexism incorporates elements of protective paternalism (e.g., opening doors for women), complementary gender differences (e.g., women are more emotionally intelligent than men), and heterosexual intimacy (e.g., every man needs a good woman; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Specifically, the stereotype of heterosexual intimacy suggests that women are the gatekeepers for sex (Zillmann & Weaver, 1989), and that men want sex more than women and gain more pleasure from sex than women (Burt, 1980; Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001). Given this, although the significant difference between rape and sex are acknowledged it is plausible that if men usually see women gaining pleasure from sex, they are less likely to consider the scenario as rape. Alternatively, if women gain pleasure from sex, it might violate expectations of feminine purity and contribute more to victim blaming (Angelone et al., 2015).

*Table 6 about here*

A final analysis directly compared the effects observed here with those in Experiment 1a, who had not watched the campaign. In order to do this, scores were standardised within each Experiment in order to directly compare the results. Those that had watched the campaign video ( $M=3.53$ ,  $SE=0.12$ ) were *less* likely to rate the scenarios as rape than those who had not watched the campaign ( $M=4.01$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ),  $F(1,145)=9.01$ ,  $MSE=7.25$ ,  $p=.003$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.06$ . This effect was observed for both consensual and non-consensual scenarios: Participants who watched the campaign video ( $M=1.84$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ) were less likely to rate consensual scenarios as rape as those who had not watched the video ( $M=2.16$ ,  $SE=0.11$ ),  $t(146)=3.11$ ,  $p=.002$ . Participants who watched the campaign video ( $M=5.21$ ,  $SE=0.16$ ) were less likely to rate non-consensual scenarios as rape as those who had not watched the video ( $M=5.86$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ),  $t(146)=3.11$ ,  $p=.002$ . While there was no effect of watching the video on the effect consent, pleasure, and wantedness had on ratings of rape, there was a three-way interaction between Experiment, consent, and pleasure,  $F(1,145)=7.88$ ,  $MSE=1.15$ ,  $p=.006$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.05$ . This interaction was revealed through participants in Experiment 4 showing smaller differentiation between consensual pleasurable ( $M=1.74$ ,  $SE=0.10$ ) and not pleasurable ( $M=1.94$ ,  $SE=0.15$ ) encounters,  $t(59)=2.43$ ,  $p=.018$ , but in Experiment 1, consensual pleasurable ( $M=1.80$ ,  $SE=0.09$ ) scenarios were rated as much less like rape than consensual not pleasurable ones ( $M=2.51$ ,  $SE=0.13$ ),  $t(86)=8.71$ ,  $p<.001$ . All other pairwise comparisons were similar across experiments.

#### *Judgements of Rape (as a binary decision)*

There was a significant correlation between ratings of rape as a binary decision and as a scale,  $r(58)=.87$ ,  $p<.001$ . A parallel analysis was run on the proportion of rape decisions (calculated as in Experiment 1b). An identical pattern of significance was found for these data as in Experiment 1b. Controlling for sexism, the ANCOVA showed that the effect of wantedness and pleasure was reduced (rows 2 and 3). Moreover, wantedness and the three-way interaction interacted with benevolent sexism,  $F(1,57)=4.75$ ,  $MSE=0.04$ ,  $p=.034$ ,  $F(1,57)=3.52$ ,  $MSE=0.02$ ,  $p=.066$ .

A final analysis directly compared the effects observed here with those in Experiment 1b, who had not watched the campaign. In this case, those that had watched the campaign video ( $M=.44$ ,  $SE=.02$ ) were *more* likely to state the scenarios represented rape than those who had not watched the campaign ( $M=.37$ ,  $SE=.02$ ),  $F(1,146)=7.57$ ,  $MSE=0.19$ ,  $p=.007$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.05$ , contrary to the analysis of the scalar data. The effect of consent interacted with Experiment,  $F(1,146)=7.06$ ,  $MSE=0.08$ ,  $p=.009$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.05$ . The difference in perceptions of rape in the scenarios between the consensual and non-consensual scenarios was larger in Experiment 1,  $t(87)=27.86$ ,  $p<.001$ , than in Experiment 4,  $t(59)=24.41$ ,  $p<.001$ . The effect of wantedness also interacted with Experiment,  $F(1,146)=16.27$ ,  $MSE=0.05$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.10$ . The difference in perceptions between wanted and unwanted scenarios was larger in Experiment 4,  $t(59)=6.46$ ,  $p<.001$ , than in Experiment 1,  $t(87)=0.30$ ,  $p=.767$ .

Finally, there was a three-way interaction between Experiment, wantedness, and pleasure,  $F(1,146)=18.82$ ,  $MSE=0.03$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.11$ . This interaction was revealed through participants in Experiment 4 showing smaller differentiation between unwanted pleasurable ( $M=.46$ ,  $SE=.03$ ) and not pleasurable ( $M=.54$ ,  $SE=.03$ ) encounters,  $t(59)=3.35$ ,  $p=.001$ , but in Experiment 1, unwanted pleasurable ( $M=.29$ ,  $SE=.02$ ) scenarios were rated as much less like rape than wanted not pleasurable ones ( $M=.47$ ,  $SE=.03$ ),  $t(87)=10.75$ ,  $p<.001$ . All other pairwise comparisons were similar across experiments.

This study presented supporting evidence that a campaign designed to reduce sexual assault may not be fully effective. In this case, we found those participants who had watched the campaign were less likely to rate both consensual and non-consensual scenarios as rape on the scale, but more likely to state they were rape using a binary decision. This may suggest a separation between what participants actually feel and what they will state. Indeed, it indicates participants may understand the situation represents rape, but given the opportunity to rate it, don't feel it is as serious as other forms of rape, suggesting that their attitudes have not been altered.

Similar to results from Ogunfowokan and Fajemilehin (2012) and Rheingold et al. (2007), these results indicate campaigns may be effective in the short term for enhancing knowledge but they do not appear effective in changing attitudes. This would suggest that although campaigns are a useful educational tool, the prevention of sexual abuse can only be tackled by targeting society and correcting the underlying attitudes and beliefs that are then passed on through socialisation.

### *Judgements of Legality*

For our final analysis, we assessed whether participants knew which scenarios would meet the legal definition of rape. Statistical results are presented in Table 6, with means shown in Figure 6. Non-consensual ( $M=.55$ ,  $SE=.03$ ), unwanted ( $M=.32$ ,  $SE=.02$ ), or not pleasurable ( $M=.38$ ,  $SE=.02$ ) scenarios were more likely to be rated as legally rape than consensual ( $M=.04$ ,  $SE=.01$ ), wanted ( $M=.27$ ,  $SE=.02$ ), or pleasurable ( $M=.21$ ,  $SE=.02$ ) ones (Table 12, rows 1-3). The three-way interaction was significant (row 7). For consensual scenarios (row 8), participants did not judge legality differences between pleasurable wanted ( $M=.00$ ,  $SE=.00$ ) and not pleasurable wanted ( $M=.02$ ,  $SE=.02$ ) scenarios,  $t(59)=1.43$ ,  $p=.159$ . However, pleasurable unwanted ( $M=.10$ ,  $SE=.03$ ) scenarios were rated as more legally rape than not pleasurable unwanted ( $M=.04$ ,  $SE=.01$ ) scenarios,  $t(59)=2.20$ ,  $p=.032$ . For non-consensual scenarios, not pleasurable wanted scenarios ( $M=.79$ ,  $SE=.04$ ) were rated as being legally rape more so than pleasurable wanted ones ( $M=.27$ ,  $SE=.04$ ),  $t(59)=11.77$ ,  $p<.001$ . Not pleasurable unwanted ( $M=.66$ ,  $SE=.05$ ) scenarios were rated as being legally rape less than pleasurable unwanted ( $M=.49$ ,  $SE=.05$ ) ones,  $t(59)=3.27$ ,  $p<.001$  (row 9).

A parallel ANCOVA revealed that the effect of wantedness and pleasure (rows 2 and 3) was reduced when sexism was incorporated as a covariate. Pleasure interacted with benevolent sexism,  $F(1,57)=4.95$ ,  $MSE=0.04$ ,  $p=.030$ . Benevolent sexism correlated with the effect of pleasure on legality judgements,  $r(58)=.311$ ,  $p=.016$ , such that moderating influence of pleasure on judgements of the legality increased, sexism scores increased.

*Figure 6 about here*

### **General Discussion**

In all our studies, we found that consent, wantedness, and pleasure all affected judgements of rape (and distress) independently. Participants were more likely to rate non consensual, unwanted, or not pleasurable scenarios as representing rape than the converse. These factors interacted in most Experiments such that participants rated pleasurable wanted but not consensual scenarios as less representative of rape than not pleasurable ones. Across experiments the interactions of pleasure and wantedness were greater in the non-consensual scenarios than the consensual ones, highlighting participants used these variables to moderate their judgements of rape in addition to consent.

One key difference between the judgements of rape and the perceived distress of the scenarios was that the moderating factors of pleasure and wantedness was greater in consensual than non-consensual scenarios. This indicates that having unwanted (pleasurable or otherwise) consensual sex is perceived as being distressing.

While gender differences were not of the magnitude expected, we found women were more likely to take responsibility for the sexual encounters than men. This is further evidence of women taking on the role of 'gatekeeper' for sex (Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013) and thus perpetuating sex role stereotyping (Abrams, et al., 2003; Buddie & Miller, 2001). We also found benevolent sexism correlated with how participants appraised sexual encounters. Benevolent sexism, rather than hostile sexism, explained some of the effects of pleasure and wantedness on judgements of rape. Those scoring higher on benevolent sexism are more likely to rely on the presence of wantedness and pleasure when interpreting the sexual scenarios rather than simply relying on consent. This is likely to be based according to their internal belief about the stereotypical rape.

There were some differences across studies. The effect of gender on the three-way interaction was significant in Experiment 1a but not 1b. The effect size for this interaction was small, potentially making it an unreliable effect. Indeed, the results of Experiment 4 highlight that participants' own levels of sexism might moderate the moderating effects of pleasure on consent. Therefore, the failure to replicate this effect across experiments is likely due to different participant groups tested.

The interaction between wantedness and pleasure was typically larger in non-consensual scenarios than in consensual scenarios (Experiments 1 and 4). However, in Experiment 3, when we increased the level of aggression, this interaction was not significant. This might indicate when the scenarios are more representative of the stereotype of rape, participants are more likely to base judgements of rape upon consent without the influence of pleasure.

The results indicate our participants (university students) only rated approximately 65% of non-consensual sexual scenarios as rape. This is despite participants reliably being able to tell that the scenarios represent a lack of consent. This finding highlights a tolerant attitude towards acquaintance rape and traditional rape scripts may be common in student populations (Chng & Burke, 1999; MacNeela, Conway, Kavanagh, Kennedy & McCaffrey, 2014). Student populations typically have different acceptance of social norms due to risky behaviour, thus may be more accepting of rape-myth attitudes (Aronowitz, Lambert & Davidoff, 2012).

These results help to build a model of the consequences of various dimensions within sexual encounters. In order to minimise distress, an encounter needs to have consent, wantedness, and pleasure. However, the interaction between these variables indicates that the involvement of these three factors on perceived distress is not additive. Our results indicate experiencing pleasure from unwanted sex leads to more distress when consensual than non-consensual. This is an important finding for understanding dynamics within couples and relationships, if unwanted but consensual situations occur. People often report having sex for reasons other than wanting to (e.g., to satisfy their partner's needs, Impett & Peplau, 2003). Our data suggest that if the resulting sex is

pleasurable, it is likely to lead to distress, but not as much as if the sex was not pleasurable. While sexual intercourse could be used to maintain romantic relationships (Impett & Peplau, 2003), if unwanted (but consensual) sex occurs, intimacy and trust may be damaged, leading to significant distress (DiVasto, 1985; Koss & Burkhardt, 1989).

During sexual intercourse both partners have their individual representations of wantedness and consent: In order for both partners to avoid distress during and post-intercourse, both these concepts in both partners should overlap. Consequently, 'good' sex is the overlapping between the concepts and 'bad' sex and potentially rape is when these do not overlap for both partners. For example, one partner's wantedness and consent may overlap, but for the other, they do not, leading to a sexual encounter satisfying only one of the partners' needs. Our findings indicate that this situation is likely to lead to significant distress (DiVasto, 1985; Koss & Burkhardt, 1989). Such a finding has important implications for relationship counselling. Both partners need to want and give consent during sex to maintain a healthy relationship.

The consequences of the perceived distress of the various conditions only tells us part of the story. We also asked our participants how much they believed the scenarios depicted rape. We did not give them the legal definition of rape to gauge their own opinions. Lack of consent was the biggest factor in determining whether a situation was perceived as rape as indicated by the larger effect size of the main effect of consent relative to wantedness and pleasure. However, wantedness and pleasure also influenced whether participants considered the situation as rape, despite neither being part of the definition of rape. Indeed, when sex was non-consensual, pleasure affected the rape rating in unwanted scenarios more than wanted ones. This has important implications for survivors and jurors: If a survivor of rape is thought to want sex and get pleasure from it, our data indicates this will be less likely to be perceived as rape, despite it clearly being such. This means the survivor may be less likely to report the attack to the police, internalise negative feelings, not seek support (which will lead to less positive mental outcomes, Borja, Callahan, & Long, 2006), and can have



damaging consequences psychologically (Flatley, 2018; Stepakoff, 1998). Further, it has been found that jurors ignore lack of consent if wantedness is present (McHugh, 1997) meaning potentially if the encounter is non-consensual yet wanted, jurors may not consider it as rape. This is further evidence suggesting it is vital to understand laypersons' perceptions of sexual assault because they contribute to rates of reporting, victimization of survivors of sexual assault, responses to victims, and jury decision making (Angelone, Mitchell, & Grossi, 2014).

In addition, our participants did not judge all non-consensual encounters as rape: Wanted non-consensual encounters were not considered rape by our participants (based on their mean rating being at the midpoint in the scale we used). This situation is a classic rape myth and example of victim blaming (e.g., Aosved & Long, 2006; Bohner, et al., 2009; Burt, 1980; O'Donohue, Yeater, & Fanetti; 2003): In particular the myth that forced sex is justified if the victim appears to want sex prior to refusing (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). This finding fits with earlier reports that sexual assault is more likely if the perpetrator feels that the victim wants sex and is leading the perpetrator on (Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996; Malamuth & Brown, 1994; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). The former is indicative of abuse during relationships: most sexual coercion occurs within relationships or by acquaintances (Baum & Klaus, 2005; Koss, Dinero, Seivel, & Cox, 1988; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). This work implies that recent government campaigns (Home Office, 2010) to raise awareness of rape and rape myths have not reached our participants. Indeed, Experiment 4 demonstrated how the 'This is Abuse' campaign did not change participants attitudes toward rape (but it may well have educated them about what was considered *legal*). Clearly more work is required to educate the public regarding rape and sexual coercion, and the importance of wanting being separate from consent.

Not all unwanted sexual encounters will be rape, if they are consented to. Our vignettes depicted unwanted consensual sex typically in the context of a relationship. In these situations, trust and emotions towards the partner are present which make it harder to label the act they have done as

rape. In these cases, our data indicate a split between the perception of distress due to the act and the labelling of the act as rape. In other words, while the participants did not think unwanted consensual sex was rape, it was still judged to be as distressing as those that were labelled as rape. Our data suggests that a person might feel significantly distressed despite not labelling a sexual intercourse as, nor it being, rape. The consequences of this may be similar to how some survivors of non consensual sex within relationships do not label their experience as rape. While it may be a defence mechanism not to label such situations as rape (Breh & Seidler, 2007), these data clearly indicate that people still consider them distressing. Therefore, it might be more appropriate to label these situations as rape in order to begin to deal with the situation (Botta & Pingree, 1997; Kahn, et al., 2003) and move on. Indeed, in most counselling settings, dealing with trauma (emotional or physical) requires acceptance of it (Gray, Koopman, & Hunt, 1991; Kübler-Ross, Wessler, Avioli, 1972; Maciejewski, Zhang, Block, & Prigerson, 2007; Prigerson & Maciejewski, 2008). Saying this, there are clear narratives presented by survivors of such situations who do not want to label their experience as rape (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007).

The presence of wantedness and pleasure also led to a lower judgement of rape, consistent with evidence that these situations are judged as less grievous than assault on a non-wanting victim (Emmers-Sommer, 2015). Although these situations appear significantly distressing to participants, the low ratings for these being considered rape maybe due to the participants interpreting the situation as consent according to their own social norms and schemas (e.g., Beres, 2007). Indeed, there is evidence that consent is provided through non-verbal as well as verbal communication (Beres, 2014; Pineau, 1989), with non-verbal displays most common (Beres, Herold, & Maitland, 2004). Jozkowski, Peterson, Sanders, Dennis, and Reece (2014) have shown that verbal strategies are usually used by women, whereas men typically rely on non-verbal behaviours. Non-verbal behaviours are more easily confusable with wantedness than verbal strategies (Lofgreen, 2014; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007) leading to increased rape myth acceptance (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007) and chances of sexual assault (Farris, Treat, Viken, & McFall, 2008). This

provides further evidence that sexual violence prevention needs to be centred around a message of "get consent" rather than "no means no" (Beres, 2014). The benefit of this is that it moves the responsibility from the victim to the perpetrator (Pineau, 1989).

Our findings support and further Peterson and Muehlenhard's (2007) model of the separate dimensions of wantedness and consent. We add to this model by suggesting that the dimension of pleasure should be added. This model suggests in undergraduate students, whilst in conceptions of rape, consent is the most important determining factor, some are biased by the presence of wantedness and pleasure. This reflects further models of consent devised by Jozkowski and Peterson (2013) who recognise contextual factors affect whether a lack of consent is necessary or sufficient for sex to be considered rape. When there is a lack of consent, wantedness, and pleasure are used to determine whether a situation is rape (especially those scoring higher in benevolent sexism).

The dimensions involved in participants' determination of rape (consent, wantedness, and pleasure) interact, differentially for ratings of perceived distress and ratings of rape. Future research should therefore investigate perceived distress and perceived rape separately. The findings support the notion that consent is neither sufficient nor necessary to find a sexual intercourse as distressing or perceive it as rape: it is important to understand the concepts surrounding consent in order to understand consent itself. The lack of wantedness in sexual encounters might lead victims to distress, but not labelling their experience as rape.

These results, in concurrence with other studies, have many implications for educational packages for rape and sexual assault prevention especially in University campuses and the training of jurors in rape cases. People need to separate concepts of wantedness and pleasure from consent and ensure that assaults without consent are acknowledged, reported, investigated and treated as rape and that unwanted but consensual sex can be as damaging psychologically as rape. Consistent with Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) our data seem to suggest the importance of expanding thinking regarding

rape: "Rape is about the absence of consent, not the absence of desire" (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2007, p. 85).

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Table 1.

Statistical (ANOVA) Results for the ratings of rape and perceived distress data (Experiment 1a). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent, W=Wantedness, P=Pleasure, and G=Gender.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result (judgement of rape)	ANOVA Result (perceived distress)
	<i>Main Effects</i>		
1	C	$F(1,129)=471.71, MSE=3.54, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.79$	$F(1,129)=209.22, MSE=1.19, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.62$
2	W	$F(1,129)=47.32, MSE=1.03, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.27$	$F(1,129)=224.98, MSE=0.99, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.64$
3	P	$F(1,129)=211.29, MSE=1.74, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.62$	$F(1,129)=510.99, MSE=1.71, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.80$
4	G	$F(1,129)=0.00, MSE=11.71, p=.998, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,129)=0.40, MSE=11.21, p=.527, \eta_p^2<.01$
	<i>2-way Interactions</i>		
5	GxC	$F(1,129)=10.21, MSE=3.54, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.07$	$F(1,129)=5.26, MSE=1.19, p=.023, \eta_p^2=.04$
6	GxW	$F(1,129)=0.40, MSE=1.03, p=.529, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,129)=0.77, MSE=0.99, p=.382, \eta_p^2=.01$
7	GxP	$F(1,129)=3.53, MSE=1.74, p=.063, \eta_p^2=.03$	$F(1,129)=0.24, MSE=1.71, p=.622, \eta_p^2<.01$
8	CxW	$F(1,129)=16.70, MSE=1.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.12$	$F(1,129)=194.61, MSE=0.75, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.60$
9	CxP	$F(1,129)=23.49, MSE=1.28, p<.001, \eta_p^2<.15$	$F(1,129)=11.73, MSE=0.73, p=.001, \eta_p^2=.08$
10	WxP	$F(1,129)=96.57, MSE=0.70, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.31$	$F(1,129)=189.72, MSE=0.61, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.60$
	<i>3-way Interactions</i>		
11	GxCxW	$F(1,129)=5.06, MSE=1.04, p=.026, \eta_p^2=.04$	$F(1,129)=0.60, MSE=0.75, p=.442, \eta_p^2=.01$
12	GxCxP	$F(1,129)=7.10, MSE=1.28, p=.009, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,129)=0.33, MSE=0.73, p=.565, \eta_p^2<.01$
13	GxWxP	$F(1,129)=1.05, MSE=0.70, p=.307, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,129)=0.02, MSE=0.61, p=.897, \eta_p^2<.01$
14	CxWxP	$F(1,129)=2.46, MSE=0.76, p=.119, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,129)=70.82, MSE=0.52, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.35$
15			C-WxP: $F(1,130)=298.43, MSE=0.62, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.70$
16			NC-WxP: $F(1,130)=21.23, MSE=0.51, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.14$
17	4-way Interaction	$F(1,129)=5.19, MSE=0.76, p=.010, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,129)=2.70, MSE=0.52, p=.103, \eta_p^2=.02$
18		For females: CxW: $F(1,93)=3.40, MSE=0.92, p=.068, \eta_p^2=.04$	
19		CxP: $F(1,93)=4.76, MSE=1.13, p=.032, \eta_p^2=.05$	
20		WxP: $F(1,93)=76.51, MSE=0.63, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.45$	
21		3-way: $F(1,93)=1.11, MSE=0.67, p=.294, \eta_p^2=.01$	
22		For males: CxW: $F(1,36)=10.64, MSE=1.37, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.23$	
23		CxP: $F(1,36)=15.14, MSE=1.66, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.30$	
24		WxP: $F(1,36)=32.36, MSE=0.89, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.47$	
25		3-way: $F(1,36)=4.66, MSE=0.99, p=.038, \eta_p^2=.12$	
26		C-WxP: $F(1,36)=11.81, MSE=0.44, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.25$	
27		NC-WxP: $F(1,36)=19.57, MSE=1.44, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.35$	



Table 2.

Statistical (ANOVA) Results for the judgements of rape data (Experiment 1b). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent, W=Wantedness, P=Pleasure, and G=Gender.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result (Rating)	ANOVA Result (Binary Decision)
<i>Main Effects</i>			
1	C	$F(1,85)=916.93, MSE=2.59, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.92$	$F(1,86)=768.79, MSE=0.07, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.90$
2	W	$F(1,85)=20.50, MSE=1.43, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.19$	$F(1,86)=0.03, MSE=0.07, p=.862, \eta_p^2<.01$
3	P	$F(1,85)=203.11, MSE=1.33, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.71$	$F(1,86)=192.84, MSE=0.14, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.69$
4	G	$F(1,85)=0.44, MSE=7.49, p=.508, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,86)=0.18, MSE=0.19, p=.673, \eta_p^2<.01$
<i>2-way Interactions</i>			
5	GxC	$F(1,85)=6.85, MSE=2.89, p=.010, \eta_p^2=.08$	$F(1,86)=1.63, MSE=0.07, p=.206, \eta_p^2=.02$
6	GxW	$F(1,85)=1.39, MSE=1.43, p=.242, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,86)=0.42, MSE=0.07, p=.518, \eta_p^2=.01$
7	GxP	$F(1,85)=0.01, MSE=1.33, p=.947, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,86)=0.14, MSE=0.03, p=.707, \eta_p^2<.01$
8	CxW	$F(1,85)=55.86, MSE=1.52, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.40$	$F(1,86)=72.06, MSE=0.03, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.46$
9	CxP	$F(1,85)=34.30, MSE=1.58, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.29$	$F(1,86)=57.25, MSE=0.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.40$
10	WxP	$F(1,85)=65.79, MSE=1.05, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.44$	$F(1,86)=1.14, MSE=0.03, p=.289, \eta_p^2=.01$
<i>3-way Interactions</i>			
11	GxCxW	$F(1,85)=0.16, MSE=1.52, p=.693, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,86)=0.03, MSE=0.03, p=.858, \eta_p^2<.01$
12	GxCxP	$F(1,85)=0.31, MSE=1.58, p=.581, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,86)=0.02, MSE=0.04, p=.514, \eta_p^2=.01$
13	GxWxP	$F(1,85)=0.01, MSE=1.05, p=.941, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,86)=0.11, MSE=0.03, p=.737, \eta_p^2<.01$
14	CxWxP	$F(1,85)=16.74, MSE=1.62, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.17$	$F(1,86)=24.32, MSE=0.03, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.22$
15		For C WxP: $F(1,86)=5.88, MSE=1.00, p=.017, \eta_p^2=.06$	For C WxP: $F(1,87)=15.56, MSE=0.02, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.15$
16		For NC WxP: $F(1,86)=48.99, MSE=1.74, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.36$	For NC WxP: $F(1,87)=12.87, MSE=0.05, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.13$
17	4-way Interaction	$F(1,85)=1.77, MSE=1.62, p=.187, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,86)=0.13, MSE=0.03, p=.723, \eta_p^2<.01$

Table 3.

Statistical (ANOVA) Results for the judgements of responsibility data (Experiment 1b). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent (C=Consensual scenarios; NC=non consensual scenarios), W=Wantedness, P=Pleasure, and G=Gender.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result (Subject's Responsibility)	ANOVA Result (Partner's Responsibility)
<i>Main Effects</i>			
1	C	$F(1,83)=18.23, MSE=6.55, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.18$	$F(1,85)=98.19, MSE=5.40, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.54$
2	W	$F(1,83)=0.81, MSE=0.89, p=.372, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,85)=12.23, MSE=1.76, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.13$
3	P	$F(1,83)=9.03, MSE=0.90, p=.004, \eta_p^2=.10$	$F(1,85)=21.68, MSE=1.60, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.20$
4	G	$F(1,83)=4.49, MSE=17.38, p=.037, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,85)<0.01, MSE=33.23, p=.974, \eta_p^2<.01$
<i>2-way Interactions</i>			
5	GxC	$F(1,83)=0.01, MSE=6.55, p=.934, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,85)=0.21, MSE=5.40, p=.650, \eta_p^2<.01$
6	GxW	$F(1,83)=0.01, MSE=0.89, p=.937, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,85)=4.88, MSE=1.76, p=.030, \eta_p^2=.05$
7	GxP	$F(1,83)=2.60, MSE=0.90, p=.111, \eta_p^2=.03$	$F(1,85)=0.11, MSE=1.60, p=.738, \eta_p^2<.01$
8	CxW	$F(1,83)=5.97, MSE=1.09, p=.022, \eta_p^2=.06$	$F(1,85)=10.42, MSE=1.38, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.11$
9	CxP	$F(1,83)=3.91, MSE=0.88, p=.051, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,85)=12.00, MSE=1.61, p=.001, \eta_p^2=.12$
10	WxP	$F(1,83)=3.08, MSE=0.89, p=.083, \eta_p^2=.04$	$F(1,85)=10.36, MSE=0.99, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.11$
<i>3-way Interactions</i>			
11	GxCxW	$F(1,83)=23.82, MSE=1.09, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.22$	$F(1,85)=0.23, MSE=1.38, p=.632, \eta_p^2<.01$
12	GxCxP	$F(1,83)=0.06, MSE=0.88, p=.816, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,85)=0.62, MSE=1.61, p=.434, \eta_p^2=.01$
13	GxWxP	$F(1,83)=0.33, MSE=0.89, p=.565, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,85)=0.06, MSE=0.99, p=.811, \eta_p^2<.01$
14	CxWxP	$F(1,83)=5.47, MSE=0.97, p=.022, \eta_p^2=.06$	$F(1,85)=1.69, MSE=0.69, p=.197, \eta_p^2=.02$
15		C - WxP: $F(1,84)=10.80, MSE=0.93, p=.001, \eta_p^2=.11$	
16		NC - WxP: $F(1,84)=0.42, MSE=0.92, p=.521, \eta_p^2=.01$	
17	4-way	$F(1,83)=2.79, MSE=0.97, p=.099, \eta_p^2=.03$	$F(1,85)=4.08, MSE=0.69, p=.047, \eta_p^2=.05$
18	<i>Interaction</i>		Females: CxW: $F(1,50)=4.07, MSE=1.54, p=.049, \eta_p^2=.08$
19			CxP: $F(1,50)=4.76, MSE=1.47, p=.034, \eta_p^2=.09$
20			WxP: $F(1,50)=5.70, MSE=0.93, p=.021, \eta_p^2=.10$
21			3-way: $F(1,50)=5.31, MSE=0.86, p=.025, \eta_p^2=.10$
22			C - WxP: $F(1,50)=0.17, MSE=0.84, p=.897, \eta_p^2<.01$
23			NC - WxP: $F(1,50)=10.39, MSE=0.95, p<.002, \eta_p^2=.17$
24			Males: CxW: $F(1,35)=7.09, MSE=1.14, p=.012, \eta_p^2=.17$
25			CxP: $F(1,50)=6.82, MSE=1.82, p=.013, \eta_p^2=.16$
26			WxP: $F(1,35)=4.69, MSE=1.08, p=.037, \eta_p^2=.12$
27			3-way: $F(1,35)=0.35, MSE=0.44, p=.559, \eta_p^2=.01$

Table 4.

Statistical (ANOVA) Results for the judgements of rape and perceived distress data (Experiment 2). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent (C=Consensual scenarios; NC=non consensual scenarios), W=Wantedness, P=Pleasure, and S=Perspective.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result (Judgements of Rape)	ANOVA Result (Perceived Distress)
<i>Main Effects</i>			
1	C	$F(1,153)=828.84, MSE=2.86, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.84$	$F(1,153)=521.73, MSE=0.78, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.77$
2	W	$F(1,153)=267.98, MSE=1.09, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.64$	$F(1,153)=741.31, MSE=1.02, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.83$
3	P	$F(1,153)=362.39, MSE=1.39, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.70$	$F(1,153)=798.28, MSE=1.37, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.84$
4	S	$F(1,153)=0.93, MSE=9.18, p=.337, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,153)=0.47, MSE=8.92, p=.493, \eta_p^2<.01$
<i>2-way Interactions</i>			
5	SxC	$F(1,153)=0.07, MSE=2.86, p=.793, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,153)=4.03, MSE=0.78, p=.046, \eta_p^2=.03$
6	SxW	$F(1,153)=0.01, MSE=1.09, p=.911, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,153)=1.30, MSE=1.02, p=.256, \eta_p^2=.01$
7	SxP	$F(1,153)=4.06, MSE=1.39, p=.046, \eta_p^2=.03$	$F(1,153)=0.10, MSE=1.37, p=.758, \eta_p^2<.01$
8	CxW	$F(1,153)=118.20, MSE=0.88, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.44$	$F(1,153)=461.77, MSE=0.56, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.75$
9	CxP	$F(1,153)=71.10, MSE=0.94, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.32$	$F(1,153)=208.45, MSE=0.64, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.58$
10	WxP	$F(1,153)=45.48, MSE=0.69, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.23$	$F(1,153)=27.19, MSE=0.83, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.15$
<i>3-way Interactions</i>			
11	SxCxW	$F(1,153)=2.25, MSE=0.88, p=.136, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,153)=0.21, MSE=0.56, p=.649, \eta_p^2<.01$
12	SxCxP	$F(1,153)=3.39, MSE=0.94, p=.068, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,153)=7.70, MSE=0.64, p=.006, \eta_p^2=.05$
13	SxWxP	$F(1,153)=8.64, MSE=0.69, p=.004, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,153)=4.52, MSE=0.83, p=.021, \eta_p^2=.03$
14	CxWxP	$F(1,153)=7.78, MSE=0.64, p=.006, \eta_p^2=.05$	$F(1,153)=190.15, MSE=0.57, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.55$
15		C - WxP: $F(1,154)=50.25, MSE=0.61, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.25$	C - WxP: $F(1,154)=122.23, MSE=0.94, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.44$
16		NC - WxP: $F(1,154)=7.65, MSE=0.75, p=.006, \eta_p^2=.05$	NC - WxP: $F(1,154)=32.75, MSE=0.49, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.18$
17	4-way Interaction	$F(1,153)=1.04, MSE=0.64, p=.310, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,153)=1.63, MSE=0.57, p=.203, \eta_p^2=.01$

Table 5.

Statistical (ANOVA) Results for the judgements of rape and perceived distress data (Experiment 3). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent (C=Consensual scenarios; NC=non consensual scenarios), W=Wantedness, P=Pleasure, and S=Perspective.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result (Judgements of Rape)	ANOVA Result (Perceived Distress)
<i>Main Effects</i>			
1	C	$F(1,102)=1150.71, MSE=2.12, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.92$	$F(1,102)=909.86, MSE=0.63, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.90$
2	W	$F(1,102)=156.96, MSE=1.22, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.61$	$F(1,102)=547.23, MSE=1.94, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.84$
3	P	$F(1,102)=409.14, MSE=1.82, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.80$	$F(1,102)=875.91, MSE=1.16, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.90$
4	S	$F(1,102)=2.93, MSE=7.38, p=.090, \eta_p^2=.03$	$F(1,102)=0.05, MSE=4.75, p=.825, \eta_p^2<.01$
<i>2-way Interactions</i>			
5	SxC	$F(1,102)=3.73, MSE=2.12, p=.056, \eta_p^2=.04$	$F(1,102)=0.63, MSE=0.87, p=.429, \eta_p^2=.01$
6	SxW	$F(1,102)=1.90, MSE=1.22, p=.171, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,102)=1.94, MSE=0.64, p=.167, \eta_p^2=.02$
7	SxP	$F(1,102)=1.56, MSE=1.82, p=.215, \eta_p^2=.02$	$F(1,102)=1.60, MSE=1.16, p=.209, \eta_p^2=.02$
8	CxW	$F(1,102)=154.70, MSE=0.74, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.60$	$F(1,102)=366.18, MSE=0.47, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.78$
9	CxP	$F(1,102)=0.27, MSE=1.65, p=.607, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,102)=88.84, MSE=0.87, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.47$
10	WxP	$F(1,102)=23.96, MSE=0.55, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.19$	$F(1,102)=373.77, MSE=0.40, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.79$
<i>3-way Interactions</i>			
11	SxCxW	$F(1,102)=9.01, MSE=0.74, p=.003, \eta_p^2=.08$	$F(1,102)=4.75, MSE=0.47, p=.032, \eta_p^2=.04$
12		I - CxP: $F(1,52)=132.94, MSE=0.34, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.72$	I - CxP: $F(1,52)=194.08, MSE=0.28, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.79$
13		S - CxP: $F(1,50)=40.10, MSE=0.40, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.45$	S - CxP: $F(1,50)=176.57, MSE=0.19, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.78$
14	SxCxP	$F(1,102)=0.02, MSE=1.65, p=.886, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,102)=3.88, MSE=0.87, p=.052, \eta_p^2=.04$
15	SxWxP	$F(1,102)=0.41, MSE=0.55, p=.521, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,102)=1.10, MSE=0.40, p=.297, \eta_p^2=.01$
16	CxWxP	$F(1,102)=0.57, MSE=0.68, p=.451, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,102)=104.09, MSE=0.42, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.51$
17			C - WxP: $F(1,102)=346.30, MSE=0.51, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.77$
18			NC - WxP: $F(1,102)=52.12, MSE=0.31, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.34$
19	4-way Interaction	$F(1,102)=0.42, MSE=0.68, p=.520, \eta_p^2<.01$	$F(1,102)=0.63, MSE=0.42, p=.430, \eta_p^2=.01$

Table 6.

Statistical (ANCOVA) Results for the judgements of rape as a scale and as percentages of guilty verdicts and judgements of legality (Experiment 4). Variable labels have been abbreviated: C=Consent (C=Consensual scenarios; NC=non consensual scenarios), W=Wantedness, and P=Pleasure.

Row	Effect	ANOVA Result	ANCOVA Result
<b>Judgements of Rape (as a scale)</b>			
1	C	$F(1,59)=755.39, MSE=2.97, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.93$	$F(1,57)=154.34, MSE=2.77, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.73$
2	W	$F(1,59)=80.36, MSE=1.17, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.77$	$F(1,57)=4.77, MSE=1.12, p=.033, \eta_p^2=.08$
3	P	$F(1,59)=200.93, MSE=1.21, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.77$	$F(1,57)=16.06, MSE=1.13, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.22$
4	CxW	$F(1,59)=23.95, MSE=1.28, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.29$	$F(1,57)=3.54, MSE=1.27, p=.065, \eta_p^2=.06$
5	CxP	$F(1,59)=173.00, MSE=0.87, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.75$	$F(1,57)=10.65, MSE=0.86, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.16$
6	WxP	$F(1,59)=129.77, MSE=0.57, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.69$	$F(1,57)=56.42, MSE=0.44, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.50$
7	3-way	$F(1,59)=13.47, MSE=1.09, p=.001, \eta_p^2=.19$	$F(1,57)=10.08, MSE=1.04, p=.002, \eta_p^2=.15$
8		C - WxP: $F(1,59)=31.39, MSE=0.36, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.35$	C - WxP: $F(1,57)=4.16, MSE=0.34, p=.046, \eta_p^2=.07$
9		NC - WxP: $F(1,59)=59.27, MSE=1.30, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.50$	NC - WxP: $F(1,57)=30.27, MSE=1.11, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.35$
<b>Judgements of Rape (as percentages)</b>			
1	C	$F(1,59)=595.63, MSE=0.08, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.91$	$F(1,57)=94.8, MSE=0.08, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.62$
2	W	$F(1,59)=41.70, MSE=0.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.41$	$F(1,57)=3.00, MSE=0.04, p=.088, \eta_p^2=.05$
3	P	$F(1,59)=64.20, MSE=0.06, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.52$	$F(1,57)=2.70, MSE=0.06, p=.106, \eta_p^2=.05$
4	CxW	$F(1,59)=6.31, MSE=0.06, p=.015, \eta_p^2=.10$	$F(1,57)=0.52, MSE=0.06, p=.007, \eta_p^2=.01$
5	CxP	$F(1,59)=45.36, MSE=0.07, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.44$	$F(1,57)=1.35, MSE=0.07, p=.250, \eta_p^2=.02$
6	WxP	$F(1,59)=57.61, MSE=0.02, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.49$	$F(1,57)=4.43, MSE=0.02, p=.040, \eta_p^2=.07$
7	3-way	$F(1,59)=17.61, MSE=0.02, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.23$	$F(1,57)=3.52, MSE=0.02, p=.066, \eta_p^2=.06$
8		C - WxP: $F(1,59)=7.21, MSE=0.01, p=.009, \eta_p^2=.11$	
9		NC - WxP: $F(1,59)=49.96, MSE=0.03, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.46$	
<b>Judgements of Legality</b>			
1	C	$F(1,59)=241.52, MSE=0.13, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.80$	$F(1,57)=48.61, MSE=0.13, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.46$
2	W	$F(1,59)=11.65, MSE=0.03, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.17$	$F(1,57)=3.80, MSE=0.03, p=.056, \eta_p^2=.06$
3	P	$F(1,59)=70.60, MSE=0.05, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.55$	$F(1,57)=0.75, MSE=0.04, p=.391, \eta_p^2=.01$
4	CxW	$F(1,59)=0.36, MSE=0.02, p=.549, \eta_p^2=.01$	$F(1,57)=3.60, MSE=0.02, p=.063, \eta_p^2=.06$
5	CxP	$F(1,59)=94.24, MSE=0.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.62$	$F(1,57)=1.56, MSE=0.04, p=.217, \eta_p^2=.03$
6	WxP	$F(1,59)=34.66, MSE=0.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.37$	$F(1,57)=4.72, MSE=0.04, p=.034, \eta_p^2=.08$
7	3-way	$F(1,59)=16.14, MSE=0.04, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.22$	$F(1,57)=4.82, MSE=0.04, p=.032, \eta_p^2=.08$
8		C - WxP: $F(1,59)=5.55, MSE=0.02, p=.022, \eta_p^2=.09$	C - WxP: $F(1,57)=0.01, MSE=0.02, p=.905, \eta_p^2<.01$
9		NC - WxP: $F(1,59)=31.53, MSE=0.06, p<.001, \eta_p^2=.35$	NC - WxP: $F(1,57)=6.03, MSE=0.06, p=.017, \eta_p^2=.10$

## Figure Captions

*Figure 1.* Mean subjective perceptions of rape (top panel) and ratings of distress (bottom panel) for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not and by participant gender for Experiment 1a. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

*Figure 2.* Mean subjective ratings of perceptions of rape (top panels) and judgements of responsibility (bottom panels) for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not and by participant gender for Experiment 1b. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

*Figure 3.* Mean subjective perceptions of rape (top panel) and ratings of distress (bottom panel) for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not and by participant perspective for Experiment 2. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

*Figure 4.* Mean subjective perceptions of rape (top panel) and ratings of distress (bottom panel) for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not and by participant perspective for Experiment 3. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

*Figure 5.* Mean subjective ratings of perceptions of rape (binary and scalar measures, top panels) and whether participants believed the scenario met the legal requirement for rape (bottom panel) for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not for Experiment 4. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

*Figure 6.* Mean judgements of legality for sexual encounters that were consensual/non-consensual, wanted/not wanted, split by whether they were pleasurable or not for Experiment 4. Error bars represent standard error of the mean.

Figure 1.

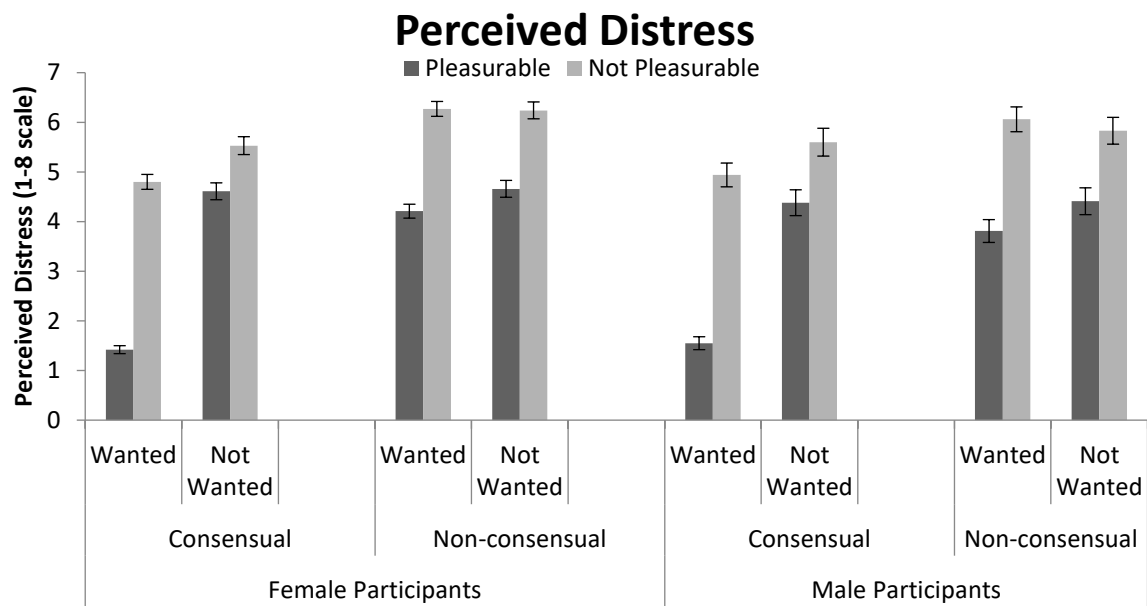
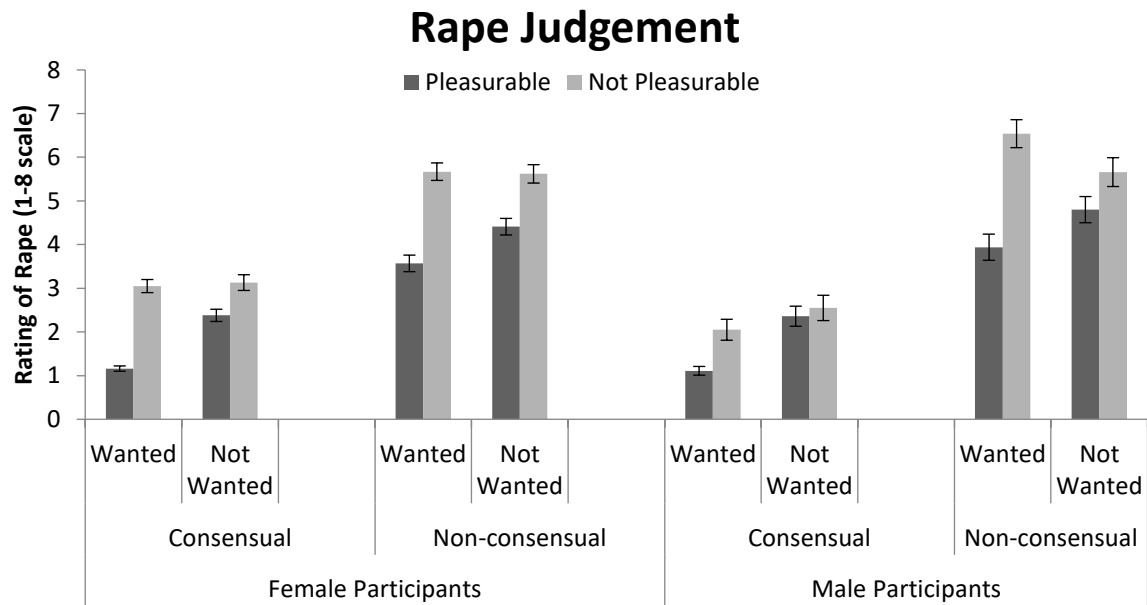
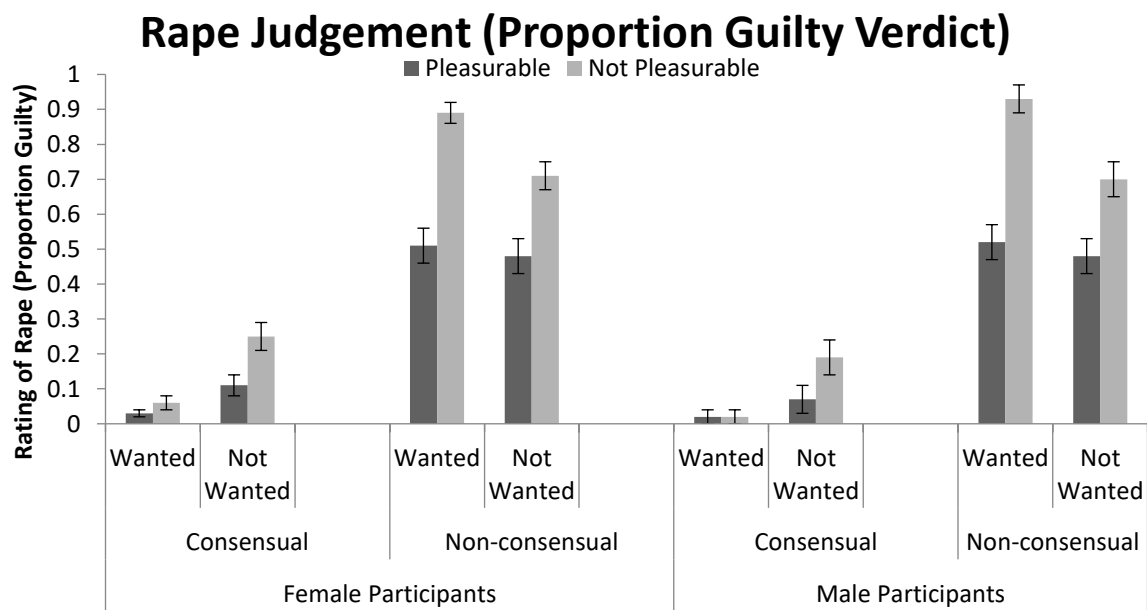
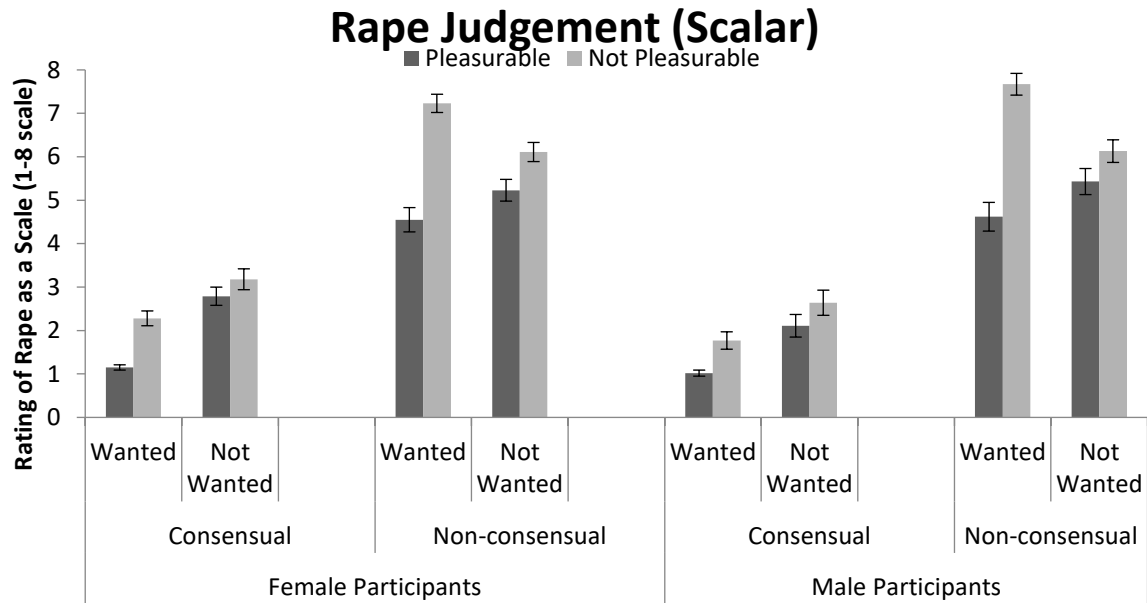
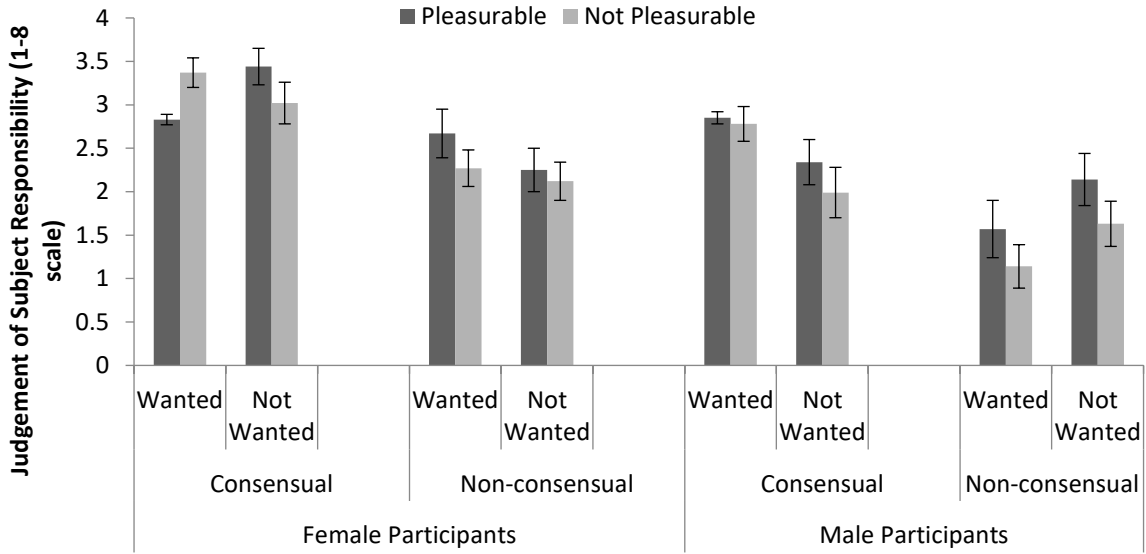


Figure 2.





## Judgement of Subject Responsibility



## Judgement of Initiator Responsibility

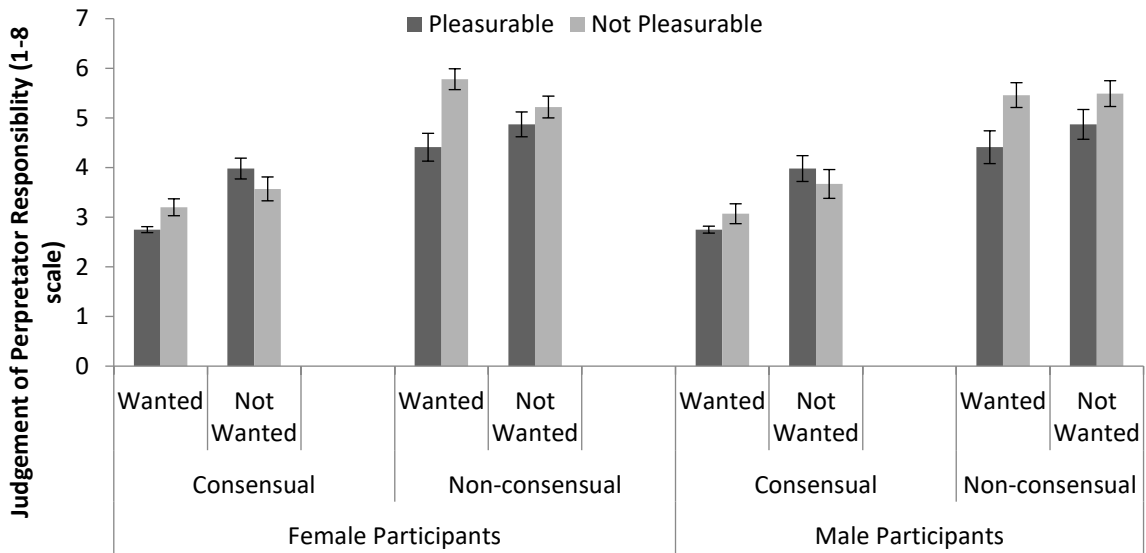


Figure 3.

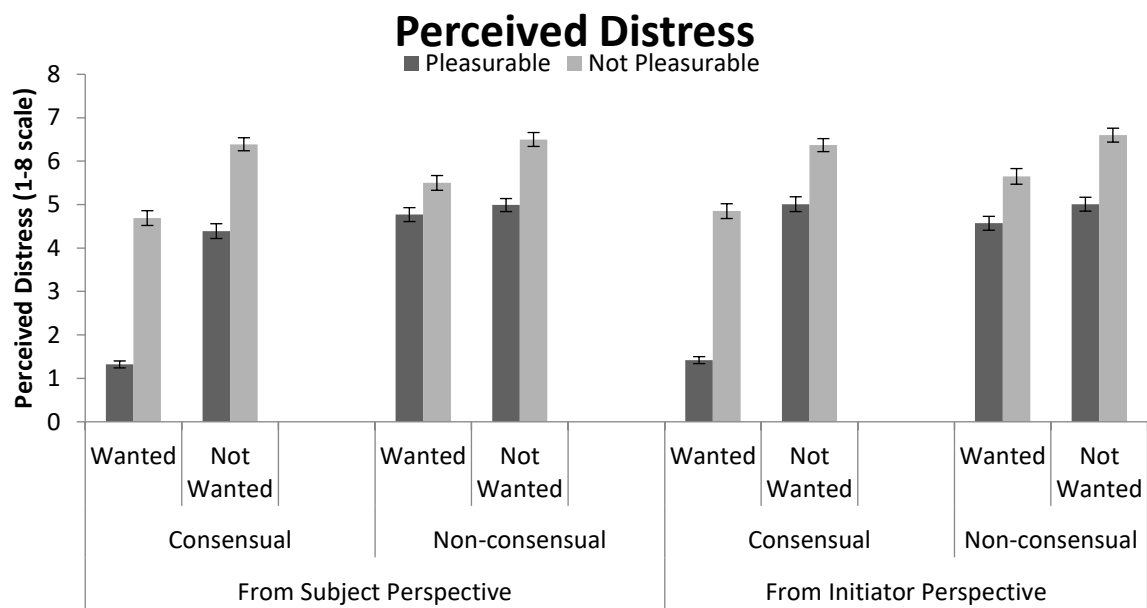
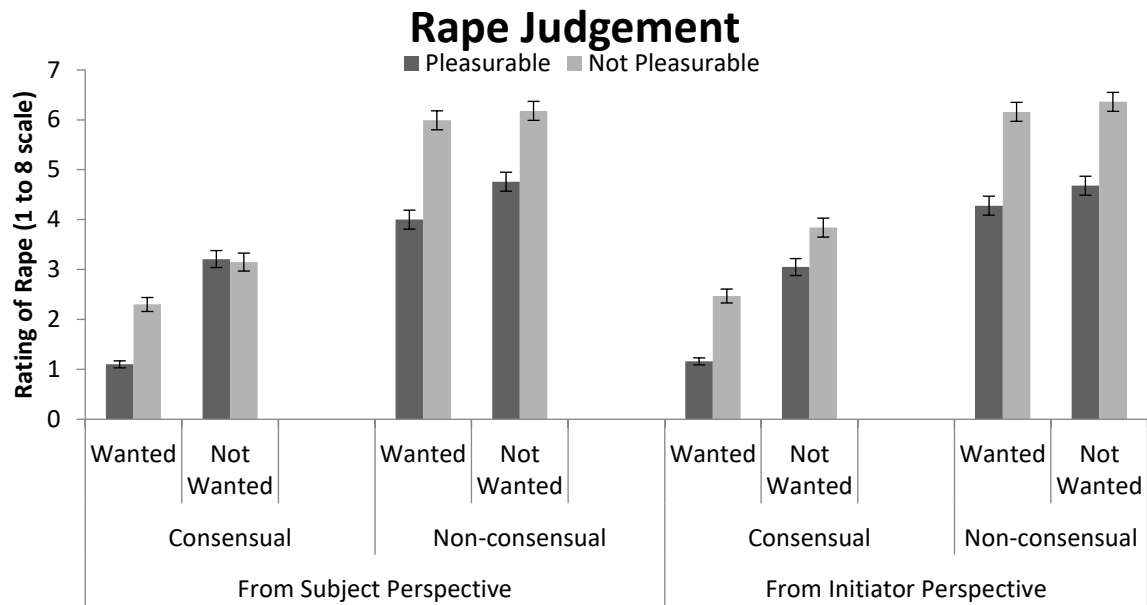


Figure 4.

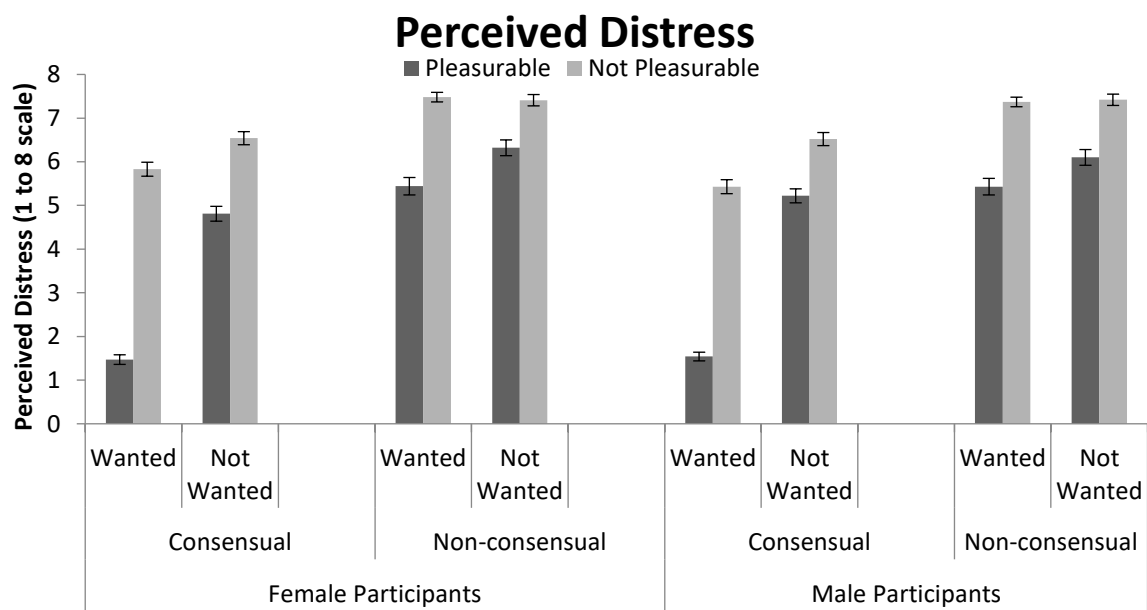
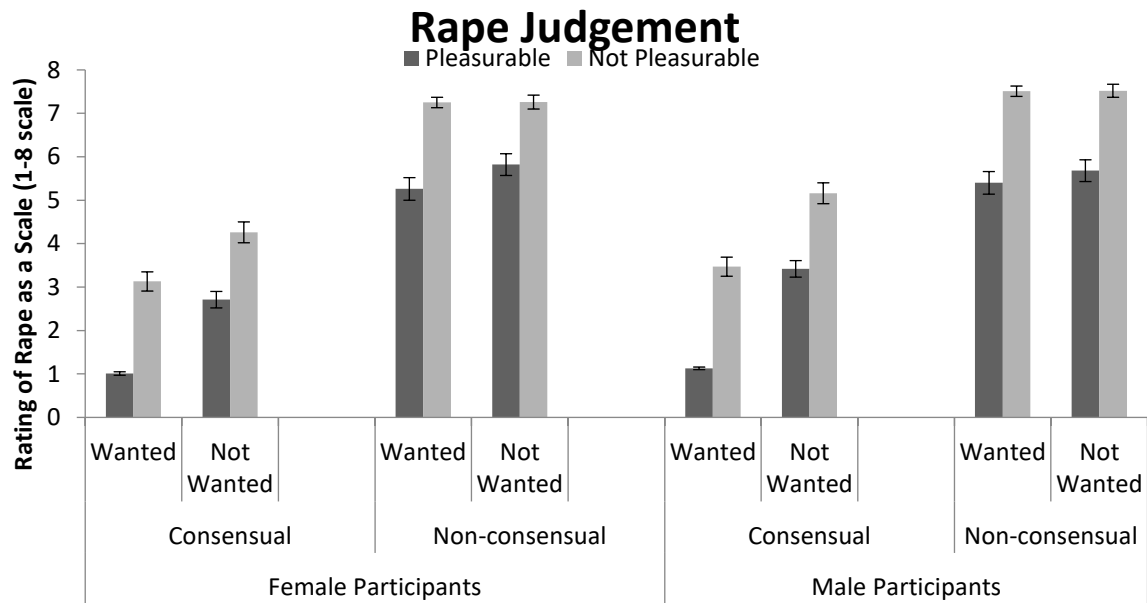


Figure 5.

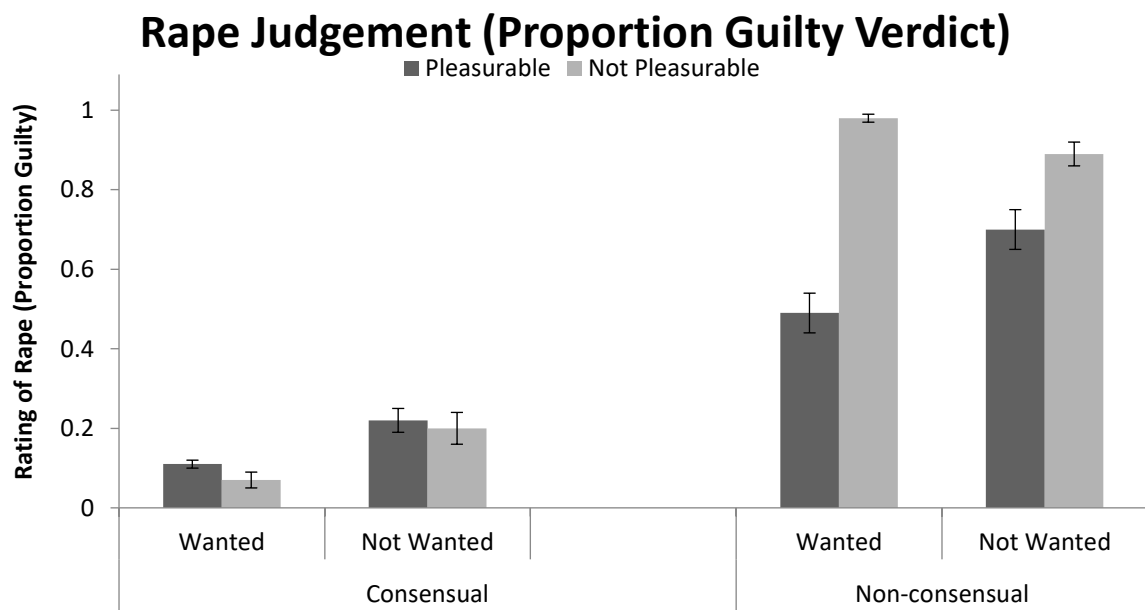
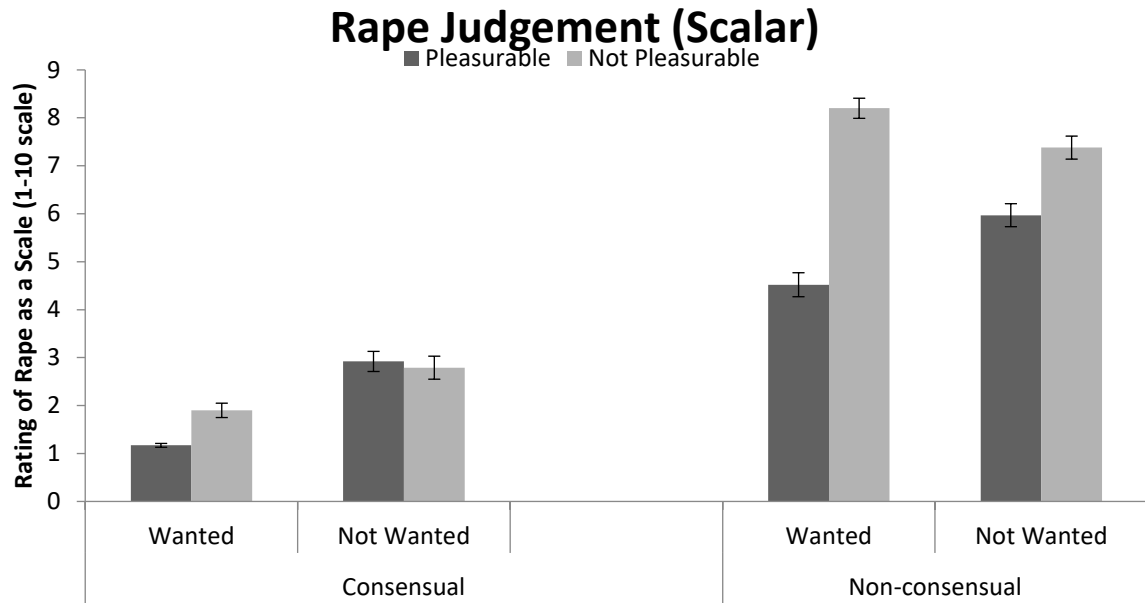


Figure 6.

