

2018-01-01

Empowerment or Threat: Perceptions of Childhood Sexual Abuse in the #metoo Era

Melissa Samantha De Roos

University of Texas at El Paso, melissa.deroos@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.utep.edu/open_etd



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

De Roos, Melissa Samantha, "Empowerment or Threat: Perceptions of Childhood Sexual Abuse in the #metoo Era" (2018). *Open Access Theses & Dissertations*. 2.

https://digitalcommons.utep.edu/open_etd/2

EMPOWERMENT OR THREAT: PERCEPTIONS OF
CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE
#METOO ERA

MELISSA SAMANTHA DE ROOS, M.S., M.A.

Doctoral Program in Psychology

APPROVED:

Jennifer Eno Loudon, Ph.D., Chair

Daniel N. Jones, Ph.D.

Michael A. Zárate, Ph.D.

Lawrence D. Cohn, Ph.D.

Ophra Leyser-Whalen, Ph.D.

Charles Ambler, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

Copyright ©

by

Melissa Samantha de Roos

2018

Dedication

To my sister, for her inspiration and encouragement every step of the way.

EMPOWERMENT OR THREAT: PERCEPTIONS OF
CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE
#METOO ERA

by

MELISSA SAMANTHA DE ROOS, MA, MSc

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at El Paso
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
December 2018

Acknowledgments

I would like to start by thanking my mentor, Dr. Daniel Jones. You have been a force of inspiration and excitement in my research journey, and you have shown me that no ambition is too big if it is worth doing. Thank you for taking a chance on me and guiding me over the last few years. To my committee members, Dr. Eno Loudon, thank you for giving me a place in your lab and making me feel welcome, I appreciate your guidance and support. Dr. Cohn, thank you for your incredible methodological foresight, and for helping me improve my eye for detail. Dr. Zarate, thank you for pushing me to create the best possible end product. And Dr. Leyser-Whalen, thank you for your kind words and insight.

To my lab members, Adon, thank you for encouraging me to use my American voice. Jessie, you are a fantastic example to follow, I admire you as a researcher and you have become a great friend. I appreciate all of your support, both moral and practical. Steven, thank you for the sunshine (and thunder!) you bring to every day, it has been a pleasure working with you because you never made it feel like work. Shelby, you will always be my lab twin, I wish you all the best for the future. My extended lab family, Candice, I am so glad I found you. You have been a great friend and I could not have done it without you. Cole and Ariel, thank you both for your support and for the fun legal conversations, I hope to collaborate with both of you in the future.

Jelani, thank you for being where I need and want you to be. Tabaré, thank you for not letting me quit before I got started and for never doubting that I would get to this point. I would not have gotten here if it was not for you and I cannot thank you enough. Sabrina, you are the only one who can make an ocean between us feel like a teacup; thank you for always being there for me, even if it's the middle of the night where you are. You are the best sister anyone could wish for and my best friend.

Mom, dad, Peter, thank you for believing in me through what feels like a quarter century of school. Thank you for supporting me along the way.

Abstract

Most victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA) will not disclose the abuse until they reach adulthood. When victims do disclose, they often face negative responses such as disbelief or blame. The specifics of both the individual and the abuse can create barriers for individual victims to disclose the abuse (i.e. gender of the perpetrator or age of the victim at the time of abuse). These situational and individual differences create societal expectations and stereotypical beliefs about CSA that further complicate the disclosure process for the victim. The aim of these studies is to explain why men tend to be less supportive of CSA disclosures than women. Through use of defensive attribution theory and self-affirmation theory, the effects of the #metoo movement on reactions to CSA disclosures were explored. Through online surveys, perceptions of the movement as well as participants' responses to a disclosure were recorded. Results indicated that men are indeed more skeptical in their responses to a CSA disclosure, and this effect is strengthened after reading about false allegations of sexual violence. Further, proximity to sexual victimization facilitates supportive responses, whereas proximity to perpetration has the opposite effect. Self-affirmation appears to increase the likelihood of supportive responses. Implications for future research and the ongoing conversation about sexual violence are discussed.

Keywords: Childhood Sexual Abuse, Disclosures, Defensive Attribution Theory

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	v
Abstract.....	vii
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures.....	xvi
What do we know about CSA Disclosures?	1
Overview of CSA Disclosures	3
The Importance of Disclosure for Well-being.....	5
General Reasons for Delayed or Non-Disclosure of CSA.....	7
Factors affecting Disclosures.....	9
Static Factors.....	10
Victim Characteristics.....	10
Perpetrator Characteristics	14
Abuse Characteristics.....	15
Stable Factors.....	17
Disclosure Characteristics.....	17
Societal Characteristics	19
What Happens after Disclosure?.....	22
The Legitimate Victim.....	22
The Stereotypical Perpetrator	25
The Effects of Positive Reactions	27
The Effects of Negative Reactions	28
The Recipient of CSA Disclosure.....	31
Stereotypical Thinking.....	31
Rape Myths	31
CSA Myths.....	34
Theoretical Explanations for Myth Endorsement	35
Just-world-hypothesis	37
Defensive Attribution Theory	40

The Present Research	45
#metoo.....	46
Empowerment vs Threat	49
Self-Affirmation.....	52
Research Questions & Hypotheses Study 1	54
Study 1	54
Study 1: Methods	56
Participants.....	56
Design and Proposed Analyses	56
Materials	57
#metoo Questionnaire	57
#metoo Manipulation.....	58
PANAS – Short Form	58
CSA Vignettes	58
Procedure	59
Study 1: Results	60
Sample Characteristics.....	60
R1: What are participants’ perceptions of, and exposure to, the #metoo movement?.....	62
H1: The majority of participants will have had some exposure to the #metoo movement either through personal experience or through close others.	62
H2: An Exploration of #metoo perceptions	65
Correlations.....	68
Vignette Variables	72
Perceptions of CSA and #metoo	74
R2: Does exposure to a video about #metoo affect participants’ perceptions of CSA?	75
Video Manipulation Check	75
H3: After watching the #metoo video, male participants will display more negative perceptions of CSA than female participants	79
R3: Does proximity to victimization or perpetration affect participants’ perceptions of CSA?	80
H4: Participants with a proximity to victimization will have more positive views.....	80
H5: Participants with a proximity to perpetration will have more negative views.....	84

Discussion	88
Research Questions and Hypotheses Study 2	94
Study 2: Methods	96
Participants.....	96
Design and Proposed Analyses	96
Materials	97
CSA Vignettes	97
Toronto Empathy Questionnaire.....	97
Article Condition	97
Self-affirmation task	98
#metoo.....	98
Procedure	98
Study 2: Results	100
Sample Characteristics.....	100
R1: How does a false allegation impact participants' responses to a CSA vignette?.....	111
H1: Men will feel threatened by a false allegation and respond more negatively to a subsequent disclosure.....	111
R2: Will proximity to CSA, or to false allegations impact these findings?.....	116
H2: People with higher proximity to victimization will respond more positively to victims, regardless of condition.	116
H3: People with higher proximity to perpetration or false allegations will respond more negatively to victims, especially in the false allegation condition.	118
Proximity to perpetration:	118
Proximity to falsely accused person	120
Proximity to someone who falsely accused someone else.....	122
R3: Does proximity to CSA victimization predict response to CSA vignette above and beyond empathy differences?	124
H4: Even after controlling for empathy differences, proximity to CSA victimization will significantly predict response to a CSA vignette.....	124
R4: Does self-affirmation protect people from Defensive Responding?.....	126
H5: A self-affirmation task will serve as a buffer protecting people from perceived threat, thus increasing the likelihood of a positive response to a CSA vignette.	126

Discussion	129
General Discussion	134
References	138
Appendix A: #metoo Exposure & Perceptions (both studies)	194
Appendix B: #metoo Manipulations (Study 1)	196
Appendix C: Vignette (Both studies)	198
Appendix D: Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Study 2)	199
Appendix E: Threat Manipulations (Study 2)	201
Appendix F: Self-Affirmation Task (Study 2)	204
Vita	205

List of Tables

Table 1: <i>Demographic Details of Sample</i>	61
Table 2: <i>Descriptive Statistics of #metoo Exposure Variables</i>	63
Table 3: <i>Descriptive Statistics and Independent Sample t-tests of #metoo Exposure Variables for Men and Women</i>	64
Table 4: <i>Correlation Matrix of #metoo Exposure Variables for Men and Women</i>	65
Table 5: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Perceptions of #metoo Variables</i>	66
Table 6: <i>Descriptive Statistics and Independent Sample t-tests of Perceptions of #metoo for Men and Women</i>	67
Table 7: <i>Correlation Matrix of #metoo Perception Variables</i>	69
Table 8: <i>Total Variance Explained</i>	70
Table 9: <i>Pattern Matrix</i>	71
Table 10: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Vignette Variables</i>	72
Table 11: <i>Correlation Matrix of Vignette Variables</i>	72
Table 12: <i>Correlations Between Perceptions of #metoo and Responses to a CSA Vignette</i>	75
Table 13: <i>PANAS Descriptive Statistics by Video and Independent Sample T-tests</i>	76
Table 14: <i>Descriptive Statistics of PANAS-scores for Men and Women for Both Videos and Independent Sample T-tests</i>	78
Table 15: <i>Correlation Matrix of #metoo Exposure Variables with #metoo Perception Variables</i>	80
Table 16: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Belief in Presented Vignette</i>	81
Table 17: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Harmfulness of the Presented Vignette</i>	82
Table 18: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Avoidability of the Presented Vignette</i>	82
Table 19: <i>Observed and Expected Punishments Given Based on Knowing Someone Who Reposted #metoo</i>	83
Table 20: <i>Multiple Regressions Predicting Amount of Blame Allocated to Perpetrator, Victim, and Zoe's Mom</i>	84

Table 21: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Belief in Presented Vignette</i>	85
Table 22: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Harmfulness of the Presented Vignette</i>	86
Table 23: <i>Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Avoidability of the Presented Vignette</i>	86
Table 24: <i>Multiple Regressions Predicting Amount of Blame Allocated to Perpetrator, Victim, and Zoe’s Mom</i>	87
Table 25: <i>Demographic Details of Sample</i>	100
Table 26: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Proximity to Sexual Victimization Variables</i>	102
Table 27: <i>Comparison of Men and Women on Proximity to Sexual Victimization</i>	103
Table 28: <i>Comparison of Men and Women on Exposure to #metoo Movement</i>	104
Table 29: <i>Comparison of Men and Women on Proximity to False Accusations</i>	105
Table 30: <i>Variance Explained by EFA</i>	106
Table 31: <i>Pattern Matrix</i>	107
Table 32: <i>Descriptive Statistics of Vignette variables.</i>	108
Table 33: <i>Correlations between Vignette Variables</i>	108
Table 34: <i>Correlations Between Perceptions of #metoo and Responses to a CSA Vignette</i>	109
Table 35: <i>Correlations between Exposure to and Perceptions of #metoo</i>	110
Table 36: <i>Correlations between Proximity to Sexual Victimization and Perceptions of #metoo</i>	111
Table 37: <i>PANAS Scores for Control and Threat Article</i>	112
Table 38: <i>Differences between Men and Women in Response to Reading the Threat or Control Article</i>	113
Table 39: <i>Stepwise Regression of Belief in the Vignette on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition</i>	116
Table 40: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition</i>	117
Table 41: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom’s Boyfriend on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition</i>	117

Table 42: <i>Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition</i>	118
Table 43: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition</i>	119
Table 44: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom’s Boyfriend on Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition</i>	119
Table 45: <i>Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition</i>	120
Table 46: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition</i>	121
Table 47: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom’s Boyfriend Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition</i>	121
Table 48: <i>Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition</i>	122
Table 49: <i>Stepwise Regression of Avoidable Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition</i>	122
Table 50: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition</i>	123
Table 51: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom’s Boyfriend on Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition</i>	123
Table 52: <i>Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition</i>	124
Table 53: <i>Stepwise Regression of Belief in Vignette on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy</i>	125
Table 54: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Zoe on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy</i>	125
Table 55: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Mom’s Boyfriend on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy</i>	126
Table 56: <i>Stepwise Regression of Perceived Harmfulness on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy</i>	126
Table 56: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Zoe on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions</i>	127

Table 57: <i>Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Mom's Boyfriend on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions</i>	127
Table 58: <i>Stepwise Regression of Perceived Harmfulness on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions</i>	128

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i> The Effect of Article Condition on the Amount of Blame Allocated to Zoe for Men and Women	114
<i>Figure 2.</i> The Effect of Article Condition on the Perceived Harmfulness of the Vignette for Men and Women.....	115

What do we know about CSA Disclosures?

Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA) is defined as sexual contact between a child and an adult which the child does not fully understand or cannot consent to (WHO, 1999). It is estimated that one in eight people worldwide are victims of sexual abuse during their childhood (Pereda, Guilera, Forns, & Gómez-Benito, 2009; Stoltenborgh, van IJzendoorn, Euser, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2011). Gender differences have been observed, with girls more likely to be victimized than boys. Bolen and Scannapieco (1999) found 1 in 3 girls and 1 in 7 boys in the United States had experienced sexual abuse before they turned 18 (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999). Stoltenborgh and colleagues (2011) found that the prevalence of CSA for girls was 18% compared to 7.6% for boys. Similarly, an extensive review of CSA prevalence found 1 in 5 women and 1 in 10 men reported sexual abuse in childhood (Tourigny & Baril, 2011). These figures are conservative, as sexual abuse is often not reported. Experts agree that the actual prevalence rates are likely to be higher.

An extensive body of literature has demonstrated the long-term negative consequences of CSA. Psychological problems are evident in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood with victims displaying an increased risk for the development of major depression, anxiety disorders, posttraumatic stress disorder, substance abuse, suicidality, psychosis, relational and sexual problems, and neurobiological effects (Briere & Elliott, 2003; Carr, Martins, Stingel, Lemgruber, & Juruena, 2013; Collin-Vézina, Daigneault, & Hébert, 2013; Fergusson, McLeod, & Horwood, 2013; Gilbert et al., 2009; Godbout, Briere, Sabourin, & Lussier, 2014; Hillberg, Hamilton-Giachritsis, & Dixon, 2011; Teicher & Samson, 2013; Ullman, Najdowski, & Filipas, 2009). Most of these studies have focused on female survivors because numbers of male survivors in samples are usually low (Spataro, Moss, & Wells, 2001). The few studies that have been able to examine consequences for male survivors have found similar negative effects on physical, mental, and

social health (e.g. Holmes & Slap, 1998; Hunter, 2006; Putnam, 2003; Spataro et al., 2001). Because of the high prevalence of CSA and the extensive negative consequences, several researchers have gone so far as to state that CSA may be the most preventable cause of psychopathology, especially for women (Cutler & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1991; Fleming, Mullen, Roesler, Sibthorpe, & Bammer, 1999).

Apart from psychopathology, negative relational consequences of CSA have been observed (DiLillo, 2001; Rumstein-McKean & Hunsley, 2001). Studies that focused on the development of romantic relationships later in life show that CSA survivors display less relationship satisfaction and more relationship breakdowns (Colman & Widom, 2004; Hunter, 1991; Nelson & Wampler, 2000; Pistorello & Follette, 1998; Watson & Halford, 2010; Whisman, 2006). Of particular concern is that CSA survivors are at an increased risk of experiencing intimate partner violence (Banyard, 1997; Banyard, Arnold, & Smith, 2000; Cohen, Deblinger, Mannarino, & Steer, 2000; Feiring, Taska, & Lewis, 1996; Gilbert, El-Bassel, Schilling, & Friedman, 1997; Ornduff, Kelsey, & O'Leary, 2001; Polusny & Follette, 1995). Unfortunately, such victimization in later life is not limited to physical abuse, or to violence within the context of a relationship.

CSA survivors are at an increased risk of being sexually revictimized in adolescence or adulthood (Widom, Czaja, & Dutton, 2008). Russell (1986) found that 65% of women who were victims of incest in childhood experienced sexual assault as adults, compared to 36% of women with no history of abuse. Subsequent studies have found similar revictimization rates, though these studies tend to focus on female survivors (Humphrey & White, 2000; McGee et al., 2002). Further, survivors who are revictimized later in life are more likely to develop posttraumatic stress disorder compared to people with no history of CSA (Twaiite & Rodriguez-Srednicki, 2004; Ullman et al., 2009). Researchers hypothesize that revictimization may be due to a diminished ability to

recognize threatening situations (Wilson, Calhoun, Bernat, 1999) or to sexual scripts that do not differentiate between consent and non-consent (Zurbriggen & Freyd (2004). Further, perpetrators of sexual assault may pick up on and exploit such vulnerabilities (Breitenbrecher, 2001). Taken together, these consequences highlight the impact of sexual violence on survivors that stretches beyond the initial incident.

The prevalence of CSA as well as the negative consequences associated with CSA highlight the importance of detecting and ending CSA. Unfortunately, most CSA cases rely on the child victim to come forward and tell someone about the abuse to detect CSA.

OVERVIEW OF CSA DISCLOSURES

The majority of CSA victims do not disclose the abuse in childhood. Several studies have demonstrated that disclosure during childhood is rare, with most victims not disclosing until several years after the abuse took place (Alaggia, 2010; McElvaney, Greene, & Hogan, 2012; O'Leary & Barber, 2008). Earlier research found that CSA disclosure immediately following victimization occurred in less than 25% of cases (Gomes-Schwartz, Horowitz, & Cardarelli, 1990; Kelley, Brant, & Waterman, 1993). In a retrospective study of CSA disclosures 53% of victims did not disclose until at least one week after the abuse happened, with the maximum reported delay up to two years (Hershkowitz, Lanes, Lamb, 2007). An even more striking finding in this study was that more than 40% of disclosures were not spontaneous, but rather, they occurred as a consequence of the child being explicitly asked. Other studies indicate 46-49% of CSA victims did not disclose in childhood (Jonzon & Lindblad, 2004; Kogan, 2005; Smith et al, 2000), with some showing a wider range of nondisclosure until adulthood (30-80%; Arata, 1998; Lawson & Chaffin, 1992; Paine & Hansen, 2002; Smith et al, 2000). Lamb and Edgar-Smith (1994) asked adult CSA survivors about their disclosure experiences and found that the first disclosure happened

when the survivor was 18 years old on average, even though the average age at the start of abuse in this sample was eight years. Similarly, other studies have found that up to 69% of survivors did not disclose when they were children (London, Bruck, Wright, & Ceci, 2008), and 70-75% waited at least five years before the first disclosure (Hébert, Tourigny, Cyr, McDuff, & Joly, 2009; Smith et al., 2000). A small percentage of children who disclose later recant that disclosure (4-27%; Bradley & Wood, 1996; Bybee & Mowbray, 1993; Gonzalez et al, 1993), but only 4% of childhood disclosures of CSA turn out to be false accusations (Faller & DeVoe, 1995; Oates et al, 2000; Trocme & Bala, 2005).

Most of these studies use samples of adult CSA survivors who reflect on their experiences with disclosure either as adults or as children. Other studies have focused on samples where a history of CSA was confirmed through evidence or third-party accounts. One such study found that 39% of survivors with a corroborated history of CSA never told anyone about the abuse until they first entered treatment (Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990).

CSA is sometimes discovered while the victim is still a child. In such cases, children may deny that they are being sexually victimized (DiPietro, Runyan, & Fredrickson, 1997; Sorenson & Snow, 1991) even if there is medical evidence (Lawson & Chaffin, 1992; Lyon, 2007) or videotaped proof of the abuse (Sjöberg & Lindblad, 2002). Further, if children do disclose initially, they may later recant this disclosure (Malloy, Lyon, & Quas, 2007). These findings highlight the difficulty children experience when disclosing, and how the process of disclosure may affect them.

Research on gender differences in CSA disclosures shows mixed results. Some studies have found no effect of gender on disclosure (Bybee & Mowbray, 1993; DiPietro et al., 1997; Sauzier, 1989), but an increasing number of studies has found that disclosure of CSA is especially rare among male victims (e.g. Violato & Genius, 1993). Finkelhor (1990) found 42% of adult male

survivors compared to 33% of adult female survivors never disclosed having been sexually victimized. Another study found a non-disclosure rate of CSA history among adolescent male offenders as high as 67.7% (Brannon, Larson, & Doggett, 1991). It appears then that male and female survivors may have a different disclosure experience; a possibility that will be explored later.

Non-disclosure or delayed disclosure of CSA appears to be the norm rather than the exception. The fact that many survivors do not come forward illustrates a problem, but also a necessity to explore the reasons why.

The Importance of Disclosure for Well-being

Disclosure may be important for survivors' well-being in several ways. First, to the extent that a disclosure may stop the abuse and thus prevent a longer period of abuse, disclosure may protect children from more severe negative long-term consequences associated with abuse that lasts longer (Arata, 1998; Conte & Schuerman, 1987; Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 1993). In most CSA cases there is no physical evidence that could bring abuse to light, meaning that intervention is often contingent on disclosure by the child (Bussey & Grimbeek, 1995; Sauzier, 1989). Further, Arata (1998) found that children who delayed disclosure of CSA were less likely to disclose later incidents of abuse. Given that CSA survivors are at an increased risk of revictimization later in life (Fromuth, 1986; Himelein, 1995; Mayall & Gold, 2005; White, 1996), this reluctance to disclose is particularly harmful. Interestingly, it has been suggested that disclosure even in the absence of intervention may still be beneficial (Arata, 1998).

Second, an extensive body of literature suggests that writing about the emotional impact of a trauma may alleviate some of the stress from experiencing that trauma (e.g. Pennebaker, 1997). Indeed, several studies have found that people who practice expressive writing following a trauma

experience positive effects on their mental and physical well-being (e.g. Lepore, 1997; Pennebaker, 1997; Pennebaker, Kiecolt-Glaser, & Glaser, 1988; Smyth, Hockemeyer, & Tulloch, 2008). However, when applied to the context of CSA, some research indicates that anonymous writing may actually have a detrimental effect (Batten, Follette, Rasmussen Hall, & Palm, 2002). Perhaps the benefits from expressive writing are limited to certain traumas and they may not generalize to every type of trauma (Ullman, 2002). However, a lack of positive effect of expressive writing does not mean that disclosure to another person does not have positive effects. Indeed, Finkelhor (1990) found that psychological symptoms decreased in child victims in the months after they disclosed. It may be that the positive effects of disclosure are due to a supportive response from the recipient of the disclosure.

Third, non-disclosure may have specific negative effects on CSA survivors. Sinclair and Gold (1997) showed that female survivors who wanted to disclose and discuss their experiences but did not, reported lower levels of well-being than survivors who either did disclose or did not want to. Paine and Hansen (2002) posed that nondisclosure may indicate a lack of acknowledgment of one's own victimization, and Alaggia (2005) characterized delayed or non-disclosure as indicative of a loss of a victimization-free childhood. Several other studies have found long-term negative consequences of non-disclosure compared to disclosure (Wyatt & Newcomb, 1990).

Apart from benefits of disclosure for the survivor, it has been demonstrated that convicted sex offenders often abuse more children than they are convicted for, or suspected of (Elliott, Browne, & Kilcoyne, 1995; Groth, Longo, & McFadin, 1982). As such, an early disclosure may prevent further harm to other children (Paine & Hanson, 2002). However, it should be pointed out that the responsibility for sexual offenses lies with the offender, never with the offender's victims.

In sum, despite the benefits associated with disclosure, a wide variety of barriers appear to keep child victims from disclosing sexual abuse when it occurs.

General Reasons for Delayed or Non-Disclosure of CSA

Perhaps the most important question regarding CSA disclosures is why survivors delay disclosure. Before discussing specific factors that influence the disclosure of survivors in specific scenarios, general factors that apply to CSA disclosures will be discussed.

The very nature of CSA, an interpersonal trauma often interlaced with betrayal, robs children of their trust in adults; trust they need to disclose (Easton, Saltzman, & Willis, 2014). The abuse most often takes place with just the perpetrator and the child present, meaning that the child has no one other than the offender to look to for giving meaning to what is happening (Berliner & Conte, 1990; Furniss, 1991; German, Habenicht, & Futchner, 1990; Summit, 1983). Thus, the very reason why disclosures are vital to obtaining a conviction, namely that the child is usually the only witness (Wessel et al, 2016), is often used by the offender to keep the child from disclosing. Further, a child may not be able to fully understand that the abuse is wrong, and that it is not “normal”, “caring” behavior displayed by an adult (e.g. Berliner & Conte, 1990). Younger children in particular may not understand that the sexual behavior between child and adult is socially unacceptable (Tyler, 2002), and in many instances the offender may fuel this idea by normalizing the abuse (Cairns, 1999; Conte, 2002; Finkelhor, 1990). However, this lack of understanding could impact disclosures both ways. Children may not disclose because they do not think there is anything wrong, or they may disclose for the same reason (Bussey & Grimbeek, 1995; Goldman & Goldman, 1982). Taken together, these factors create an isolating experience for the child victim, which serves as a breeding ground for several internalizing processes that inhibit disclosure.

Both in-depth qualitative interviews and self-report measures have explored reasons and motivations for delaying disclosure. For example, survivors often report that they blamed themselves for the abuse (Allagia. 2005; Collin-Vezina et al, 2015; Goodman-Brown et al., 2003), or that they were ashamed and expected negative reactions to disclosure (Gilligan & Aktar, 2006; Jonzon & Lindblad, 2004, 2005; Ruggiero et al., 2004; Staller & Nelson-Gardell, 2005). In a large, qualitative study using data from a child phone line, barriers to disclosure in children between the ages of 5 and 18 were identified (Jackson, Newall, & Backett-Milburn, 2013). The most-cited barriers were feeling responsible for the abuse and blaming oneself. Children also reported feelings of shame, and a fear of negative consequences including not being believed. Threats made by the abuser were named as another barrier. Further, many victims cite self-protection or attempts to minimize the abusiveness of the experience as reasons not to disclose (Collin-Vezina et al., 2015). In addition to a fear of not being believed, children also report a fear of losing control over the information once they tell someone, and thus losing control over what happens after disclosure (Butler & Williamson, 1994).

If children do disclose, the consequences of disclosure may be far from positive. Apart from not being believed, in some instances the abuse may get worse after children tell (Barter, 2005), and disclosure may create family disruption that further harms the child (Staller & Nelson-Gardell, 2005). Indeed, traumatic experiences specifically related to disclosure seem to be the norm rather than the exception (Hunter, 2011), and this is in part because the consequences were uncertain or outright negative (Jonzon & Lindbald, 2004). Such findings indicate a problem because an initial negative experience of disclosure makes children less likely to disclose again (Easton, Saltzman, & Willis, 2014). Negative consequences will be discussed in more detail, as these responses vary depending on the circumstances of the sexual abuse and the disclosure.

FACTORS AFFECTING DISCLOSURES

Disclosure of CSA is a complex, dynamic process. As such, it should be viewed as multifaceted, with several related factors contributing to disclosure or non-disclosure. The existing literature has described factors that impede disclosure in terms of operating on multiple levels. These levels are individual differences, family dynamics, community factors, and broader societal or cultural factors (Alaggia, 2005; Alaggia & Millington, 2008; Alaggia & Turton, 2005; Donalek, 2001; Hunter, 2011; McGregor, Julich, Glover, & Gautam, 2010; Sorsoli, Kia-Keating, & Grossman, 2008).

The purpose of the present research is to review these factors in terms of their changeability. Some factors that affect the likelihood of disclosure are fixed; they cannot be changed or manipulated once abuse has taken place. These are static factors, which can be further divided into victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics, and abuse characteristics. These factors are the circumstances of the abuse itself, and once abuse has occurred, they become historical factors that no longer can change. These static factors may be distinguished from other factors that could be changed or manipulated, but it would take systematic change over a long period of time to facilitate these changes. These are stable factors, which can be further divided into disclosure characteristics and societal characteristics. Opportunities for disclosure, or school programs that teach children how to disclose inappropriate behavior are likely to affect the chances of disclosure, but it would take a lot of time and resources to facilitate such a change. Similarly, societal perceptions of victims, perpetrators, and CSA affect the likelihood of disclosure, but to create societal change, time is needed. Instead, perhaps the focus should be on changing individual perceptions of CSA. These individual perceptions can be characterized as dynamic factors, that may be more readily manipulated and thus perhaps should be a primary focus of intervention.

These dynamic factors will be discussed in the next chapter. Evidence regarding the impact of all these factors on the likelihood of disclosure will be discussed.

Static Factors

Static factors are the circumstances of abuse. Once abuse occurs, these circumstances can be viewed as historical factors because they do not change. These factors encompass victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics, and abuse characteristics. The characteristics of the victim describe any barriers that the victim faces because of who he or she is as the time of abuse. Whether the victim is a boy or a girl, how old the victim is, whether he or she is part of an ethnic minority, these are all characteristics inherent to the child that cannot be changed, but that affect the likelihood of disclosure. Similarly, perpetrator characteristics are those factors inherent to the perpetrator that do not change but that do affect disclosure. Finally, abuse characteristics, such as whether threats were made against the child, if grooming occurred, and who the perpetrator is to the victim all impact the likelihood of disclosure and they are unchangeable factors. Each of these and how they affect disclosure will be discussed.

Victim Characteristics

Gender

As mentioned previously, CSA victimization is not limited to female victims. Research shows that 15% of adult men report a history of CSA (e.g. Briere & Elliot, 2003; Dube et al., 2005). When looking at disclosure prevalence, boys are even less likely to disclose than girls (Bolton, Morris, & MacEachron, 1989; Boudewyn & Liem, 1995; Finkelhor, 1990; Gries, Goh, & Cavanaugh, 1997; Keary & Fitzpatrick, 1994; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Lynch, Stern, Oates, & O'Toole, 1993; O'Leary & Barber, 2008; Reinhart, 1987; Watkins & Bentovim, 1992). Further,

it appears that adolescent boys who are sexually abused are least likely to report (Hecht & Hansen, 1999; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Watkins & Bentovim, 1992). Easton (2012) found that only a quarter of male victims disclosed in childhood, with an average delay of 21 years. Similar findings have been reported in several other studies (Hébert, Tourigny, Cyr, McDuff, & Joly, 2009; O'Leary & Barber, 2008).

The reasons why male victims are less likely to disclose highlight that male victims face unique barriers that prevent them from disclosing (Sorsoli et al., 2008). Adult male survivors often report that they did not view their experience as sexual abuse, even though descriptions of the experience show that the legal definition of abuse was met (Fondacaro, Holt, & Powell, 1999; Holmes, 2008; Widom & Morris, 1997). It may be that male victims do not know how legal definitions apply to cases of victimization of a male compared to a female (Sorsoli et al., 2008; Widom & Morris, 1997). However, a more likely explanation is that society, and male survivors, hold a stereotyped view of what it means to be a victim. In a study of adult male survivors who did recognize their experience as abuse they reported that it has changed how they thought of themselves as men, with many of them feeling that they had failed as men because they were not strong enough to stop what was happening to them (Anderson, 2011).

These findings are further underlined by male victims' expectations about society's response to their victimization. In a recent study, male CSA survivors cited negative stereotypes in society as a reason for delaying disclosure until they reached adulthood (Gagnier & Collin-Vezina, 2016). Several studies have demonstrated that male victims view their victimization as a violation of gender norms, and as a result of this perceived violation they feel their experience is largely hidden from society (Alaggia & Millington, 2008; Dorahy & Clearwater, 2012; Easton et al., 2014; Gagnier & Collin-Vézina, 2016; Gill & Tutty, 1999; Kia-Keating, Grossman, Sorsoli, &

Epstein, 2005; Lisak, 1994; Sigurdardottir, Halldorsdottir, & Bender, 2012). Indeed, a lack of awareness of male CSA victims contributes to delayed disclosures of abuse in male survivors (Easton et al, 2014).

Apart from masculine gender norms related to being a victim, male victims often face another unique barrier to disclosure. The majority of male victims experienced abuse at the hands of another man. Many male survivors report experiencing additional shame because of the homosexual nature of their victimization (Holmes, Offen, & Waller, 1997), and a fear that disclosing this experience will lead to them being labeled homosexual (Alaggia, 2005). An even more extreme example of how societal norms and ideas about sexual abuse impede disclosures is illustrated by the often-reported fear of a male survivor that he will turn into a sex offender himself (Collin-Vezina et al, 2015; Fondacaro et al., 1999; Holmes, 2008; Widom & Morris, 1997). The prevalence of this “Cycle of Abuse” where victims turn into offenders has been overstated in popular media, but most victims do not go on to offend (Salter et al, 2003; Widom & Ames, 1994).

Age

When exploring the age of the victim at the time of abuse as a factor influencing the likelihood of disclosure, it is important to consider that older children may have been abused for a longer period than younger children. Length of abuse as a factor in disclosure will be discussed in a later section, but for now it must be noted that age and length of abuse may be highly correlated and thus difficult to disentangle.

Evidence of age of the victim as a factor in disclosures is mixed. Some studies have found no link between age and disclosure (Bottoms, Rudnicki, & Epstein, 2007; Lam, 2014), whereas other studies suggest older victims may be more likely to disclose (e.g. Lippert, Cross, Jones, &

Walsh, 2009). The association may depend on more than just age. Leclerc and Wortley (2015) found that as victims grew older they were more likely to disclose but this trend was only true for abuse perpetrated by people who did not live with the victim at the time of abuse.

Tied in with age is the developmental understanding that young victims in particular may lack (Collins-Vezina et al., 2015). The issue of understanding is highlighted by how children disclose when they do. For example, victims of preschool age tend to disclose by accident or in response to an event (Campis, Hebden-Curtis, & Demaso, 1993; Mian, Wehrspann, Klajner-Diamond, Labaron, & Winder, 1986; Sorenson & Snow, 1991). They are also less likely to disclose during a forensic interview, perhaps because of its intimidating nature (Dipietro, Runyan, & Fredrickson, 1997; Keary & Fitzpatrick, 1994). On the other hand, older victims tend to disclose purposefully rather than accidentally (Campis et al., 1993; Sorenson & Snow, 1991).

When exploring gender differences in combination with age, Kogan (2004) found that younger girls were more likely to disclose than older girls. A possible explanation is that older victims are more aware of, and thus influenced by, societal perceptions of sexual abuse. Such sensitivity to societal perceptions has been found in male survivors. Sorsoli and colleagues (2008) found that these perceptions became more influential for male survivors as they grew older.

Ethnicity

A limited amount of research has explored the unique challenges faced by ethnic minorities. There are no significant differences in CSA prevalence between different ethnicities (Mennen, 1994; Russell, 1986; Wyatt, 1985; Romero, Wyatt, Loeb, Carmona, & Solis, 1999). It has been hypothesized that ethnicity may influence the disclosure process and the specific barriers to disclosure (Fontes & Plummer, 2010). For example, in the US, a fear of deportation may operate

as a barrier to disclosure of CSA (Romero et al., 1999). Regardless of specific differences, children who are being victimized and who are also part of an ethnic minority are likely to experience additional obstacles (e.g. Romero & Arguelles, 1993).

Prevalence rates of disclosure in minority samples underline the presence of such obstacles. In a community sample of Latina CSA survivors, 40% disclosed the abuse at some point (Romero, 1999). In a study with a convenience sample of African American and Latina adult CSA survivors, those who did disclose but were met with negative reactions reported increased symptoms of PTSD (Glover et al., 2010; Ullman, Foynes, & Tang, 2010).

Perpetrator Characteristics

Most reported cases of CSA involve male perpetrators (e.g. Denov, 2004). However, this is hypothesized to be partly due to an even lower likelihood of disclosure if the perpetrator is female (Jennings, 1993). Limited research is available on victims of female perpetrators but given that such abuse is viewed as less harmful, and victims of females are perceived as less credible (Rogers & Davies, 2007), it is likely that these factors create additional barriers for victims who were abused by a female.

Only one study explicitly mentioned victims' concern of negative responses because the perpetrator was well-liked or respected in the community (Easton et al., 2014). Highly publicized cases such as the Larry Nassar trial (Levenson, 2018) or Jimmy Savile (BBC, 2015) suggest that some victims may be less likely to come forward if the perpetrator is viewed very positively by the surrounding community. More research is necessary to assess the underlying process that creates a barrier for disclosure in these cases.

Finally, the perpetrator's own actions may have an indirect effect on the likelihood of disclosure. Offenders have indicated a preference for abusing children who appear "passive, quiet,

troubled, lonely ... from single parent or broken homes” (Budin & Johnson, 1989, p.79). Other studies have found similar reports from offenders (Conte, Wolfe, & Smith, 1987). It is likely that these children are less likely to disclose than those who appear less troubled and who come from a more stable and supportive environment.

Abuse Characteristics

Threats

Offenders may employ specific tactics that decrease the likelihood of disclosure. These tactics are indicative of the inherent power difference in the offender-victim relationship. Manipulation to impede disclosure may take the form of grooming or of threats (Collin-Vezina et al., 2015). Through grooming, an offender earns the victim’s trust and slowly starts to move the boundaries of acceptable behavior (Berliner & Conte, 1990; Budin & Johnson, 1989; Christiansen & Blake, 1990; Conte & Schuerman, 1987; Elliot et al., 1995; Furniss, 1991; Kaufman, Hilliker, & Daleiden, 1996; Hussey, Strom, & Singer, 1992; Lyon & Koehler, 1996; Steward, Bussey, Goodman, & Saywitz, 1993). Grooming behaviors may include gift-giving, special attention, or emphasis on the special relationship between offender and victim. Threats, on the other hand, are directly aggressive and serve to scare the child into keeping quiet about the abuse. Threats can focus on the physical safety of the child or the child’s loved ones (Elliot et al., 1995), as well as on the consequences of disclosure (i.e. “No one will believe you”), or diffusion of responsibility (i.e. “You wanted this; this is your fault.”) (Berliner & Conte, 1990).

Evidence about the “effectiveness” of threats is mixed. Some studies have shown that such threats decrease the likelihood of disclosure by victims (Easton et al., 2014; Lyon & Koehler, 1996). For example, Paine and Hansen (2001) conducted an archival study and found that disclosure delay was almost twice as long in cases where there was indication of physical

aggression of the offender against either the victim or the victim's family. However, it appears threats may also have the exact opposite effect. Gomes-Schwartz and colleagues (1990) found that of 39% of children who were confronted with offender aggression in the context of CSA disclosed immediately after the incident, whereas 43% did not disclose the abuse at all. Thus, threats may differentially affect different victims and abuse scenarios. A similar association has been observed between severity of abuse and disclosure, with victims of very severe or very mild abuse least likely to disclose (Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990). On the other hand, Arata (1998) found that in general, victims of contact abuse were less likely to disclose than victims of non-contact abuse (27 vs. 48%), which underlines that disclosure is a multi-faceted issue, affected by a variety of factors.

Victim-Perpetrator Relationship

The vast majority of CSA victims are abused by someone they know well (Berliner & Conte, 1995; Elliott et al., 1995; Faller, 1989; Finkelhor et al., 1990; Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990; Ligezinska et al., 1996; Sorenson & Snow, 1991; Furedi, 2001; Hanson, Scott, & Steffy, 1995; Wurtele, Kvaternick, & Franklin, 1992). Further, the relationship usually goes beyond familiarity, it tends to be close and significant (Paine & Hanson, 2001). As a result, the child may not be willing to disclose abuse due to loyalty to, and closeness with, the perpetrator (Berliner & Conte, 1990; Smallbone, Marshall, & Wortley, 2008). This closeness is further underlined by the fact that the perpetrator is often a parent or parental caregiver (i.e. stepparent, foster parent), or more broadly, someone who has power and authority over the child (Berliner & Conte, 1995; Faller, 1989; Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990; Sorenson & Snow, 1991). Regardless of actual closeness, the perpetrator may make him- or herself important to the child through grooming practices. Indeed,

Berliner and Conte (1990) conducted qualitative interviews with adult survivors and found that the offender filled an emptiness in the child's life, most often in terms of love and affection.

Research with clinical samples suggests that if children are sexually victimized by close relatives they are less likely to disclose (Furniss, 1991; Rieser, 1991; Summit, 1983). Unfortunately, intrafamilial abuse is more likely to last longer (Ullman, 2007), and length of abuse is inversely related to disclosure, adding an additional barrier to disclosure of intrafamilial abuse (Arata, 1998; Mendelsohn, 1994). More broadly, research has demonstrated that children who experience any form of abuse perpetrated by a parent tend to be very protective of that parent (Crittenden & Ainsworth, 1989). It has been hypothesized that disclosure of extrafamilial abuse is more likely, because of an increased likelihood that the primary caregiver will be supportive of the victim rather than the perpetrator (e.g. Lippert et al., 2009; London, Bruck, Ceci, & Shuman, 2005).

Stable Factors

Stable factors affect disclosures. Unlike static factors, stable factors can change but may take a long time to change. These factors include disclosure characteristics, or the process of disclosure itself, as well as societal perceptions of abuse.

Disclosure Characteristics

Type of Disclosure

Perhaps one of the most important findings regarding CSA disclosures is that they should be viewed as a process that unfolds over time, rather than as a one-off, discrete event (Bradley & Follingstad, 2001; Easton, 2012; Easton et al., 2014; Ullman, 2003). This definition of disclosure has implications for research, because it dictates what "counts" as disclosure. For example, is

telling anyone the same as formally reporting to the authorities (Jones, 2000)? The nature of the investigative process dictates that disclosure involves multiple occasions where victims must tell multiple people, often over an extended period of time (DeVoe & Faller, 1999; DiPietro et al, 1997; Gries et al, 1996; Keary & Fitzpatrick, 1994; Paine & Hanson, 2002).

Various studies have identified different types of disclosures. One of these is accidental disclosure, whereby other people discover the abuse through observation or through medical exams (e.g. Campis et al, 1993; Mian et al., 1986). Very young children (< 6 years) are more likely to disclose in this manner (Goodman-Brown, Edelstein, Goodman, Jones, & Gordon, 2003; Keary & Fitzpatrick, 1994). Accidental disclosures may be further separated into inappropriate statements or a display of sexualized behavior that is developmentally inappropriate (Sorenson & Snow, 1991). Some studies suggest that this indirect, behavioral disclosure is not limited to young children but is often observed in victims of all ages (Ungar, Barter, McConnell, Tutty, & Fairholm, 2009). Such behaviors may include risky behaviors, acting out, or attempts to draw attention to the situation of abuse (Hunter, 2011).

On the other hand, purposeful disclosure involves the child purposely telling someone about the abuse (Campis et al, 1993). Other types of disclosure that have been identified include prompted/elicited, when the child is questioned by others, triggered, such as in the case of repressed or forgotten memories, and no disclosure (Allagia, 2004). Also included in typologies is false denial of abuse even in the face of evidence that proves abuse (DiPietro et al, 1997; Lawson & Chaffin, 1992; Sorensen & Snow, 1991).

Recipient

Another important characteristic of disclosures that impacts the likelihood they will occur is to whom victims choose to disclose. Abrahams (1996) showed that children tell the person they think is most likely to believe them. An examination of forensic interviews with alleged CSA victims between 5 and 13 years old showed that most children disclosed to their mother (Arata, 1998; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Roesler & Wind, 1994), or to a peer (Malloy, Brubacher, & Lamb, 2013). Other studies have reported similar findings with parents or primary caregivers being the most likely recipients of first disclosures (Berliner & Conte, 1995; Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Lynch, Stern, Kom Oates, & O'Toole, 1993; Roesler & Wind, 1994). It appears that less than 10% of survivors across a variety of studies disclose abuse to a professional, highlighting the importance of family and friends in being the “first responders” to disclosures (Bunting, 2005; Cawson et al, 2000; Hartwig & Wilson, 2002, Priebe & Svedin, 2008; Wattam & Woodward, 1996).

Societal Characteristics

Society

The societal context of the victim is likely to influence the likelihood of disclosure. The next chapter will closely examine how people tend to respond to CSA disclosures. This section discusses how societal factors influence the victim’s decision to disclose or not disclose CSA. In general, victims appear worried that they will not be believed, which illustrates a concern for how society responds to victimization. Specifically, societal factors pose additional barriers for some victims.

Existing gender norms in many Western cultures socialize boys and men to be self-reliant, to look down on victims, and these norms emphasize the male heterosexual identity and sexual

prowess (Black & De Blassie, 1993; Cermak & Molidor, 1996; Dhaliwal, Gauzas, Antonowicz, & Ross, 1996; Finkelhor, Hotaling, Lewis, & Smith, 1990; Spataro et al., 2001; Watkins & Bentovim, 2000). In this hypermasculine view, to be a victim of sexual abuse is to break those gender norms, especially if the victimization occurred at the hands of another man (Mahalik, Good, & Englar-Carlson, 2003; Spataro et al., 2001). Victims are aware of these norms and seem to internalize them, as evidenced by the finding that male victims fear being labeled gay or a victim (Easton et al., 2014). Norms such as these play a role in the underreporting of CSA by male victims (Cermak & Molidor, 1996).

On the other hand, if boys are abused by female perpetrators, society tends to view this victimization as beneficial to the child, because he is gaining sexual experience (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). Indeed, most traditions view sexual interactions as an uneven desire between male and female; the male should always want sex, regardless of the circumstances, and the female should always try to avoid it if not married to the male (Cáceres, 2005).

Culture

Cultural factors may influence a victim's decision to disclose CSA. For example, some cultures emphasize purity, and to talk about any sexual practice is deemed unacceptable (Kazarian & Kazarian, 1998; Muntarhorn, 1996). Such cultural influences affect the likelihood that a victim will choose to disclose CSA (Futa et al., 2001; Toukmanian & Brouwers, 1998).

Specific examples of cultural influences on the appropriateness of discussing sexual issues can be observed across a variety of cultures. In some Arab cultures, values of modesty (*haya*) and shame (*sharam*) impede disclosures. In Spanish, shame (*pudor*), and in South Asia, honor and

respect (izzat) have a similar effect (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006). In some parts of Arab culture having a sexually abused child in the family may result in a decreased likelihood of marriage for not just the child but the child's siblings (Baker & Dwairy, 2003). In more severe cases, upon CSA disclosure, men in the family will have to physically harm the perpetrator to maintain the family's honor (Fontes, Cruz, & Tabachnick, 2001). Acculturation may have a stronger link to disclosure than ethnicity (Katerndahl, Burge, Kellogg, & Parra, 2005). Katerndahl and colleagues found that Hispanic CSA survivors were more likely to disclose their victimization to an adult if they reported greater acculturation to American culture.

All of these factors highlight challenges that individual survivors face when they consider disclosing their experiences of sexual victimization. However, even if a victim or survivor decides to disclose, the consequences of disclosure may vary widely depending on several factors that will be discussed in the next chapter.

What Happens after Disclosure?

A child's decision to disclose is influenced by the child's perception of support in the environment (Bussey & Grimbeek, 1995; Furniss, 1991; Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990; Summit, 1983). Given the many barriers that impede disclosure, if the child does choose to disclose, the response to that disclosure is vital. Unfortunately, research suggests nearly 10% of children were not believed when they told someone about the abuse (Berliner & Conte, 1995; Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990). This disbelief impedes the likelihood of intervention. One study found that even after disclosure, 17% of cases did not lead to any kind of intervention, and this was often due to disbelief on the part of the recipient of disclosure (Gomes-Schwartz et al., 1990). Shockingly, in the remainder of the cases the recipient believed the child but still failed to do anything to stop the abuse. Similarly, Roesler and Wind (1994) found that just over half (52%) of adult survivors of incest reported that following their disclosure to a parent, the abuse had continued for more than one year. These findings are disturbing and beg the question what makes some people disbelieving and unsupportive of CSA victims.

THE LEGITIMATE VICTIM

In modern, Western society, we have strong ideas about what it means to be a "legitimate" victim. The comments from Congressman Todd Akin in 2012 regarding what he called a "legitimate rape" (Charles, 2012) illustrate how such ideas influence the way in which we think about and report sexual offenses. This perception of legitimate victims affects the perceived credibility of each victim. Miller and Burgoon (1982) suggested that credibility is based on two factors: the ability of the victim to give evidence, and the trust we have that the victim is giving truthful evidence. From this viewpoint, younger children may be at a disadvantage because they

are viewed as less able to give evidence, and less accurate when they do, compared with older children (Bottoms & Goodman, 1994; Rogers, Davies, 2007). Consistent with this finding, Roesler and Wind (1994) found that younger children in their sample were especially likely to receive negative reactions to disclosure. On the other hand, children are more likely to be seen as sexually naive, so if they disclose any type of sexual experience they are more likely to be trusted because they are viewed as unable to lie about sexual experiences (Bottoms & Goodman, 1994). Further, an older child is more likely to be perceived as at least partially responsible for the abuse (Back & Lips, 1998; Bottoms & Goodman, 1994).

The idea of a “legitimate” victim may be especially damaging to male victims. Male victims are largely hidden in society, and this combined with masculine gender norms about strength appear to lower the likelihood that male CSA victims are believed when they disclose (Spiegel, 2003). Stroud (1999) found that males who disclosed received less support and protectiveness from their family than females who disclosed. Similarly, a study that conducted qualitative interviews to explore the disclosure experiences of men found that they received disbelieving and discriminating responses (Von Hohendorff, Habigzang & Koller, 2017). Because of such findings, Steever, Follette, and Naugle (2001) went so far as to suggest that nondisclosure may lead to better outcomes for male victims than disclosure.

The bias against male victims has detrimental consequences. For example, child protection services and law enforcement are less likely to follow up on a CSA case with a male victim than with a female victim (Dersch & Munsch, 1999). Clinicians display a similar bias which contributes to a lack of treatment for male CSA survivors (Feigenbaum, & DeSilva, 2000; Holmes & Offen, 1996; Holmes et al., 1997). Even if male survivors do receive treatment, the treatment content is usually tailored to women and their needs and thus may be less beneficial or even applicable to

the unique experiences of men (Hooper & Warwick, 2006). Even more troubling is the finding that a third of health professionals thought girls would experience more negative consequences of incestuous abuse than boys (Eisenberg, Owens, & Dewey, 1987).

Our preconceptions are not limited to victims themselves. How a child discloses affects the type of reaction the child may receive. For example, Lamb and Edgar-Smith (1994) showed that indirect disclosure through play or indirectly drawing attention to a situation resulted in supportive reactions from the child's caregivers, whereas a direct statement was more likely to result in negative reactions including disbelief.

People have expectations about how children should behave when disclosing sexual abuse. Specifically, both legal professionals as well as lay people think that a child's truthful disclosure must include a strong display of negative emotions (Bederian-Gardner & Goldfarb, 2014; Myers, Redlich, Goodman, Prizmich, & Imwinkelried, 1999). Regan and Baker (1998) found that children who cried when confronted with the defendant were perceived as more credible. Similarly, another study found that the more negative affect displayed by the victim, the more credible this victim was perceived to be (Cooper, Quas, & Cleveland, 2014). The nature of the displayed affect people expect from a child seems to be very particular. In a study with mock jurors, the jurors' expectations of how a truthful child victim behaves directly affected the victims' credibility (Wessel, Eilertsen, Langnes, Magnussen, & Melinder, 2016). If the child displayed positive affect, or anger, she was perceived as less credible. The perceived credibility of the child victim was predictive of a guilty verdict. Although such expectations influence legal decisions, they are unfounded. Studies have shown that child victims may display very little affect in general or they may even display positive affect during and after disclosure (Goodman et al., 1992; Sayfan, Mitchell, Goodman, Eisen, & Qin, 2008; Wood, Orsak, Murphy, & Cross, 1996).

Expectations of emotional displays generalize to adults, such that the “correctness” of the displayed emotions predicts the credibility of the victim (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Coolbear, 1992; Hess, Blairy, & Kleck, 2000; Hess et al., 2000; Rose, Nadler, & Clark, 2006; Shields & Cicchetti, 1998). Several studies have used videotaped rape disclosures of women who displayed different emotions. These studies found that the type of emotions displayed during disclosure predicted the credibility of the victim and the subsequent willingness to convict the perpetrator (Bollingmo et al., 2008; Kaufmann, Hilliker, & Daleiden, 2003; Wessel et al., 2006).

THE STEREOTYPICAL PERPETRATOR

Similar to preconceptions about victims, people have expectations about perpetrators of childhood sexual abuse. Morison and Greene (1992) conducted a study with mock jurors and found that nearly one in five of jurors supported the stereotyped idea of a CSA abuser being a “Dirty Old Man”. After completing a CSA training, parents reported believing that about a quarter of CSA was committed by people who were strangers to the child (Berrick, 1988), when in fact, only one in ten CSA cases are committed by strangers. In line with this finding, another study found that 90% of parents warned their children about strangers, with far less emphasis on people known to the child (Wurtele, Kvatemick, & Franklin, 1992).

A more recent study with student participants found similar evidence of inaccurate beliefs about perpetrators (Fuselier, Durham, & Wurtele, 2002). Participants thought perpetrators tended to be older when they start offending, but sexual perpetration usually starts in adolescence (Becker, 1994; Briggs & Hawkins, 1996). Further, compared with professionals, student participants thought that perpetrators were more likely to be educated and gay (Fuselier et al, 2002).

Perhaps the strongest expectations about CSA perpetrators focus on the perpetrator's gender. It used to be commonly believed that women did not molest children, but in recent years this assumption has been challenged (Grayston & DeLuca, 1999; Motz, 2001; Tardif, Auclair, Jacob, & Carpentier, 2005). Estimates of prevalence rates of female perpetrators taking into account the substantial problem of underreporting, suggest that about 5% of all CSA perpetrators are women (Grayston & DeLuca, 1999). About one fifth of all sexual assaults on underage boys are perpetrated by a woman (Motz, 2001; Mullen & Fergusson, 1999). Although the general, and accurate, perception is that when women sexually abuse children they usually do so not by themselves but with a man (Motz, 2001), a substantial number of women abuse children by themselves for their own enjoyment (Grayston & DeLuca, 1999).

Apart from perceptions regarding the prevalence of female perpetrators, abuse perpetrated by women is perceived differently. Existing gender roles that emphasize men's desire for sex minimize the harmfulness of sexual abuse of a boy by a woman (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1994). Studies that examine perceptions of female-perpetrated sexual abuse suggest that this type of abuse is viewed as less representative of CSA, and that male victims of female perpetrators are expected to experience fewer negative effects than victims of a male perpetrator (Broussard, Wagner, Kazelskis, 1991).

Finally, when children disclose abuse to family members, the relation between victim and perpetrator impacts the likelihood of a positive response. Family members tend to be more supportive if the disclosed CSA is extrafamilial (Stroud, 1999). Elliot and Briere (1992) found that a supportive response from the mother was more likely if the perpetrator did not live with the mother and child.

THE EFFECTS OF POSITIVE REACTIONS

Based on the literature discussed, it is evident that CSA survivors face a multitude of barriers to disclosure. Survivors often experience a conflict between remaining silent for fear of negative reactions which means they will not receive any support, or disclosing and risking those negative reactions but hopefully also gaining some support (Bolen, 2002).

Several studies have shown that survivors usually receive at least some supportive responses when they disclose. This has been found in a variety of adult samples such as students (Arata, 1998; Everill & Waller, 1995; Stroud, 1999), incest survivors (Ebert, Johnson, Foley, & Fitzgerald, 2000; Roesler & Wind, 1994), and convenience samples (Hong, Ilardi, McCluskey-Fawcett, 2000; Testa, Miller, Downs, & Panek, 1992).

A multitude of studies highlight how survivors describe such positive reactions. Typical responses include first and foremost believing the survivors. Further, a nonjudgmental response that avoids shock or disgust, listening and validation of the survivor's experience, empathy and responsiveness to the survivor's feelings, helping the survivor stop the abuse if it still ongoing, and putting the survivor in touch with other survivors have all been cited as examples of supportive responses (Armsworth, 1989; Butler, Classen, Koopman, & Spiegel, 2000; deYoung, 1994; Everson, Hunter, Runyon, Edlesohn, & Coulter, 1989; Frenken & Van Stolt, 1990; Heriot, 1996; Johnson & Kenkel, 1991; Leifer, Kilbane, & Grossman, 2001; Palmer, Brown, Rae-Grant, & Loughlin, 2001; Pintello & Zuravin, 2001; Sirles & Franke, 1989; Waller & Ruddock, 1993; Williams, 1995; Wolfe, Gentile, Michienzi, Sas, & Wolfe, 1992). Other studies have found recipients of disclosure will sometimes disclose their own history of CSA, they may ask helpful questions and emphasize that the survivor is not to blame, or they may help the survivor confront

the offender, and ensure that the survivor is safe (Ebert et al., 2000; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Testa et al., 1992).

Research has examined whether positive reactions to disclosure predict positive outcomes specifically. It appears instead that supportive reactions decrease negative consequences associated with CSA. Spaccarelli and Kim (1995) found that if children received parental support following disclosure, they displayed more resilience later. Similarly, another study suggested that support served as a protective factor and was indeed predictive of better adjustment as an adult (Testa et al., 1992).

THE EFFECTS OF NEGATIVE REACTIONS

Unfortunately, irrespective of specific circumstances, disclosures of CSA often elicit skeptical reactions from the recipient of disclosure, which can make disclosure a traumatic experience for the survivor (Arata, 1998; Berliner & Conte, 1995; Elliott & Briere, 1994; Everill & Waller, 1995). The likelihood of negative reactions is greater if children disclose compared to adults (Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Roesler & Wind, 1994). However, this may be because children are more likely to disclose to a parent than a peer, and parents are more likely to react negatively (Arata, 1998; Everill & Waller, 1995; Roesler & Wind, 1994; Stroud, 1999). Arata (1998) found no differences in functioning of women who had disclosed and those who had not, which may suggest that differences are due to the response to the disclosure rather than the disclosure itself.

Of the studies cited in the previous section on positive reactions, nearly all of them suggested that victims also encountered negative reactions. The most cited negative reaction was disbelief, closely followed by blame. Negative reactions sometimes included the recipient getting angry at or punishing the survivor. Some survivors were ignored or belittled, some were made fun

of. Recipients on occasion displayed disgust or did not seem to care at all. A lack of any action to stop the abuse was cited as a negative response, and some recipients seemed indifferent, rejecting, and avoidant. Finally, in the case of disclosure to a therapist, the therapist sometimes exploited or victimized the survivor, or over-prescribed medication instead of listening (Armsworth, 1989; Butler et al., 2000; deYoung, 1994; Ebert et al., 2000; Everson et al., 1989; Frenken & Van Stolt, 1990; Heriot, 1996; Hong et al., 2000; Johnson & Kenkel, 1991; Leifer et al., 2001; Palmer et al., 2001; Pintello & Zuravin, 2001; Sirles & Franke, 1989; Testa et al., 1992; Waller & Ruddock, 1993; Williams, 1995; Wolfe et al., 1992). More generally, studies report that recipients do not fully understand the nature of CSA, which may make them exaggerate or minimize the impact of a CSA disclosure (Jensen, Gulbrandsen, Mossige, Reichelt & Tjersland, 2005; Staller & Nelson-Gardell, 2005).

The effects of negative reactions to disclosure on the CSA survivor include worse outcomes in general (Ullman, 2007). In fact, one study found that the reaction to disclosure is a stronger predictor of subsequent psychopathology than the severity or duration of the abuse (Lange et al., 1999). Several negative outcomes have been reported, including psychopathology, self-denigration, dissociative symptoms, and borderline symptoms (Arata, 1998; Everill & Waller, 1995; Hong et al., 2000; Lange et al., 1999). One study found that women who received a negative reaction to disclosure reported more psychological problems than women without a history of CSA, women with a history of CSA who did not disclose, and women with a history of CSA who disclosed and received positive reactions (Everill & Waller, 1994). Finally, one study found no difference in adjustment of female survivors who made childhood disclosures compared to those who did disclose but received a negative reaction (Testa et al., 1992).

It is not clear what the underlying process is that makes negative reactions to disclosure harmful. Some studies show that unsupportive responses trigger anger and self-doubt about the experienced CSA (Denov, 2003). In some cases, a negative response may mean that the abuse continues even though a disclosure was made. Swingle and colleagues (2016) examined functioning of adult CSA survivors and found that if they disclosed in childhood but were subjected to continuing abuse afterward reported more problems compared to survivors who had made no disclosure at all. Such findings may be indicative of secondary betrayal that ends up doing further harm than just the abuse itself.

Given the importance of a supportive response to CSA disclosures, the next question is what makes people less likely to be supportive? Through examining the underlying processes, specific strategies to help create a safe and supportive environment for CSA disclosures may be identified.

The Recipient of CSA Disclosure

The research reviewed so far illustrates the barriers CSA victims face when considering disclosure, as well as how people tend to react to CSA disclosures. The degree to which victims who come forward face disbelief, and the prevalence of nothing being done to stop the abuse or support the victim once a disclosure is made, is highlighted by several high-profile cases that have been investigated in the last year. One of these cases was the abuse perpetrated by Doctor Larry Nassar (Levenson, 2018). A physician who worked for USA Gymnastics and Michigan State University, he has been convicted of sexually abusing more than 200 girls over a period of 25 years. The victims ranged in age from six to sixteen years old at the time of abuse. Perhaps the most startling revelation in the case was that Nassar was convicted twenty years after the first allegation was made against him. Child victims came forward, they told adults, their parents, people in charge, but nothing was done and the abuse was allowed to continue until 2015. This case, that has captured the news for the past year, is a perfect case study of the research discussed in previous sections. It shows that teaching children to report abuse is far from enough, and perhaps even hypocritical if such reports fall on deaf ears. Rather, steps must be taken to create a responsive and supportive environment where children can safely disclose and trust that they will be believed and protected. In order to create such an environment, we must first examine what makes people disbelieve a victim, and not take any action to help the child.

STEREOTYPICAL THINKING

Rape Myths

Much of the literature examining issues related to blaming victims of sexual assault for their victimization or not believing them comes from rape myth research. Rape myths have been

defined as stereotypical beliefs “that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). These myths are used by professionals and laypeople to make decisions about blame and responsibility in rape cases (Bohner et al., 2009; Temkin & Krahé, 2008). The problem with such myths is that they are universally applied, and thus dictate people’s expectations about what constitutes a rape, as well as who is to blame for it and why (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

Rape myths take many forms (Brownmiller, 1975; Bunting & Reeves, 1983; Burt, 1980; Dull & Giacomassi, 1987; Feild, 1978a; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987; Larsen & Long, 1988a; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974; Ward, 1988; Warshaw, 1988). Often, these myths are evident in people’s decisions on blame allocation. For example, factors that influence whether people will blame a rape victim for the victimization include whether the victim had consumed any alcohol (Cameron & Stritzke, 2003; Schuller & Wall, 1998), or whether she wore provocative clothes (Whatley, 1996). Other myths entail false beliefs such as many women lie about rape (Burt, 1991), a belief that has been shown to be incorrect (Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa, & Cote, 2010), or many women have a secret desire to be raped (Burt, 1980), which is neither accurate, nor should it be applied universally to justify sexual violence (Critelli & Bivona, 2008).

Generally, rape myths may be categorized as falling into one of these categories: attributions of responsibility (she asked for it; she really wanted it; he did not mean to), minimizing harm (it was not really rape; rape is a trivial event), denying rape prevalence (rape is a deviant event), or discrediting the victim (she lied) (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). From these descriptions, it is clear that rape myths indeed serve a function to deny and/or justify sexual aggression. More recently, research on rape myths has been extended to include stereotypical beliefs about who is a victim, to include male sexual victimization (e.g. Davies & Rogers, 2009).

The most consistent finding regarding individual differences in so-called Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) is that male participants are more likely to accept these myths than female participants (Ashton, 1982; Barnett & Feild, 1977; Blumberg & Lester, 1991; Borden, Karr, & Caldwell-Colbert, 1988; Brady, Chrisler, Hosdale, Osowiecki, & Veal, 1991; Dull & Giacopassi, 1987; Dye & Roth, 1990; Ellis, O'Sullivan, & Sowards, 1992; Feild, 1978a, 1978b; Fonow, Richardson, & Wemmerus, 1992; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987, 1988; Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987; Larsen & Long, 1988a; Margolin, Miller, & Moran, 1989; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Reilly, Lott, Cadwell, & DeLuca, 1992; Spanos, Dubreuil, & Gwynn, 1991-1992; Tieger, 1981; Ward, 1988). Specific scenarios have been used and similar results have been obtained. The gender difference in blame attribution emerges whether the victim is male (Davies et al., 2009; Whatley & Riggio, 1993; White & Kurpius, 2002) or female (Furnham & Boston, 1996; Sims, Noel, & Maisto, 2007), and straight (Burt & DeMello, 2002; Mitchell et al., 1999) or gay (Davies et al., 2001; Davies & Hudson, 2011). The gender difference is evident in cases of stranger (Bell et al., 1994; Davies, Rogers, & Bates 2008; Grubb & Harrower, 2009), date rape (Black & Gold, 2008; Proite et al., 1993), and marital rape (Ewoldt, Monson, & Langhinrischsen-Rohling, 2000). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) posed that endorsement of rape myths serves a differential purpose for men and women; they allow men to justify rape, and women to minimize the perceived likelihood of their own victimization. However, due to women's greater likelihood of becoming a victim, they may be less likely to endorse such myths.

Other individual differences in RMA have been identified. In a meta-analysis, Suarez and Gadalla (2010) found that men were significantly more likely to endorse rape myths than women across 37 studies. Other associated factors were race, with participants identifying as "White" less likely to endorse rape myths. Finally, they found a link with education that suggested RMA was

linked to lower levels of education. Other studies included in this meta-analysis have examined how RMA is related to other oppressive beliefs such as racism, ageism, and classism (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). RMA tends to show a positive association with these oppressive beliefs. On the other hand, higher levels of social competence and positively identifying with one's own race were linked to lower levels of RMA. Finally, and perhaps not surprisingly, higher RMA has been demonstrated to be strongly linked to self-reported sexual aggression as well as sexual coercion (e.g. Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006; Koss, Leonard, Beezley, & Oros, 1985; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; Murphy, Coleman, Haynes, 1986; Reilly et al., 1992). Individual differences in RMA have been demonstrated to bias the processing of information both in ambiguous (Frese, Moya & Megias, 2004) as well as straightforward rape cases (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003). The fact that biases play a role even in straightforward cases highlights the importance of understanding not just why these biases occur, but how we can change them.

CSA Myths

Recent research has suggested that harmful, stereotypical myths about sexual assault are not limited to adult victims, as illustrated by so-called Child Sexual Abuse Myths (CSAMs; Cromer & Goldsmith, 2010). A key theme is the attribution of some of the blame for the abuse to the victim, meaning the perpetrator of the abuse is not entirely responsible (Back & Lips, 1998; Bottoms & Goodman, 1994; Broussard & Wagner, 1988; Davies & Rogers, 2009). Examples of specific myths include ideas such as children are likely to sexually seduce adults, children must actively resist abuse for sexual activity between adult and child to be labeled as abuse, and if children did not want the abuse to happen they would tell someone so that it would stop (Collings, 2002). Based on the literature discussed so far, it should be evident that these ideas are inaccurate

and harmful. As with rape myths, the endorsement of CSA myths has far-reaching consequences. Myth endorsement has been linked to not believing victims (Cromer & Freyd, 2007, 2009), to blaming victims (Kopper, 1996), and to legal decision-making in favor of the perpetrator in the context of jury trials (Taylor, 2007).

Efforts have been made to categorize these myths in order to assess the functions they serve. Collings (1997) created a scale to measure endorsement of CSA myths. The three dimensions of this scale illustrate the purpose these myths serve. The dimensions are blame diffusion (“Children who act in a seductive manner must be seen as being at least partly to blame if an adult responds to them in a sexual way.”), denial of abusiveness (“Sexual contact between an adult and a child, which is wanted by the child and which is physically pleasurable for the child cannot really be described as being “abusive”.), and restrictive stereotypes (“Children raised by gay or lesbian couples face a greater risk of being sexually abused than children raised by heterosexual couples.”).

This scale has been used in several studies, and findings tend to indicate that people do not endorse CSA myths (Cromer & Freyd, 2007; Machia & Lamb, 2009; Rheingold et al, 2007) but there seems to be variability among respondents. Similar to rape myth endorsement, clear gender differences emerge in CSA myth endorsement with men more likely to endorse these myths than women (Back & Lips, 1998; Davies & Rogers, 2009; Graham, Rogers, & Davies, 2007; Rogers & Davies, 2007).

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR MYTH ENDORSEMENT

As mentioned previously, rape and CSA myths can be thought of as stereotypical beliefs. Indeed, research has drawn several parallels between stereotypical beliefs surrounding sexual assault and those surrounding stigmatized minorities in society. For example, Lonsway &

Fitzgerald (1994) stated that any case of rape (and similarly, any case of CSA) may or may not fit with existing stereotypes. Unfortunately, the cases that do conform are highly-publicized and thus receive much attention adding to the availability heuristic. Cases that do not fit existing stereotypes are more likely to be overlooked. This discrepancy in reporting further skews public beliefs about sexual assault.

A sociocultural perspective on stereotyping applies to CSA and rape victims. Eagley and Kit (1987) wrote that by observing people who are members of the stereotyped group, stereotypes are formed about that entire group. Eagley and Kit further posed that if observers have little or no interaction with members of the group in question, they will need to rely on media reporting to create stereotypes. Indeed, this seems to be the case with both CSA and rape myths.

Research on stereotype endorsement suggests that exposure to the stereotyped group will decrease reliance on such biases and heuristics. Several studies demonstrate that victims of sexual assault may be characterized as a stigmatized minority to whom such stereotypes apply. A study examined accurate CSA beliefs among different groups of people and found that mental health professionals held more accurate beliefs than students, teachers and pediatricians (Hazzard & Rupp, 1986). Similarly, other studies found that community mental health workers are less likely to endorse rape myths, whereas police officers are more likely to endorse rape myths (Feild, 1978a; Ward, 1988). It has been hypothesized that this difference is due to differential exposure to sexual assault victims. This idea is further supported by research that has demonstrated that people who know a rape survivor display lower levels of rape myth endorsement (Ellis et al., 1992; Gilmartin-Zena, 1987), although other studies have not replicated this finding (Borden, Karr, & Caldwell-Colbert, 1988; Burt, 1980; Wiener, Wiener, & Grisso, 1989). Myth endorsement may be best

characterized as a multi-faceted process with several underlying factors influencing the likelihood that endorsement occurs. Knowing a victim may be one such factor.

Two theories that have sought to explain victim-blaming and its associated problems will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Just-world-hypothesis

The first theory that has sought to explain victim-blaming in particular, but myth endorsement more generally, was based on Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. The basic tenet of this theory is that people will change their cognitions if these do not match their actions. Lerner (1965) applied this idea to other people's actions to form the just-world-hypothesis. This theory states that people like to think that everyone gets what they deserve. In holding onto this belief, people are able to exert an illusion of control over seemingly random and chaotic situations that are part of daily life. If someone's effort does not match the outcome, people are motivated to change their perceptions of the situation so that effort and outcome are balanced.

These just-world-beliefs have been applied to victims of crime. If someone is victimized, following cognitive dissonance theory, one of two things can happen to restore balance between effort (behavior) and outcome (victimization) of the victim. First, an attempt can be made by the observer to restore justice to the victim. If this is not possible, or if doing so carries too great a cost, the second option is to reinterpret the situation in such a manner that the victim deserved to be victimized. This reinterpretation has been shown to involve victim-derogation across several situations (e.g. Lerner, 1978).

In a series of studies, Lerner and Simmons (1966) explored specific conditions under which just-world-beliefs may manifest in this manner. For example, in an experimental paradigm where a participant observed someone receiving a shock (the victim), they were given the opportunity to

assign the victim to a different condition where the victim would not receive shocks (Lerner & Simmons, 1966). If participants had this option, if they could restore justice, most of them did. In the control condition where the participants had no option to reassign the victim, participants were more likely to derogate the victim. In a third condition, where participants were told the victim had volunteered to receive the shocks, participants rated the victim even more negatively. This display of reducing cognitive dissonance in such a manner has been replicated across different populations (Simons & Piliavin, 1972; Sorrentino & Hardy, 1974).

Another aspect Lerner (1971) investigated was if the process underlying victim derogation was actually to reduce the participant's own guilt. Several earlier studies had demonstrated this phenomenon when people had a direct role in another's suffering (Davis & Jones, 1960; Glass, 1964). Even when participants had nothing to do with causing the victim's suffering, derogation still occurred. Lerner hypothesized that more broadly, derogation would only occur if the participant felt that they could somehow influence whether or not the victim had to undergo shocks and a very minimal sense of control was enough to trigger derogation.

Interestingly, in one of these experiments, after having been presented with a victimization scenario, participants were instructed to imagine themselves as the victim (Lerner, 1978). Under these circumstances, participants did not derogate the victim, but they subsequently reported more aggressive mood than control participants who had not received those instructions. This aggression led Lerner to hypothesize that victim derogation did not occur not because of empathy but because of a concern for the self (Chaikin & Darley, 1973).

Just-world-beliefs have been used to explain rape or CSA myth endorsement. Brownmiller (1975) observed the large-scale trivialization or even denial of the prevalence of rape, despite large numbers of women being affected. She suggested this was due to shifting the blame from the

perpetrator to the victim of the rape, in line with just-world-beliefs. In doing so, people did not need to accept and confront the reality of a high prevalence of rape. Indeed, stronger just-world-beliefs are associated with higher attributions of blame to the victim of a crime (Broussard & Wagner, 1988; Kleinke & Meyer, 1990).

Given the early experiments described, it seems unlikely that such just-world-beliefs would apply in scenarios where the observer hears about something that has happened to an unfamiliar victim at an earlier point in time, as is usually the case with rape or CSA. To examine this, Jones and Aronson (1973) conducted a mock juror study with a defendant who had, dependent on the condition, been accused of raping a virgin, a married woman, or a divorcee. Given the era, and confirmed by pilot-testing, the virgin was perceived as most respectable, and the divorcee as least respectable. Interestingly, results showed that participants gave harsher punishments if the defendant had raped the virgin compared to the divorcee, but simultaneously, they found the divorcee less responsible for the rape than the virgin or the married woman. The authors hypothesized that the idea that innocent, respectable women could be the victim of such a violent, random crime, threatened their just-world-beliefs, which in turn led to them derogating (or blaming) the victim for the rape. This finding seems counterintuitive but has been explained in terms of causal schemata in the attribution of blame (Kelley, 1973). More extreme events require multiple necessary, not just sufficient causal explanations. In other words, several causes must be present for the event to occur, rather than one sufficient cause in isolation. This perspective is especially relevant as it applies to CSA cases, which are extreme events by nature, and thus may require more causes than just the perpetrator being at fault.

Finally, derogation has indeed been shown to be less likely to occur if the participant is given an option to “right the wrong”. In a study by Lincoln & Levinger (1972), participants were

informed of an attack of a policeman on an innocent person. If participants were given the opportunity to file a complaint against the policeman, they rated the victim more positively than if they were not given this opportunity.

More recent research has attempted to explain just-world-beliefs in terms of risk perception. Building on earlier research that showed people were more likely to blame victims if they felt threatened or that the same fate could befall them, another study found that just-world-beliefs were positively linked to viewing the world as threatening (Lambert, Burroughs, & Nguyen, 1999). Lambert and colleagues hypothesized that these beliefs perhaps serve as a buffer that is only activated when the individual is under threat. This is an interesting notion that I will return to later.

Defensive Attribution Theory

Building on the just-world-hypothesis, Shaver (1970) posed that the theory could be broadened by considering how perceived similarity between observer and victim affects subsequent judgment. He proposed the Defensive Attribution Theory (DAT) to expand on the just-world-hypothesis. Similar to the just-world-hypothesis, DAT holds that people attempt to decrease their perceived vulnerability to a seemingly random event by reinterpreting the event so that it becomes avoidable. Doing so usually occurs by defensively attributing blame to the victim. This process is defensive because it protects the observer from the possibility of experiencing the same negative event as the victim. It allows the observer to maintain a sense of control over his or her fate (Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994; Thornton, 1992).

Within this theory, Shaver (1970) showed that some circumstances are more likely to trigger these defensive attributions than others. If the person observing the negative event perceives him- or herself as similar to the victim, it would not make sense for the observer to

attribute blame to the victim. If the observer were to attribute blame to the victim under those circumstances, it would be too much like attributing blame to him- or herself (e.g. Gold, Landerman, & Bullock, 1977). This might be an explanation for the lower endorsement of rape myths among women compared with men. Given this similarity effect, it is important to determine the factors that contribute to perceived similarity to predict how different people may respond to a crime scenario.

The DAT encompasses two distinct types of perceived similarity; situational and personal. Situational similarity refers to the likelihood that the observer would encounter a similar situation as the victim. For example, if something bad happened to the victim while visiting a particular location, or engaging in a certain activity, and the observer could see him- or herself engaging in similar behavior, this would constitute situational similarity. On the other hand, personal similarity refers to the degree to which the observer perceives him- or herself as sharing characteristics such as gender, age, or ethnicity with the victim (Bell et al., 1994; Dexter, Penrod, Linz, & Saunders, 1997; Elkins, Phillips, & Konopaske, 2002; Kouabenan, Gilibert, Medina, & Bouzon, 2001; Wilson & Jonah, 1988).

These two types of similarity have been demonstrated to operate in different ways. Situational similarity determines the level of threat to the observer; if situational similarity is high, the observer is likely to encounter a similar situation that is associated with the negative outcome. However, only when personal similarity is high is the defensive attribution activated to attribute blame to or away from the victim (Shaver, 1970; Thornton, 1992).

Explanations for the decision to attribute blame to or away from the victim draw from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). If the victim is perceived as similar to the

observer, the observer will view the victim as part of the in-group and thus will favor this victim and not attribute blame for the negative event (Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Turner et al., 1987). In doing so, observers avoid being blamed if something similar happens to them in the future. If the personal similarity between observer and victim is perceived as low, the opposite process of out-group prejudice will be activated, and the observer will blame the victim for the negative event (Bell et al., 1994; Dexter et al., 1997; Elkins et al., 2002; Kouabenan et al., 2001; Locke & Richman, 1999; Shaver, 1970; Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Turner et al., 1987).

Personal similarity as defined by social identity theory may be based on a variety of demographic factors, but one of the most consistent factors appears to be gender (Arce, Farina, & Sobral, 1996; Baldwin & Kleinke, 1994; Bell et al., 1994; Dexter et al., 1997; Elkins et al., 2002; Kouabenan et al., 2001). Gender similarity in relation to defensive attributions has been studied extensively in research on perceptions of rape. Women are more at risk of being a victim of rape, meaning they are more likely to identify with the victim and as a result, to deem rape as a more serious crime than men (Bell et al., 1994; Dexter et al., 1997; Feather, 1996). Interestingly, and in line with predictions made based on DAT, female observers are more likely to attribute blame to male victims than to female victims, presumably because they identify with the female, but not as much with the male victims.

These studies suggest that defensive attributions are not limited to victims but may extend to perpetrators. Indeed, if the observer perceives him- or herself as similar to the perpetrator of a crime, the observer expresses more lenient attitudes toward the perpetrator (Feather, 1996). Back and Lips (1998) hypothesized that the reliable gender differences found in victim-blaming research, even as it relates to CSA, are a reflection of DAT, with men more likely to perceive similarities between themselves and the usually male perpetrator. More recent studies have found

a similar effect when assessing whether perceived similarity indeed affects attributions of blame (e.g. Kahn et al, 2011). These studies found that male observers attribute more blame to female victims than female observers, because they do not identify with the female victim to the same extent that female observers do (Davies et al., 2009; Donovan, 2007; Kelly, 2009). These findings extend beyond rape to cases of CSA (Bell et al., 1994; Muller, Caldwell, & Hunter, 1994). Using an eye-tracking paradigm, one study found that higher RMA was associated with greater attendance to, and preference for, information about the victim (Sussenbach, Eyssel, Rees, & Bohner, 2017). This finding suggests that attention is shifted from the perpetrator to the victim, presumably to find characteristics to use to attribute blame to the victim.

Another extension of DAT that is relevant to the present research concerns attempts to enhance empathy. In one study observers were asked to think about meeting a rape survivor, with the expectation that this would subsequently increase their empathy for a victim (Ellis et al., 2002). Results indicated that this was indeed the case for the female observers; their empathy and support of the victim increased after thinking about meeting a survivor. However, the opposite effect emerged in male observers, who were less supportive and more likely to accept rape myths following the contemplation exercise. The authors hypothesized that imagining a survivor was perceived as a threat to the male observers, and as a result they blamed the victim more. This hypothesis is in line with research that suggests threatening an individual makes the individual “cling” more strongly to his or her in-group (Feshbach & Singer, 1957). Another study has since replicated the observed gender difference in blame attributions under threatening circumstances (Elkins et al., 2002).

Additional research that supports the Defensive Attribution Theory comes from studies that show that male observers are especially likely to derogate male victims who they perceive to

be gay (Davies, Pollard, & Archer, 2001; Ford, Liwag-McLamb, & Foley, 1998; Mitchell et al., 1999). Researchers hypothesized that homophobic attitudes lead to a defensive attribution, whereby the male observer must distance himself from the gay male victim.

These two theories help explain why men may be less supportive and more skeptical in response to a disclosure of sexual violence than women. Through identification with a usually male perpetrator of sexual violence, defensive attributions may be activated that will lead some men to allocate blame from the perpetrator to the victim of the violence. In a similar vein, women will be more likely to identify with a usually female victim of sexual violence, and to perceive themselves as more likely to be in a similar position, which will lead them to respond in a more supportive manner. The aim of this study is to explore these defensive attributions in light of recent societal developments that have made the conversation about sexual violence prominent and public. The following chapter will discuss these recent developments and explain how defensive attributions may interact with societal change to produce responses that we see in the media, and in a broader political context. More specifically, how this affects survivors of sexual victimization and what we may do to counteract the negative societal response will be explored.

The Present Research

The previous sections have reviewed the prevalence and consequences of CSA and the importance of disclosure. The various factors that influence disclosures and create barriers for victims in specific scenarios have been discussed. Static and stable factors including characteristics of perpetrator and victim, as well as disclosure specifics and societal aspects all impact the likelihood of disclosure, and the responses to a disclosure once it is made. Finally, the recipient of the disclosure was presented as a more dynamic factor that may be more subject to change or manipulation than the other factors.

A review of rape and CSA myths highlighted inaccurate and stereotypical beliefs about these crimes, and a gender difference in endorsement of these beliefs. Lastly, two theories were discussed that seek to explain endorsement of myths associated with victim-blaming and responsibility. The just-world-hypothesis suggests that people like to believe that everyone gets what they deserve. When victimization appears random, the observer who has just-world-beliefs will blame and derogate the victim to restore balance between victim behavior and outcome. Defensive Attribution Theory (DAT) expands on this view to include the importance of similarity between the observer and victim. If observers perceive themselves as similar to the victim, they will be less likely to allocate blame to the victim than if they do not view themselves as similar. On the opposite end, if observers perceive more similarity with the perpetrator they will also allocate blame to the victim. One of the most reliable similarity characteristics that has emerged is gender.

The aim of the present study is to examine the circumstances that will make a recipient of disclosure more or less supportive, using the theoretical framework of Defensive Attribution Theory. The focus will be on adult CSA survivors who disclose sexual abuse that they experienced

during childhood. Several studies have shown that barriers to disclosure persist throughout adulthood, and that survivors are still likely to receive negative reactions upon disclosure (Hunter, 2011; Ullman, 2007).

In the past year, there has been increased awareness of, and conversation about sexual assault due to the #metoo movement. For this reason, this movement will be used as a backdrop to assess the effects of increased awareness on responses to CSA disclosures, and circumstances that may be manipulated to increase the likelihood of a positive, supportive response.

#METOO

The #metoo movement gained widespread attention on Twitter in October 2017 as an attempt to highlight the prevalence of sexual violence and to give a voice to victims of sexual violence particularly in the workplace, many of whom had stayed silent before (Smartt, 2018). Initially, the hashtag was mainly used as a way to empower female victims of sexual violence and to show them that they are not alone (Ohlheiser, 2017), but it has since broadened to include male victims of sexual assault (Snyder & Lopez, 2017). In the first 24 hours, 4.7 million people shared the hashtag on Facebook, and 45% of Facebook users had at least one friend who shared the hashtag (Santiago & Criss, 2017). The hashtag trended on Twitter in at least 85 countries (Strum, 2017), showing the international impact of the movement.

Its creator, counselor Tarana Burke, has since explained that her inspiration for #metoo came from a young girl who disclosed sexual abuse perpetrated by her mother's boyfriend to her (Santiago & Criss, 2017). Ms. Burke shared her experience of watching the girl struggle to find the words and how she then interrupted the girl to refer her to a more suitable counselor. She described the pain in the girl's expression upon being rejected, and how she felt powerless to say what she wanted to say; "me too".

Since its rise, responses to the movement have not been universally positive. Criticisms of #metoo take several forms. For example, people have questioned what its ultimate purpose is (Wilhelm, 2017), and to what extent it is succeeding at any goal. Further, some people have characterized the movement as a witch hunt, and some think the focus should be only on the worst types of abuse rather than on mere misconduct, to prevent the public from becoming desensitized (Stephens, 2017). Some have criticized the movement for putting the burden of having to come forward on the victims, with a risk of retraumatizing them in the process (Gerson, 2017). Finally, concerns have been expressed regarding the possibility of false allegations and blaming accused perpetrators without due process (e.g. Cromwell, 2017; Stephens, 2017). Since its start, #metoo has inspired a dialogue and a myriad of opinions on either side, but all of the above-cited sources are editorials or opinion pieces rather than scientific publications.

A search for #metoo on EBSCO host including all databases since October 2017 yields 2452 articles; 606 news articles, 559 magazine articles, 110 trade publications. Eleven articles were published in scientific journals, and all of these discussed how the movement may apply in a specific professional context (i.e. medical, politics). To date, no study has explored the impact of #metoo in an empirical manner. The movement has facilitated conversation about sexual violence and raised awareness about its prevalence. The question is whether this increased awareness will make people more receptive to, and supportive of disclosure of sexual violence in general, and Childhood Sexual Abuse in particular.

Myth endorsement is susceptible to environmental influences. Several studies have reported that exposing participants to violent or sexual content increases RMA (Donnerstein, Berkowitz, & Linz, 1986; Garcia, 1985; Intons-Peterson, Roskos-Ewoldsen, Thomas, Shirley, & Blut, 1989; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988), but not reliably so (Eysenck, 1978; Linz et al.,

1988; Malamuth & Check, 1984, 1985; Mayerson & Taylor, 1987; Padgett & Brislin-Slutz, 1989; Peterson & Pfof, 1989; Russell, Horn, & Huddle, 1988; St. Lawrence & Joyner, 1991). Malamuth and Check (1985) concluded that sexual or violent content increases RMA endorsement if it is portrayed as having romantic or other positive outcomes.

This effect is not limited to rape myths or, more distressingly, to violent or sexual content. For example, one study had college students watch either a neutral advertisement, one that sexualized adult women, or one that sexualized women who were presented as childlike. Watching the latter two advertisements was associated with higher subsequent CSA myth endorsement (Machia & Lamb, 2009). This finding is concerning because it shows that explicit violent or sexual content is not required to increase CSA myth endorsement at least temporarily, and such content is prominent in modern society (Ward, Reed, Trinh, & Foust, 2014). It is not clear whether this increase in myth endorsement persists with prolonged exposure.

The negative effects of sexualized or violent media are an example of environmental influences that, at least temporarily, shape people's beliefs about rape and CSA. Does the #metoo movement have a similar effect, but in a positive direction? Drawing on cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994), repeated exposure to messages or reports such as #metoo accounts should gradually change beliefs about sexual violence. However, from observing social media trends, and the national conversation about sexual violence following the testimony of Dr. Christine Ford and Judge (now Justice) Brett Kavanaugh, it would appear that the American people are more divided in their views on sexual violence than ever before and the divide occurs along gender lines (Montanaro, 2018). How do we explain this polarization? One possible explanation lies in the theories discussed in the previous chapter. Following from the just-world-

hypothesis and Defensive Attribution Theory, #metoo may create a dual effect of empowering through raised awareness while also threatening and triggering defensive attributions.

EMPOWERMENT VS THREAT

Research has demonstrated that when people feel threatened because of their membership of a social category, they feel more strongly connected to that category, especially if it represents a minority in society (e.g. Brown & Ross, 1982; Grant, 1992). Social categories people readily identify with include ethnicity and gender (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Although women have traditionally represented a minority group, initiatives such as the #metoo movement may operate in a manner that makes women feel more empowered in a way they have not before. Based on research on social identity, we may expect that because of this shift, some men will feel a stronger identification with other men, including those accused of sexual violence, when they are confronted with accounts or repostings of #metoo. The increased attention on mostly women's experiences of sexual victimization may serve as a threat that triggers some male observers to make defensive attributions about blame when presented with #metoo accounts. Men are being called out in a very public manner about past transgressions, some of which occurred decades ago. Famous, powerful men have been taken down by accusations as victims are encouraged to speak up and speak out about their experiences. This sudden, radical shift in perspective may cause men to feel that they are at an increased risk of being accused in a similar manner, for something they maybe did not view as a sexual transgression. However, the threat of being accused does not have to be based on truth to be perceived as threatening.

An aspect of the #metoo movement that may be especially salient is the perceived prevalence of false allegations. A commonly held view is that women and children lie about experiences of sexual victimization (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994)

pose that this idea is maintained by highly publicized cases of false allegations in the media. Frontline law enforcement professionals tend to claim that false rape allegations are very common even though empirical research indicates this is not the case (Brown et al. 2007; 2010; Gregory and Lees 1996; Kelly et al. 2005; Rumney 2006; Temkin 2002). Research on the prevalence of false allegations shows mixed findings because there is no consensus about what constitutes a “false” allegation, and documenting procedures for such cases are not uniform (Norton & Grant, 2008). Weiser (2017) points out that in the criminal justice system a false allegation is classed as such if a claim is determined to be “unfounded”. This category however includes baseless cases, which means a case does not meet the legal definition of sexual violence, or that the accuser may genuinely believe he or she was victimized but this later turns out not to be the case (Weiser, 2017). It appears then that false allegations within the criminal justice system represent only a subset of these cases where an intentional, false accusation is made. Apart from official classifications, the decision to categorize an allegation as false may depend on other factors such as unwillingness to cooperate with an investigation, alcohol use on the part of the victim at the time of the assault (e.g. Archambault & Lonsway, 2012; Lisak et al., 2010), or any of the stereotypical beliefs about sexual violence that have been discussed in previous chapters. As a result, what may be classified as a false allegation may actually be an honest allegation warranting investigation. Despite this ambiguity, experts agree that false allegations are not common or prevalent, and that the much bigger problem is unreported cases of sexual violence (Koss, 1988; National Victim Center, 1992). With regard to false allegations as a threat, it is imported to point out that most cases of false allegations involve an allegation of stranger rape, presumably because such cases are more in line with people’s stereotypical expectations of sexual violence, and thus may be perceived as more credible (Kelly, 2010; O’Neal, Spohn, Tellis, & White, 2014) found that a perpetrator was named

by a victim in no more than 18% of false allegations, and arrests in these cases represented only 2.8%, with 0.9% leading to a conviction. This is not to say that false allegations are negligible, but clearly they do not present the widespread prevalence the current narrative in media outlets may lead us to believe. Regardless of any factual basis, the perceived prevalence of false allegations is likely to play a role in an individual's response to a disclosure, and men in particular may be more sensitive to this issue as it could be perceived as a threat.

Exposure to sexual violence may moderate these predictions, whether through own experiences or those of close others. Nuttall and Jackson (1994) found that people who had experienced CSA were more likely to believe an allegation of CSA than those who had not. Similarly, Cromer and Freyd (2007) reported that men who had not experienced an interpersonal trauma in childhood were less likely to believe CSA allegations than those who had experienced a trauma. More recently, Miller and Cromer (2015) conducted a fascinating study to examine whether proximity to trauma increased the likelihood of believing a CSA disclosure. Proximity to trauma was defined as knowing someone who had experienced an interpersonal trauma or having a personal experience with interpersonal trauma. This hypothesis fits with Defensive Attribution Theory to explain gender differences and expands on it. First, the study showed that women tend to have closer proximity to trauma than men, through their own experiences or the experiences of others close to them. A similar difference in proximity was observed in an earlier study (Iverson et al., 2012). In other words, women are more likely to have been, or to know a victim, and thus are more likely to identify with a female victim in a CSA allegation. Men's proximity to trauma is lower. Second, after controlling for proximity to interpersonal trauma, gender differences were no longer significant. This finding suggests that the explanation for the reliably demonstrated gender differences with regards to believing CSA victims may be due to exposure to interpersonal trauma,

or to others who have experienced such trauma. This finding poses an interesting question with regards to the #metoo movement; does the raised awareness increase people's proximity to sexual violence thereby making them more supportive of disclosures from survivors? Gouldner (1960) coined the term reciprocity to describe a social interaction whereby one person shares something, and then the recipient of that information shares something in return. One study found that this reciprocity was viewed by CSA survivors as permission to tell if someone else told first (Petronio, Reeder, Hecht, & Ros-Mendoza, 1996). It appears then that this process may be operating with CSA disclosures, and it may now be magnified by the #metoo movement. It is evident in the very content of the term; me too.

SELF-AFFIRMATION

A self-defensive response impedes the ability to change attitudes toward victims and abuse. However, several studies have explored how threats to the self can be alleviated to facilitate positive change. Self-affirmation theory's basic tenet is that people strive to maintain a consistent view of themselves as moral and just (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Steele, 1988). Self-affirmations then, are tactics used to maintain this view. Self-affirmation has been shown to facilitate participants' willingness to attend to information that may be threatening to the self (Cohen et al., 2000; Nelson, Fuller, Choi, & Lyubomirsky, 2014; Schumann, 2014) and thus it may be a particularly useful tactic to intervene with a defensive response to a threat.

This theory has been widely applied in health research, to enhance individual willingness to seek treatment (e.g. Lannin, Vogel, Guyll, & Seidman, 2018). Because needing to seek help may be perceived as a weakness, admitting that one needs help may be threatening to the individual's identity (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982; Lannin, Vogel, Brenner, Abraham, & Heath, 2016). In this case, the threat to the individual is self-stigmatization, and self-

affirmation is used to prevent the negative consequences of this threat (Lannin et al., 2016). Self-affirmation strategies are used to diminish the threat and increase the likelihood that the individual will seek the necessary help.

The same strategy has been employed in social psychological research. Following self-affirmation, people were more likely to help other people in need (Kim & McGill, 2017). Awareness of other people's pain may be ignored to avoid feeling uncomfortable (Batson et al., 1997; Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, & Isen, 1983), but by affirming the self, ignoring people's pain would be unacceptable. A series of studies showed that self-affirmation increased participants' willingness to help others and it made participants more likely to pay attention to information about other people's struggles (Kim & McGill, 2017).

Self-affirmation may be especially helpful in situations where people's identity or group identity is threatened. For example, Phillips and Lowery (2015) found that when white participants were exposed to information that highlights white privilege, these participants exaggerated the personal struggles they had endured to a greater extent than white participants who had not read this information. Interestingly, this effect was reversed if participants engaged in self-affirmation before reading the information. This finding is especially relevant to the current research as #metoo may be interpreted as a similar highlighting of another group's struggles (women), which may cause men to defensively emphasize their own struggles, perhaps in the form of the risk of being falsely accused of sexual violence. It would be expected then, that self-affirmation may prevent this defensive process from being triggered.

Experimentally, the most common manner in which self-affirmation is implemented is by having people write about their personal beliefs or values. In doing so, they remind themselves of being a moral, just person, and thus they are subsequently less likely to be affected by a threat to

their personal integrity (e.g. Master et al., 2009). Participants have also been observed to be less defensive following self-affirmation (see Sherman & Cohen, 2006 for a review). Perhaps a balanced message that incorporates self-affirmation while continuing to raise awareness about the prevalence of sexual violence will be more likely to yield the desired change in attitudes about sexual violence, and thus facilitate a safe environment for victims and survivors to come forward.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & HYPOTHESES STUDY 1

The aim of the present research is to explore the effects of the #metoo movement on people's responses to CSA disclosures of adult survivors. The key question is whether increased awareness of sexual violence is perceived as a threat, and/or if it is able to increase perceived proximity to trauma which may make people more supportive. These questions will be assessed over the course of two studies. The specific goal of the first study is to explore exposure to and perceptions of the #metoo movement and to examine the role proximity to victimization or perpetration plays in shaping responses to a CSA disclosure.

Study 1

1. What are participants' perceptions of, and exposure to the #metoo movement?

H1: The majority of participants will have had some exposure to the #metoo movement either through personal experience or through close others.

H2: Participants will have formed an opinion of the #metoo movement.

2. Does exposure to a video about #metoo affect participants' perceptions of CSA?

H3: After watching the #metoo video, male participants will display more negative perceptions of CSA than female participants.

3. Does proximity to victimization or perpetration affect participants' perceptions of CSA?

H4: Participants with a proximity to victimization will have more positive views.

H5: Participants with a proximity to perpetration will have more negative views.

Study 1: Methods

PARTICIPANTS

Participant recruitment occurred through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Use of MTurk in this study was preferential to college students because college students may represent a well-adjusted, homogeneous population that is not representative of the general population (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Further, data collected on MTurk is found to be equally reliable as data collected through student participant pools (Buhrmester et al., 2011) with some studies suggesting that MTurk participants may be more attentive than more traditional samples (e.g. Hauser & Schwarz, 2015).

A power analysis indicated that 200 participants were required to detect the desired effect size ($R^2=0.12$). To account for missing data and participants who may fail attention checks, 250 participants were recruited for this study. Participants were compensated \$0.80 for their participation.

DESIGN AND PROPOSED ANALYSES

Study 1 was a between-subjects design with several covariates. The between-subjects variable was the #metoo video manipulation, which had two conditions: #metoo and control. Another predictor variable was perceptions of #metoo, that were scored on a continuous range from very positive to very negative perceptions. Proximity to victimization and proximity to perpetration were entered as covariates. Finally, participant gender was also included as a covariate.

The dependent variables in this study were belief in the vignette (continuous, expected non-normal), allocation of blame to victim, perpetrator, and mother (continuous, expected non-normal),

perception of harm (categorical), punishment (categorical), and avoidability (continuous). Finally, donation of earnings (binary).

MATERIALS

#metoo Questionnaire

In order to assess exposure to, and perceptions of, the #metoo movement, a brief questionnaire was developed. The first four questions ask about exposure to the movement. Participants were asked if they heard about the movement and if they reposted the status themselves. Following this, they were asked if they knew someone who reposted the status (proximity to victimization), and if they knew someone who did something that might make someone else repost the status (proximity to perpetration). They were then asked to think about the person who was victimized and who perpetrated that they felt closest to. The Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron, Aron & Smollan, 1992), was included to assess the degree of perceived closeness. Participants were presented with a series of seven images of two circles that overlap increasingly. They were then asked to choose which of the circles best represents their closeness to the person they know who was victimized or who did something. A score of 1 indicates no overlap, whereas a score of 7 indicates near complete overlap.

The subsequent questions ask about perceptions of and feelings toward the movement. Perceptions include six items (three positive, three negative) that are scored on a 1-5 Likert scale (1= “Strongly Disagree”, 5= “Strongly Agree). Feelings include six feelings (three positive, three negative) that are scored on a 1-5 Likert scale (1= “Strongly Disagree”, 5= “Strongly Agree). The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

#metoo Manipulation

The following 5-minute video from Time Magazine about the Silence Breakers and the #metoo movement were the manipulation for the #metoo condition [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkR8GY2YBAU>]. It includes various accounts from men and women of different ethnicities and with different backgrounds. It discusses the importance of giving a voice to victims and it encourages viewers to stand up against sexual violence. For the control condition, a 5-minute video about the Emperor penguins in the Antarctic was watched [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c7M686pXr6M>]. Three questions were asked after the viewing of either video to ensure participants were paying attention.

PANAS – Short Form

The short form of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) assesses positive and negative emotions. Each subscale consists of five items that are scored on a 5-point Likert scale, where participants indicate to what extent they feel the emotions (1= “Very slightly or not at all”, 5= “Extremely”). It has excellent demonstrated validity and reliability. The internal consistency for the PANAS in this sample was $\alpha=.83$.

CSA Vignettes

Case vignettes are the preferred way to assess responses to CSA (Font, 2013). Whereas self-report questionnaires have been criticized for pertaining to abstract, artificial or generalized situations (Alexander & Becker, 1978), vignettes allow for more natural responses to realistic scenarios. However, when using vignettes, it is vital to avoid language that creates demand effects in participants. Examples highlighted by Cromer and Goldsmith (2010) include words like “assault” or “rape” that prime people to think about violence. On the other hand, words like “relationship” or “affair” paint a picture of a

consensual relationship. The key then is to focus on neutral, factual language with behavioral descriptors. For study 1, the following 125-word vignette was used:

You're talking with your friend Zoe about #metoo. She was one of the people who reposted the status on her Facebook wall. She tells you she reposted the status because from when she was thirteen until she was fifteen, her mom's boyfriend would come into her bedroom at night when everyone was asleep. She tells you he would undress and get under the covers with her. He would touch her and rub against her and "do some other stuff". It only stopped when her mom broke up with him because she had to move to a different city for her job. Zoe has never told anyone about what happened to her, but now that more people are speaking up, she feels that she can too.

After the vignette, participants were asked the extent to which they believe the CSA account (rate on scale of 1-100), how harmful they thought this experience was (1 = "Not at all harmful, 5 = "Very harmful"), how much victim, perpetrator, and victim's mom are to blame (rate on scale of 0-100), how harshly they would punish the perpetrator (no sentence, <1 year, 1-5 years, >5 years), and how avoidable the experience was (0 = "Not at all avoidable", 5 = "Completely avoidable").

PROCEDURE

Participants were randomly assigned to the #metoo manipulation condition or the control condition. After watching the video, participants answered three questions to ensure they paid attention to the video. They then filled out the short-form PANAS.

On the next screen, participants were presented with the vignette. They were asked to carefully read the vignette before moving onto the next screen. The following screens asked the

participants to what extent they believed the vignette, how harmful they thought the experience was, who was to blame, and what kind of punishment (if any) they would give the perpetrator.

On the next screen, participants were asked to complete the #metoo questionnaire. On the final screen, participants were asked if they would like to donate their earnings for participation in the study to one of three charities. A charity that supports victims of sexual violence, a charity that supports the environment, or a charity that supports people who have been falsely accused of sexual violence.

Study 1: Results

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Any participants who did not stay on the page displaying the video for at least the duration of that video were excluded. A total of 253 participants were included in the final sample. Participation was restricted to MTurkers in the United States, with a HIT approved percentage that exceeded 95%, and a minimum of 50 HITs approved at the time of participation. Participants took 28 minutes on average to complete the study, with a minimum completion time of five minutes, and a maximum time of 51 minutes (after removing two outliers who it would appear forgot to submit the survey). Demographic descriptors of the sample are displayed in Table 1. Sixty-seven percent of the sample was between the ages of eighteen and 36. The median age in the sample was 32.

Table 1: *Demographic Details of Sample*

	Frequency (%)
Age (<i>Range: 18-75</i>)	$M=35.44$; $SD=11.32$
Gender	
Male	137 (54.2%)
Female	116 (45.8%)
Sexual Orientation	
Straight	224 (88.5%)
Gay or lesbian	3 (1.2%)
Bisexual	24 (9.5%)
Missing data	2 (.08%)
Education	
Bachelor's degree	110 (43.5%)
Some college, no degree	47 (18.6%)
Graduate degree	41 (16.2%)
Associate degree	30 (11.9%)
High school degree or equivalent	21 (8.3%)
Less than high school degree	3 (1.2%)
Race/Ethnicity	
White (non-Hispanic)	178 (70.4%)
Black or African American	21 (8.3%)
Asian	21 (8.3%)
Hispanic	18 (7.1%)
Multiple races	8 (3.2%)
American Indian/Alaskan Native	3 (1.2%)
Other race	3 (1.2%)
Missing data	1 (0.4%)
Employment	
Employed – working >40hrs per week	171 (67.6%)
Employed – working 1-39 hours per week	49 (19.4%)
Not employed – looking for work	13 (5.1%)

Not employed – not looking for work	11 (4.3%)
Retired	8 (3.2%)
Disabled – not able to work	1 (0.4%)
Parent	
Yes	116 (45.8%)
No	115 (45.5%)
Missing data	22 (8.7%)

R1: WHAT ARE PARTICIPANTS’ PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EXPOSURE TO, THE #METOO MOVEMENT?

H1: The majority of participants will have had some exposure to the #metoo movement either through personal experience or through close others.

The majority of participants (91.3%) had heard of the #metoo movement. The twenty-two participants who reported they had not heard of the movement were excluded from all analyses that included questions about #metoo. Nearly seventeen percent of participants stated they had reposted #metoo. Two out of three participants knew someone who had reposted #metoo, and nearly 43% of participants knew someone who had done something that would make someone else repost #metoo.

Next, the closeness to someone who reposted was assessed using the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale. A series of seven images depict two circles that increase in overlap, and participants are asked to choose the image that best represents their closeness with the other person. These images were recoded on a 1-7 scale with 1 representing no overlap, and 7 representing complete overlap. As displayed in Table 2, participants reported a mean closeness to someone who reposted #metoo of 3.48 (1.84). The same question was asked for closeness to someone who did something

that would make someone else repost #metoo. A slightly lower mean closeness was reported ($M=2.72$, $SD=1.94$).

Table 2: *Descriptive Statistics of #metoo Exposure Variables*

	Frequency (%)		
Heard of #metoo	231 (91.3%)		
Reposted #metoo	42 (16.6%)		
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo	171 (67.6%)		
Do you know anyone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	108 (42.7%)		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	171	3.48	1.84
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	108	2.72	1.94

Independent sample t-tests were conducted to assess the difference in exposure to the #metoo movement between men and women. Details are displayed in Table 3. Women were significantly more likely than men to know someone who had reposted #metoo.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics and Independent Sample t-tests of #metoo Exposure Variables for Men and Women

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		χ^2		
	Frequency (%)		Frequency (%)				
Heard of #metoo	124 (90.5%)		107 (92.2%)		.24		
Reposted #metoo	22 (16.1%)		20 (17.2%)		1.76		
Prefer not to say	3 (2.2%)		6 (5.2%)				
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo	84 (61.3%)		87 (75%)		9.37*		
Do you know anyone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	57 (41.7%)		51 (44.0%)		.26		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	3.48	1.94	3.48	1.74	.01	.25	[-.49, .49]
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	2.94	2.08	2.46	1.74	1.69	.29	[-.08, 1.04]

Note. * $p < .05$

Finally, correlations were calculated between the exposure variables for men and women. Details are displayed in Table 4. For both men and women, all exposure variables were significantly and positively correlated.

Table 4: *Correlation Matrix of #metoo Exposure Variables for Men and Women*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Reposted #metoo	-	.29***	.45***	.25**	.49***
2. Knowing someone who reposted #metoo	.25*	-	.33**	.24**	.32**
3. Closeness to someone who reposted #metoo	.26*	.19***	-	.24*	.73***
4. Knowing someone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	.22*	.33**	.27**	-	.28**
5. Closeness to someone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	.35**	.27**	.39***	.30**	-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Men above diagonal.

H2: An Exploration of #metoo perceptions

Perceptions of #metoo were assessed by asking participants the extent to which the movement could be described by the first six variables displayed in Table 5, and to what extent the movement made them feel the last six variables in Table 5. Each answer was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1= “Disagree Strongly”. 5= “Agree Strongly”).

Table 5: *Descriptive Statistics of Perceptions of #metoo Variables*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>#metoo is:</i>		
Helpful	4.05	.96
Important	4.27	.95
Divisive	3.08	1.34
Witch hunt	2.39	1.38
Empowering	4.09	.99
Gone too far	2.46	1.36
<i>#metoo makes me feel:</i>		
Supported	3.52	1.18
Persecuted	2.13	1.28
Worried	2.27	1.32
Empowered	3.52	1.28
Heard	3.49	1.29
Attacked	2.03	1.28

Following this, independent sample t-tests were conducted to compare men and women in their perceptions of the #metoo movement. The results are displayed in Table 6. Every variable showed a significant difference between men and women except divisive and worried. Men were more likely to report that #metoo is a witch hunt, and gone too far. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to report that #metoo is helpful, important, and empowering. With regards to participants' feelings about the movement, men were more likely to report that the movement made them feel persecuted, and attacked. Women on the other hand were more likely to report that the movement made them feel supported, empowered, and heard.

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics and Independent Sample *t*-tests of Perceptions of #metoo for Men and Women

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
<i>#metoo is:</i>							
Helpful	3.89	1.00	4.24	.88	-2.84**	.12	[-.63, -.16]
Important	4.07	1.04	4.50	.78	-3.53**	.12	[-.68, -.22]
Divisive	3.15	1.29	2.99	1.40	.92	.17	[-.23, .43]
Witch hunt	2.68	1.37	2.06	1.32	3.51**	.17	[.27, .93]
Empowering	3.90	1.02	4.30	.91	-3.9**	.12	[-.67, -.19]
Gone too far	2.67	1.38	2.21	1.30	2.56*	.17	[.12, .78]
<i>#metoo makes me feel:</i>							
Supported	3.15	1.19	3.94	1.00	-5.51***	.14	[-1.07, -.52]
Persecuted	2.44	1.32	1.78	1.14	4.07***	.16	[.34, .96]
Worried	2.42	1.31	2.08	1.30	1.96	.17	[.07, .72]
Empowered	3.08	1.25	4.02	1.13	-5.92***	.15	[-1.19, -.61]
Heard	3.09	1.30	3.96	1.10	-5.44***	.15	[-1.12, -.53]
Attacked	2.32	1.38	1.70	1.07	3.86***	.16	[.34, .95]

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Correlations

The perception variables are highly correlated with each other, as displayed in Table 7. Negative perceptions show a strong positive correlation with each other, and strong negative correlations with positive perceptions, and vice versa.

Table 7: Correlation Matrix of #metoo Perception Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Helpful		.76***	-.31***	-.50***	.69**	-.62***	.59***	-.37***	-.32***	.50***	.47***	-.39***
2. Important			-.28***	.52***	.64***	-.61***	.50***	-.36***	-.35***	.42***	.38***	-.41***
3. Divisive				.47***	-.27***	.48***	-.19*	.40***	.39***	-.19**	-.18**	.38***
4. Witch Hunt					-.49***	.81***	-.46***	.68***	.49***	-.45***	-.39***	.64***
5. Empowering						-.55***	.56***	-.34***	-.30***	.54***	.44***	-.33***
6. Gone too far							-.48***	.65***	.49***	-.49***	-.41***	.66***
7. Supported								-.28***	-.19**	.79***	.78***	-.25***
8. Persecuted									.60***	-.22**	-.21**	.84***
9. Worried										-.16*	-.13	.60***
10. Empowered											.84***	-.20**
11. Heard												-.12
12. Attacked												

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Due to these high correlations, a Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation was conducted to assess the uniqueness of the perception variables. A Varimax rotation was chosen to allow for the possibility that positive and negative perceptions were uncorrelated. Two components with Eigenvalues above 1 emerged, and these components explained 68.11% of the variance. The explained variance is displayed in Table 8, and the component matrix is displayed in Table 9.

Table 8: *Total Variance Explained*

Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	6.069	50.577	50.577
2	2.104	17.531	68.108
3	.924	7.700	75.808
4	.735	6.123	81.931
5	.543	4.522	86.453
6	.374	3.116	89.569
7	.347	2.894	92.463
8	.234	1.953	94.416
9	.214	1.781	96.197
10	.200	1.666	97.863
11	.150	1.252	99.115
12	.106	.885	100.000

Table 9: *Pattern Matrix*

	Component	
	1	2
m2helpful	.701	-.224
m2important	.579	-.315
m2divisive	.003	.576
m2witch	-.279	.705
m2empower	.682	-.197
m2toofar	-.363	.672
m2support	.910	.062
m2persecute	.052	.904
m2worried	.088	.795
m2feelempower	.918	.105
m2heard	.903	.172
m2attacked	.067	.912

The identified factors appear to be positive perceptions and negative perceptions. A composite score for positive perceptions was created by summing the items that indicated positive perceptions of the movement. Similarly, a composite score was created for negative perceptions by summing the items indicative of negative perceptions. These composite scores were used in all subsequent analyses where perceptions of #metoo are mentioned. Independent sample t-tests were run to examine gender differences on positive and negative perceptions. Women ($M=25.00$, $SD=4.97$) were significantly more likely than men ($M=21.15$, $SD=5.22$) to hold positive perceptions of the movement ($t=-5.68$, $p<.001$). Similarly, men ($M=15.70$, $SD=6.50$) were significantly more likely than women ($M=12.82$, $SD=5.91$) to hold negative perceptions of the movement ($t=3.49$, $p=.001$).

Vignette Variables

Participants were asked seven questions about the vignette describing the CSA disclosure. Descriptive statistics for each variable are displayed in Table 10 and correlations between variables in Table 11.

Table 10: *Descriptive Statistics of Vignette Variables*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis
Believe	82.84	17.19	11-100	-1.15	1.33
Blame Zoe	18.76	29.77	0-100	1.31	.15
Blame Mom's boyfriend	91.11	16.80	1-100	-2.38	.31
Blame Mom	54.85	30.17	0-100	-.36	-.98
Harmful	87.03	15.26	26-100	-1.33	1.52
Punishment	4.58	1.31	0-6	-1.06	1.14
Avoidable	61.92	31.14	0-100	-.52	-.88

Table 11: *Correlation Matrix of Vignette Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Believe	-	-.37***	.51***	-.15*	.44***	.29***	-.06
2. Blame Zoe		-	-.55***	.27***	-.44***	-.18**	.12
3. Blame Mom's boyfriend			-	.03	.63***	.37***	.03
4. Blame Zoe's Mom				-	.01	.06	.27***
5. Harmful					-	.58***	<.01
6. Punishment						-	-.10
7. Avoidable							-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Belief in Vignette

Belief in the vignette was measured on a scale of 0-100. It was negatively skewed, and 69 participants (27.4%) reported they completely believed the vignette (belief score of 100). Examination of the P-P plot of the standardized residuals for the belief variable did not show a significant deviation from normality assumptions.

Blame Allocation

Blame could be allocated to Zoe, Zoe's mom, and Zoe's mom's boyfriend. For each of these, participants were asked how much blame they allocated to the person on a scale of zero (no blame) to one hundred (all the blame). Regarding the blame allocated to Zoe (the victim), 139 participants (54.9%) allocated no blame to her. An opposite pattern was observed for the blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend; 158 participants (62.5%) allocated all the blame to him. Finally, the blame allocated to Zoe's mom did not show such skewness.

Punishment

The punishment the participant would give the perpetrator (if any) was recorded on a 7-point Likert scale with 0 indicating No Punishment, and 6 indicating Life in Prison. Only three participants indicated that they would not punish the perpetrator. Further, 27.3% of participants reported that they would give the perpetrator Life in Prison.

Avoidable

Participants rated the degree to which they found the vignette avoidable on a scale of zero (entirely unavoidable) to one hundred (entirely avoidable). None of the participants rated the vignette as entirely unavoidable, and 41 (16.2%) rated it as entirely avoidable.

Harmful

The perceived harmfulness of the vignette was recorded on a scale of zero (not at all harmful) to one hundred (very harmful). Slightly more than one in three participants perceived the vignette as very harmful (100). Despite skewness of the variable, examination of the P-P plot of the standardized residuals did not show a significant deviation from normality assumptions.

Bonus variable

Participants were asked if they wanted to donate their bonus to charity or keep it. The majority of participants elected to keep their bonus (156 participants, 61.7%). Of the participants who did want to donate their bonus to charity 45 wanted to donate to an environmental charity and 47 wanted to donate to a charity that supports victims of sexual violence. Five participants wanted to donate to a charity that supports people who have been falsely accused of sexual violence. There was a correlation between gender and donation, with women more likely to donate to any charity than men ($r = -.14$, $p = .03$). Further, believing the vignette was linked with donating to any charity ($r = -.16$, $p = .01$). Having positive perceptions of #metoo was linked with donating to any charity ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$). Because only five people wanted to donate to a charity for falsely accused people, this group was excluded from subsequent analyses. Binary logistic regression analyses were conducted to assess the effect of gender, video, or proximity to victimization or perpetration on charity of choice, but no significant effects emerged. For this reason, the bonus variable was not further included.

Perceptions of CSA and #metoo

To assess participants' perceptions of sexual violence in the context of the #metoo movement, two outcome variables were assessed. First, the seven vignette variables described above were used as outcome variables of participants' responses to a specific CSA disclosure.

Second, the recorded general perception of the #metoo movement as measured by the positive and negative perception scales was also included as an outcome variable. Before conducting the analyses to answer the two remaining research questions, the relationship between perceptions of the #metoo movement and responses to a CSA disclosure were examined.

Positive perceptions were associated with more positive responses than negative perceptions. Interestingly, participants with more negative perceptions were more likely to blame Zoe's mom, and to find the vignette more avoidable.

Table 12: *Correlations Between Perceptions of #metoo and Responses to a CSA Vignette*

	Positive Perceptions	Negative Perceptions
Believe	.39***	-.38***
Blame Zoe	-.14*	.56***
Blame BF	.15*	-.32**
Blame Mom	-.21**	.33***
Harmful	.26***	-.33***
Punishment	.21**	-.12
Avoid	-.16*	.19**

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

R2: DOES EXPOSURE TO A VIDEO ABOUT #METOO AFFECT PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CSA?

Video Manipulation Check

Both the environmental and #metoo video were piloted to ensure similar emotional responses. Undergraduate research assistants and graduate students watched both videos and rated their emotional responses. No significant differences emerged.

In Study 1, 123 participants watched the #metoo video (48.6%) and 130 participants watched the environmental video (51.4%). The PANAS (short-form) was completed by each participant after watching the video, to rate how the video made them feel. Each variable was scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1= “Strongly Disagree”, 5= “Strongly Agree”). Descriptive statistics per video are shown in Table 23. Independent sample t-tests were conducted to assess the differences in emotions evoked by both videos. The environmental video elicited stronger emotions in each variable except for Upset and Hostile. These differences did not emerge in the piloting of the videos, where the environmental video only produced stronger feelings of shame.

Table 13: *PANAS Descriptive Statistics by Video and Independent Sample T-tests*

	<u>#metoo</u>		<u>Environmental</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD			
Upset	2.95	1.22	2.78	1.21	1.09	.15	[-.14, .47]
Hostile	2.13	1.15	1.99	1.26	.91	.15	[-.16, .44]
Alert	3.49	1.11	3.80	1.06	-2.29*	.14	[-.58, -.04]
Ashamed	1.95	1.21	2.74	1.33	-4.89***	.16	[-1.10, -.47]
Inspired	3.20	1.39	3.67	1.19	-2.87**	.16	[-.79, -.15]
Nervous	1.97	1.15	2.40	1.27	-2.80**	.15	[-.73, -.13]
Determined	3.06	1.31	3.56	1.15	-3.23**	.16	[-.81, -.20]
Attentive	3.69	1.12	3.98	.99	-2.21**	.13	[-.56, -.03]
Afraid	1.81	1.15	2.44	1.32	-4.02***	.16	[-.93, -.32]
Active	2.91	1.24	3.38	1.20	-3.08**	.15	[-.77, -.17]

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Further independent sample t-tests were conducted to assess whether men and women differed in their emotional response to either video. The results are displayed in Table 14. For the #metoo video, three significant differences emerged. Men recorded significantly more shame than

women. Further, women reported higher levels of feeling both inspired and determined. No significant differences emerged for the environmental video.

Table 14: *Descriptive Statistics of PANAS-scores for Men and Women for Both Videos and Independent Sample T-tests*

	<u>#Metoo</u>							<u>Environmental</u>						
	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD				Mean	SD	Mean	SD			
Upset	2.82	1.30	3.11	1.10	-1.29	.22	[-.72, .15]	2.62	1.15	2.97	1.26	-1.62	.21	[-.76, .08]
Hostile	2.18	1.22	2.07	1.05	.51	.21	[-.31, .52]	2.04	1.25	1.93	1.28	.49	.22	[-.33, .55]
Alert	3.35	1.17	3.65	1.02	-1.50	.20	[-.70, .10]	3.75	.98	3.85	1.15	-.53	.19	[-.47, .27]
Ashamed	2.19	1.32	1.65	1.00	2.56*	.22	[.11, .96]	2.71	1.35	2.77	1.32	-.27	.24	[-.53, .40]
Inspired	2.88	1.34	3.60	1.36	-2.93**	.25	[-1.20, -.23]	3.55	1.22	3.80	1.15	-1.21	.21	[-.67, .16]
Nervous	2.01	1.20	1.91	1.09	.50	.21	[-.31, .52]	2.36	11.32	2.43	1.23	-.32	.23	[-.52, .38]
Determined	2.84	1.30	3.33	1.29	-2.08*	.24	[-.95, -.02]	3.53	1.28	3.59	1.06	-.30	.20	[-.46, .34]
Attentive	3.56	1.10	3.85	1.15	-1.46	.20	[-.70, .11]	3.91	1.01	4.07	.96	-.88	.17	[-.50, .19]
Afraid	1.94	1.27	1.65	.96	1.41	.21	[-.12, .71]	2.33	1.27	2.56	1.37	-.97	.23	[-.68, .23]
Active	2.94	1.26	2.87	1.23	.30	.23	[-.38, .52]	3.52	1.12	3.23	1.28	1.39	.21	[-.13, .71]

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Two-way ANOVAS were performed for each PANAS variable to determine whether there was an interaction effect of gender and video for any of the variables, but no significant interactions emerged.

H3: After watching the #metoo video, male participants will display more negative perceptions of CSA than female participants

A series of two-way ANOVAS with video and gender on every perception variable were conducted. The hypothesized interaction effect was not found on any of the perception variables or the composite variable. Main effects for video were found for the following perceptions. Feeling empowered by the movement [$F(1, 249)=4.52, p=.03$], with the #metoo video linked to higher scores of feeling empowered ($M=4.20, SD=.95$) than the environmental video ($M=3.91, SD=.99$). Perceiving the movement as a witch hunt [$F(1, 249)=6.53, p=.01$], with the #metoo video linked to lower scores of viewing the movement as a witch hunt ($M=2.24, SD=1.33$) than the environmental video ($M=2.57, SD=1.35$).

Next, interaction effects of gender and video on the vignette variables were examined. For belief in the vignette, a two-way ANOVA with gender and video as predictors and belief in vignette as the outcome variable was used. No significant interaction effect was found. Similar analyses were conducted for the harmful and avoidable variables. No significant interaction effects were found.

With regard to the blame variables, a multiple regression with dummy variables was conducted (with a robust maximum likelihood estimator for the blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend). None of the interaction effects were significant.

R3: DOES PROXIMITY TO VICTIMIZATION OR PERPETRATION AFFECT PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF CSA?

H4: Participants with a proximity to victimization will have more positive views

First, correlations were computed between proximity to victimization and perceptions of the movement (Table 15). Having reposted #metoo was associated with stronger positive and negative perceptions. Knowing someone who reposted the status and closeness to such a person was linked to positive perceptions of the movement. Similarly, knowing someone who did something that would make someone else repost the status and closeness to such a person was linked to negative perceptions of the movement.

Table 15: *Correlation Matrix of #metoo Exposure Variables with #metoo Perception Variables*

	Positive Perceptions	Negative Perceptions
Reposted #metoo	.14*	.32***
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo	.21**	-.04
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	.32***	-.06
Do you know anyone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	<.01	.18**
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	.11	.20*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Second, analyses were performed to assess the effect of proximity to victimization on responses to a CSA disclosure. For believing the vignette, a stepwise multiple linear regression was conducted. No interactions were hypothesized or estimated. In the first step, the reposting of

#metoo by the participant was entered. In the second step, knowing someone who reposted the status was entered. The closeness to such a person was entered in the final step. Results are displayed in Table 16. Knowing someone who reposted the status predicted belief in the vignette, but this effect disappeared when closeness to such a person was added to the model.

Table 16: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Belief in Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	B	t	β	t
Reposted #metoo	-.55	-.17	-.04	-.60	-.07	.90
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo			.15	2.01*	.12	1.56
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo					.08	1.05
R^2	.012		.14		.16	
R^2 change	.00		.02*		.03	

Note. * $p < .05$

The same analyses were conducted for perceived harmfulness of the vignette. Results are displayed in Table 17. Having reposted #metoo was significant in predicting a greater perceived harmfulness of the vignette.

Table 17: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Harmfulness of the Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	B	t	β	t
Reposted #metoo	-.14	-2.00*	-.15	2.10*	-.17	-2.28*
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo			.05	.67	.03	.32
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo					.07	.92
R^2	.02		.02		.03	
R^2 change	.02*		.002		.004	

Note. * $p < .05$

The same analysis was performed for how avoidable participants thought the vignette was. Results are displayed in Table 18. Being close to someone who reposted the status predicted viewing the vignette as less avoidable.

Table 18: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Avoidability of the Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	B	t	β	t
Reposted #metoo	.08	1.12	.08	1.05	.13	1.75
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo			.01	.20	.08	1.02
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo					-.20	2.50*
R^2	.006		.006		.193	
R^2 change	.006		.000		.031*	

Note. * $p < .05$

Multiway contingency tables were used to assess the effect of proximity to victimization on punishment given to the perpetrator. Only models that included associations between the

punishment variable and one of the proximity variables were included; no interactions were hypothesized or estimated. A full vs reduced modeling approach was used to isolate the effects of each association. In order to determine the significance of each isolated effect, the differences in likelihood ratios were computed (ΔG^2). The full model was used to compare to all other models, and it included every association between single independent variable and punishment. The reduced models included every association except the effect of interest in that model. One significant effect emerged; knowing someone who had reposted #metoo showed a significant relation with the type of punishment given to the perpetrator ($\Delta G^2=13.65$, $p<.05$). The observed marginal cell counts for this effect are displayed in Table 19. People who did not know someone who had reposted #metoo were more likely to give harsher punishments, whereas people who did know someone who had reposted #metoo were more likely to give more lenient punishments.

Table 19: *Observed and Expected Punishments Given Based on Knowing Someone Who Reposted #metoo*

	Not knowing someone who reposted		Knowing someone who reposted	
	Obs	Exp	Obs	Exp
No punishment	0	1	3	2
Probation/Community sentence	0	1.3	4	2.7
6 months in prison	3	4.2	10	8.8
1 year in prison	8	7.1	14	14.9
5 years in prison	19	19.8	42	41.2
10 years in prison	28	26.3	53	54.7
Life in prison	24	22.4	45	46.6

Next, analyses were performed to assess whether the allocation of blame could be predicted by proximity to victimization. The blame allocated to Zoe's Mom's boyfriend was skewed to an extent that it violated assumptions of normality. As such, for this variable, a robust maximum likelihood estimator (MLR) was used.

To assess the effect of proximity to victimization on the amount of blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend, the three proximity variables were entered simultaneously as independent variables. Details are displayed in Table 20. The only significant predictor of allocating blame was whether the participant had reposted #metoo. If so, the participant was more likely to allocate more blame to the perpetrator.

Table 20: *Multiple Regressions Predicting Amount of Blame Allocated to Perpetrator, Victim, and Zoe's Mom*

Predictor Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Blame allocated to Mom's Boyfriend		
Reposted #metoo	-4.53	-1.96*
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo	.29	.31
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	-.97	-1.05
Blame allocated to Zoe		
Reposted #metoo	.23	3.46**
Do you know anyone who reposted #metoo	-.03	-.42
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	.08	1.08

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

H5: Participants with a proximity to perpetration will have more negative views

A similar approach as for proximity to victimization was taken for the effect of proximity to perpetration. Analyses were performed to assess the effect of proximity to perpetration on responses to a CSA disclosure. For believing the vignette, a stepwise multiple linear regression

was conducted. No interactions were hypothesized or estimated. Knowing someone who had done something that would make someone else repost the status was entered in the first step and the closeness to such a person were entered in the second step. Results are displayed in Table 21. Knowing someone who had done something that would make someone else repost #metoo was linked with a greater belief in the vignette. Closeness to this person was not related to belief.

Table 21: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Belief in Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	t	β	t
Do you know anyone who did something that would make someone else repost #metoo	.15	1.95	.19	2.35*
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo			-.13	
R^2	.023		.038	
R^2 Change	.023 [†]		.015	

Note. * $p < .05$

The same analyses were conducted for perceived harmfulness of the vignette. Results are displayed in Table 22. An increased closeness to someone who had done something to make someone else repost #metoo was linked to perceiving the vignette as less harmful.

Table 22: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Harmfulness of the Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	t	β	t
Do you know anyone who did something that would make someone else repost #metoo	<-.01	-.10	.07	.83
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo			-.27	-3.37**
R^2	.000		.000	
R^2 Change	.054		.065**	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

The same analysis was performed for how avoidable participants thought the vignette was. Results are displayed in Table 23. No significant effects emerged.

Table 23: *Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Perceived Avoidability of the Presented Vignette*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	t	β	t
Do you know anyone who did something that would make someone else repost #metoo	-.01	-.15	-.51	-.63
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo			.13	1.6
R^2	.000		.016	
R^2 Change	.000		.016	

Multiway contingency tables were used to examine the effect of proximity to perpetration in the same manner as proximity to victimization. No significant effects were found.

To assess the effect of proximity to perpetration on the amount of blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend, the three proximity variables were entered simultaneously as independent variables. Details are displayed in Table 24. Closeness to someone who had done something to make someone else repost #metoo was a significant predictor of allocating less blame to mom's boyfriend and more blame to Zoe.

Table 24: *Multiple Regressions Predicting Amount of Blame Allocated to Perpetrator, Victim, and Zoe's Mom*

Predictor Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>
Blame allocated to Mom's Boyfriend		
Do you know anyone who did something that would make someone else repost #metoo	1.85	1.73
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	-2.61	-3.53***
Blame allocated to Zoe		
Do you know anyone who did something that would make someone else repost #metoo	-.11	-1.46
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	.38	5.29***

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine exposure to and perceptions of the #metoo movement, and to assess how these factors influenced participants' responses to a disclosure of Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA). Most participants had heard of the #metoo movement, and 17% reported they had reposted the status. Most participants knew someone who had reposted the status and close to half knew someone who had done something to make someone else repost #metoo. These findings show that #metoo is a well-known movement and most people have had first- or secondhand exposure to it. As hypothesized, a gender difference emerged with women more likely to know someone who had reposted the status.

The observed gender differences are in line with previous research that found women tend to have a closer proximity to victimization through relationships with victims (Miller & Cromer, 2015). Although a gender difference in reposting the status was not found in this study, the number of participants who reposted was small. Further, results showed that people who reposted the status were more likely to know someone who had done something to make someone else repost. It is likely that participants were thinking of the person who did something to them that made them repost the status, in other words, the perpetrator in question would be their own. Given that most people are victimized by someone they know well, that could explain this finding. Future studies should attempt to tease out the overlap between one's own victimization and knowing a perpetrator.

The perceptions of men and women of the #metoo movement varied in nearly every aspect. Men held significantly less positive views than women, and women reported significantly less negative feelings associated with the movement. Men were more likely to feel worried, attacked, and persecuted, which may be indicative of a defensive response that underlies these perceptions.

It would appear then, that although the #metoo movement seems to have a positive effect on women, making them feel empowered and heard, the opposite is true for men. This finding highlights the polarizing nature of the movement and suggests that men may feel attacked by the movement, which might make them less likely to engage in a conversation about sexual violence and to emerge as allies to women, and to victims of sexual violence. With regard to the responses participants gave to the CSA vignette, the responses skewed toward positive with most participants responding in a non-skeptical, supportive manner. However, several differences in responses did emerge, and they highlight how perceptions of a broader movement may shape responses in a specific situation. This finding is similar to findings from research into the Black Lives Matter movement that suggest attitudes toward the movement are related to how specific situations are perceived (e.g. Reinka & Leach, 2017). Indeed, participants who reported having more positive views of #metoo were also more likely to respond in a supportive manner. From the specific vignette questions, it appeared that when participants held less positive views of the movement, they were more likely to blame Zoe's mom and to find the vignette more avoidable. One explanation for these findings might be that participants are experiencing cognitive dissonance and are looking to shift blame away from the perpetrator, but not necessarily to the victim. By blaming Zoe's mom, this circumvents defensiveness, and by viewing the vignette as avoidable it is suggested that several factors may play a role in how the scenario unfolded. Further, it may be the case that participants who reported being parents themselves may place more blame on Zoe's mom, because they would hold themselves responsible and blame themselves if something similar happened to their children.

When looking at victimization proximity and perceptions, results showed that reposting the status was on the one hand more likely to be associated with negative perceptions of the

movement, but on the other hand these participants were more likely to feel positive as well as negative emotions about the movement. These results may have emerged due to the small number of participants who reported having reposted the status. However, at least in part, these results may also indicate a difference in the individual experiences of the movement and their victimization. Perhaps #metoo is viewed as not doing enough to address victimization or as not providing any tangible support for survivors. RAINN's guidelines on how to respond to victims of sexual violence emphasize the importance of continued support. A very public reposting without subsequent ongoing support may end up being more harmful than helpful to a victim. Further, participants who reposted the status may simply have stronger perceptions of the movement in general due to the personal relevance of the movement for them (e.g. Lang & Bradley, 2010).

Since the start of the present studies, an article on hashtag feminism, and specifically a similar hashtag that trended on social media in 2014 was published (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018). The hashtag #BeenRapedNeverReported similarly sought to draw attention to the prevalence of sexual violence and to highlight the problem of underreporting. The researchers interviewed people who had posted the hashtag and social media and they found a similar tension between positive and negative emotions, with participants reporting finding the experience comforting on the one hand, but also triggering on the other hand. Similarly, the interviews showed that the public nature of a hashtag leads to support from outside one's own social circle, but for 72% of participants, it also led to hostility, threats, and misogynistic online abuse. The present findings of mixed emotions may be the result of similar conflicting processes. Finally, having reposted the status provides no further information of the motivations for doing so. Instead, it means the person identifies as a victim or survivor of some form of sexual violence and harassment. As such, the range of victimization experiences is likely to vary, and survivors of

different types of experiences may experience the #metoo movement differently. Reposting the status suggests the person is an “acknowledged” victim (Koss, 1985), meaning he or she identifies as a victim or survivor. However, the experience of unacknowledged victims, who do not view their experience as a victimization remains hidden, even though unacknowledged victims experience similar negative consequences as acknowledged victims (Frazier & Seales, 1997; Kahn & Mathie, 2000; Orlando & Koss, 1983). In short, the heterogeneous nature of victimization likely plays a role in the range of emotional responses reported in this study.

Knowing someone who reposted the status was linked with more positive perceptions of #metoo, and closeness to someone who did something to cause someone else to repost the status was linked with negative perceptions. This finding may underline the gender differences in proximity to both victimization and perpetration.

Proximity to victimization did not have an effect on most of the vignette variables. This may be due to the nature of #metoo, and it not being strong enough to create differences in responses. #metoo is very public by nature, as evidenced by the public reposting of the status on social media with the intent of giving visibility to sexual victimization. However, due to the public nature of reposting the status, it is likely not a great measure of proximity to victimization, because no further conversation with the person who reposted may have occurred. A better indicator of proximity to victimization would be to ask if the participant knows anyone who has been a victim of sexual violence or harassment, independent of #metoo.

With regards to punishment, results showed that knowing someone who had reposted the status was predictive of more lenient punishments. This finding may seem counterintuitive, but it may be more insightful of the attitudes of participants who did not have proximity to victimization giving harsher punishments. Sex offenders are regarded as the most stigmatized type of offender

(Burchfield & Mingus, 2008) and public perceptions of sex offenders emphasize strongly held negative attitudes and pessimism about their ability to change. Contact with sex offenders tends to reduce such negative attitudes (Kjelsberg & Loos, 2008), and perhaps the same is true for proximity to sexual victimization. Through exposure, participants may have developed a more nuanced view of sex offenders and their opinions regarding appropriate punishments may be less reliant on stereotypical views of sex offenders. Further, given that most survivors are abused by people they know well, this may lead them to be less willing to punish someone they are close to, which would be reflected in the willingness to punish in this scenario.

Participants who reposted the status themselves were less likely to allocate blame to the perpetrator, and to view the vignette as less harmful. This finding again seems counterintuitive, as Defensive Attribution Theory would predict that victims would blame the perpetrator rather than the victim, and would perceive the vignette as harmful. Perhaps this is again due to the wide variety of victimization that the repost question likely captured.

Proximity to perpetration was linked to negative perceptions of the movement. Interestingly, participants who knew someone who had done something to make someone else repost #metoo were more likely to believe the vignette, but closeness to this person was not a factor. This finding suggests there may be an availability bias at play, with people who know someone who caused someone else to repost the status being more likely to recall an incident of sexual violence, which in turn could increase belief in the vignette. The way the question was phrased meant that by endorsing the item, the participant claims that he or she knows someone who is guilty of some form of sexual violence or harassment as interpreted by them. Subsequent analyses showed that closeness to such a person was however linked to viewing the vignette as less harmful, and to allocating more blame to the victim. The dissonance between belief that the

disclosure is real, with simultaneous minimization of harm and blaming the victim for what happens seems indicative of a type of defensiveness, or at least cognitive dissonance, whereby the participant tries to resolve the conflict of believing in victimization whilst also knowing someone who victimized someone else. In minimizing perceived harm, and blaming the perpetrator less, they do not need to question their closeness to someone who did something that would make someone else repost.

The environmental video elicited stronger emotions than the #metoo video, which points to an overcorrection in selecting this video. Although this disparity may have skewed the results, at least it was not the #metoo video that elicited stronger emotions. Interestingly, gender differences were found for the #metoo video in how it made participants feel, with men reporting more shame and women reporting being inspired and determined. These differences show that to an extent, the video did have the desired effect of eliciting different responses in men and women.

The anticipated interaction effect was not found for any of the perception variables. However, the #metoo video did make people feel more empowered, and less likely to view the movement as a witch hunt. Perhaps briefly relaying victims' individual stories does have a small, positive effect on all viewers.

This first study had several limitations. First, at no point were participants asked if they had ever done something that would cause someone else to repost #metoo. If so, this would be the closest possible proximity to perpetration and that would likely skew the results. Due to ethical considerations, it was decided not to include this question in the subsequent study either. Second, participants who reposted #metoo were also asked if they knew someone who did something that caused someone else to repost the status, which means they could have thought of the person who caused them to repost. This is clearly a different kind of proximity to perpetration than the target

of this study, and thus, Study 2 includes the question of whether the person they know who did something to someone else is the person who did something to them. Third, the #metoo movement is very public in nature. Reposting a status for other people to see means that proximity to victimization increases for everyone who uses social media, as it takes away the intimate nature of such disclosure in a more personal manner. As such, knowing someone who reposted the status may not be a good indication of proximity to victimization. For this reason, Study 2 will ask participants about their proximity to victimization, before asking them specifically about reposting of the #metoo status. Finally, a large number of tests were conducted in this study which increases the likelihood of inflated p-values. The decision was made to retain the tests as conducted to minimize the likelihood of Type II errors.

This first study confirmed that the #metoo movement is well-known, and that most people have heard of it. It appears women are more likely to have positive perceptions of the movement than men, and these perceptions are reflected in responses to a CSA disclosure. Self-identified victims and survivors of sexual violence may experience the movement in different ways. Proximity to victimization was linked with more positive responses to a disclosure, whereas proximity to perpetration was associated with more negative responses. Interestingly, belief in the disclosure was less affected than blame allocation and perceived harmfulness, indicating the potential of a secondary, defensive response to disclosure.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES STUDY 2

The goal of Study 2 was to partially replicate some of the findings of Study 1 regarding exposure to and perceptions of the #metoo movement, and to further expand on these findings. Due to the importance of a perceived threat on triggering defensive attributions, this Study included a threat condition describing a case of a false accusation of sexual violence and the consequences to the

accused. Further, proximity to false accusations was included to examine whether an availability heuristic related to false accusations may underlie responses to a CSA disclosure. Finally, a self-affirmation condition was included to explore what may be done to prevent defensive attributions in order to facilitate a more supportive response to disclosure.

1. How does a false allegation impact participants' responses to a CSA vignette?

H1: Men will feel threatened by a false allegation and respond more negatively to a subsequent disclosure.

2. Will proximity to CSA, or to false allegations impact these findings?

H2: People with higher proximity to victimization will respond more positively to victims, regardless of condition.

H3: People with higher proximity to perpetration or false allegations will respond more negatively to victims, especially in the false allegation condition.

3. Does proximity to CSA victimization predict response to CSA vignette above and beyond empathy differences?

H4: Even after controlling for empathy differences, proximity to CSA victimization will significantly predict response to a CSA vignette.

4. Does self-affirmation protect people from defensive responding?

H5: A self-affirmation task will serve as a buffer protecting people from perceived threat, thus increasing the likelihood of a positive response to a CSA vignette.

Study 2: Methods

PARTICIPANTS

As in Study 1, participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Anyone who participated in Study 1 was excluded from participating in Study 2. A total of 250 participants were included, and they were compensated \$1.00 for their participation.

A power analysis indicated that 200 participants were required to detect the desired effect size ($R^2=0.12$).

DESIGN AND PROPOSED ANALYSES

Study 2 was a 2x2 between-subjects design with several covariates. The first between-subjects variable was the threat manipulation, which has two conditions: threat and control. The other between-subjects variable was self-affirmation, which has two conditions: self-affirmation and control. As in Study 1, another predictor variable was perceptions of #metoo, that were scored on a continuous range from very positive to very negative perceptions. Empathy was included as a predictor variable, and it also had a continuous range from low to high. Proximity to victimization and proximity to perpetration were entered as covariates, similar to proximity to falsely accused people and people who falsely accused someone else. Further, participant gender will also be included as a covariate.

The dependent variables in this study were the same as in Study 1; belief in the vignette (continuous), allocation of blame to victim, perpetrator, and mother (continuous), perception of harm (categorical), and punishment (categorical).

MATERIALS

CSA Vignettes

The same vignette and questions that were used in Study 1 were used in Study 2.

Toronto Empathy Questionnaire

The Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (TEQ: Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, & Levine, 2009) was used to assess empathy. The TEQ consists of 16 items (I.e. “I get a strong urge to help when I see someone who is upset”) that are scored on how often the participant experiences the item (0 = “never”, 4= “always”). Items are summed to create a total empathy score.

Article Condition

The false allegation manipulation was a brief news story adapted from a real BBC news story detailing a man whose life was ruined after his ex-girlfriend falsely accused him of rape. The article mentions an increase in reporting of sexual assault following #metoo, and that 1 of 428 reported cases turned out to be false, but all the other accused parties were found guilty. The full news report can be found in Appendix E. The other article was a news article reporting on #metoo as an important campaign raising awareness. It highlights the problem of underreporting, and some of the challenges survivors face when considering coming forward with their experiences. The full news report can be found in Appendix E. As in Study 1, the short form of the PANAS (Watson et al., 1988) was used to assess participants’ emotional responses to the article. The internal consistency of the PANAS in this sample was $\alpha=.83$.

Self-affirmation task

The self-affirmation exercise used in this study was adapted from Harber (1995) and Cohen, Aronson, and Steele (2000). It presents participants with a list of characteristics and values and asks them to pick the one they feel is most important to them. They are then asked to remember an occasion on which that value or characteristic was important to them and made them feel good about themselves (see Appendix F for list). The control condition was the same as the one used by Cohen and colleagues (2000). It asked participants to list everything they had eaten or drunk in the past 48 hours. This manipulation is a better control condition than asking participants to write about a value not important to them, as those prompts still tend to evoke self-affirming reflections.

#metoo

The same questionnaire from Study 1 was used, with the following additional questions to assess proximity to false allegations of sexual violence: “Do you know anyone who has been falsely accused of sexual violence?”. If so, the participant was asked to record closeness to that individual using the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron et al., 1992). Next, the participant was asked: “Do you know anyone who has falsely accused someone of sexual violence?”. If so, the participant was again be asked to record the closeness to that individual using the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron et al., 1992). Further, before asking any questions pertaining to #metoo, participants were asked if they knew anyone who was a victim of sexual violence or harassment, and how close they were to such a person.

PROCEDURE

Participation occurred through Amazon’s Mechanical Turk. Participants were randomly assigned to the threat manipulation condition or the control condition, and the self-affirmation or

control condition. First, participants were asked to complete the self-affirmation or control task. Following this, they read the false allegation article or the #metoo article. After reading the article, participants answered two questions to ensure they paid attention to the article, and filled out the PANAS-short form.

On the next screen, participants were presented with the vignette. They were asked to carefully read the vignette before moving onto the next screen. The following screens asked the participants to what extent they believed the vignette, how harmful they thought the experience was, who was to blame, and what kind of punishment (if any) they would give the perpetrator.

On the next screen, participants were asked to complete the #metoo questionnaire, with the added questions about false allegations. Following this, they were asked to complete the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire.

Study 2: Results

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

The second study included 250 participants who followed instructions for the self-affirmation or control task. Demographic details of the sample are displayed in Table 25. As for Study 1, participation was restricted to MTurkers in the United States, with a HIT approved percentage that exceeded 95%, and a minimum of 50 HITs approved at the time of participation. On average, it took participants 44 minutes to finish the study. The shortest completion time was two minutes, the longest was one hour and 36 minutes. This was after removing two outliers who it appears forgot to submit the survey. Participants who participated in Study 1 were excluded from participating in Study 2. The median age of the sample was 34, and 57% of participants were between 18 and 36 years old.

Table 25: *Demographic Details of Sample*

	Frequency (%)
Age (<i>Range: 18-86</i>)	<i>M=37.74; SD=12.92</i>
Gender	
Male	118 (47.2%)
Female	130 (52.0%)
Non-binary	2 (0.8%)
Sexual Orientation	
Straight	222 (88.8%)
Gay or lesbian	4 (1.6%)
Bisexual	22 (8.8%)
Missing data	2 (.8%)
Education	
Bachelor's degree	109 (43.6%)
Some college, no degree	39 (15.6%)

Graduate degree	63 (25.2%)
Associate degree	26 (10.4%)
High school degree or equivalent	13 (5.2%)
Race/Ethnicity	
White (non-Hispanic)	165 (66.0%)
Black or African American	27 (10.8%)
Asian	18 (7.2%)
Hispanic	33 (13.2%)
Multiple races	5 (2.0%)
American Indian/Alaskan Native	2 (0.8%)
Employment	
Employed – working >40 hours per week	167 (66.8%)
Employed – working 1-39 hours per week	53 (21.2%)
Not employed – looking for work	6 (2.4%)
Not employed – not looking for work	10 (4.0%)
Retired	8 (3.2%)
Disabled – not able to work	6 (2.4%)
Parent	
Yes	145 (58.0%)
No	105 (42.0%)

Next, the descriptive statistics of the variables assessing proximity to sexual victimization were examined. Note that these questions were asked before any questions about #metoo were asked, to allow participants to answer about their experiences unrelated to the very public nature of #metoo. Three participants were removed from these analyses because their z-score for the number of people they knew who had been victimized exceeded four. Details are displayed in Table 26. Just over half the sample reported knowing someone who was a victim of sexual violence, and the same was found for sexual harassment.

Table 26: *Descriptive Statistics of Proximity to Sexual Victimization Variables*

		Frequency %	
Do you know anyone who was a victim of sexual violence?		135 (54.0%)	
Do you know anyone who was a victim of sexual harassment?		130 (52.0%)	
	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How many people do you know who were a victim of sexual violence?	0-45	4.18	5.64
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual violence		4.77	1.85
How many people do you know who were a victim of sexual harassment?	0-100	7.67	14.15
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual harassment		4.83	1.76

When comparing men and women on their proximity to sexual victimization, women were significantly more likely to know someone who was a victim of sexual violence or harassment. Further, they were significantly closer to such a person. The analyses are displayed in Table 27.

Table 27: Comparison of Men and Women on Proximity to Sexual Victimization

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
	Frequency (%)		Frequency (%)				Lower
Knowing someone who was a victim of sexual violence	47 (39.8%)		87 (66.9%)		-4.56***	.06	[-.41, -.16]
Prefer not to say	8 (6.8%)		8 (6.2%)				
Knowing someone who was a victim of sexual harassment	51 (43.2%)		80 (61.5%)		-2.97**	.06	[-.32, -.07]
Prefer not to say	7 (5.9%)		7 (5.4%)				
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
How many victims of sexual violence do you know	4.09	7.40	4.14	4.50	-.05	1.73	[-1.75, 5.09]
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual violence	4.19	1.90	5.10	1.76	-2.79**	.33	[-1.56, -.27]
How many victims of sexual harassment do you know	6.92	15.22	8.24	14.13	-.49	2.77	[-7.7, 3.23]
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual harassment	4.35	1.56	5.18	1.78	-2.69**	.31	[-1.43, -.22]

Note: ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Following this, the same analyses were conducted for the variables that specifically asked about participants' experiences with the #metoo movement. Results are displayed in Table 28. Of the people who reposted #metoo, 26 (83.9%) answered the closeness to a perpetrator question about the person who did something to make them repost the status.

Table 28: *Comparison of Men and Women on Exposure to #metoo Movement*

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>					X ²
	Frequency (%)		Frequency (%)					
Heard of #metoo	99 (83.9%)		116 (89.2%)					1.47
Reposted #metoo	32 (32.3%)		22 (19.0%)					4.25
Prefer not to say	3 (2.2%)		6 (5.2%)					
Do you know anyone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	29 (29.3%)		26 (22.4%)					1.78
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	
How many people do you know who reposted #metoo	6.78	11.81	11.30	26.04	-1.58	17.45	[-61.67, 7.16]	
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	4.17	2.00	4.28	1.91	-.33	.33	[-.66, .64]	
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	4.29	1.90	3.21	2.25	1.87	.56	[.12, 2.38]	

[†]*p*<.10

Study 2 included questions about false accusations of sexual violence. Although the baseline of false accusations seems low, men were more likely to report knowing someone who was falsely accused of sexual violence. Further details are displayed in Table 29.

Table 29: *Comparison of Men and Women on Proximity to False Accusations*

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
	Frequency (%)		Frequency (%)				
Do you know anyone who was falsely accused of sexual violence	26 (26.3%)		14 (12.1%)		2.64**	.05	[.04, .25]
Do you know anyone who has falsely accused someone of sexual violence	28 (28.3%)		8 (6.9%)		1.00	.10	[-.12, .26]
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Closeness to person you know who was falsely accused	3.92	1.90	3.67	1.97	.38	.64	[-.94, 1.65]
Closeness to person you know who falsely accused someone	3.50	2.00	3.13	1.81	.47	.80	[-1.34, 1.90]

Note: ** $p < .01$

Study 1 showed that the variables related to perceptions of the #metoo movement were highly correlated. To replicate this finding, the same EFA was conducted for Study 2. Details are displayed in Table 30 and Table 31.

Table 30: *Variance Explained by EFA*

Component	Total	% of Variance
1	5.362	44.683
2	2.827	23.561
3	.877	7.306
4	.708	5.896
5	.465	3.877
6	.407	3.394
7	.340	2.832
8	.278	2.320
9	.247	2.058
10	.221	1.844
11	.152	1.270
12	.115	.956

Table 31: *Pattern Matrix*

	Component	
	1	2
m2helpful	.701	-.224
m2important	.579	-.315
m2divisive	.003	.576
m2witch	-.279	.705
m2empower	.682	-.197
m2toofar	-.363	.672
m2support	.910	.062
m2persecute	.052	.904
m2worried	.088	.795
m2feelempower	.918	.105
m2heard	.903	.172
m2attacked	.067	.912

As the results are similar to those of Study 1, the same composite for perceptions was used in subsequent analyses.

Independent sample t-tests were conducted to examine whether there were differences in perception of the movement between men and women. Similar to Study 1, male participants were significantly more likely to have negative-leaning perceptions of #metoo ($M=17.52$, $SD=7.05$) than women ($M=13.92$, $SD=5.64$) ($t=-3.29$, $p=.001$). Similarly, women ($M=24.32$, $SD=5.47$) were significantly more likely to have positive-leaning perceptions of #metoo than men ($M=22.04$, $SD=4.52$) ($t=4.07$, $p<.001$).

The same vignette questions from Study 1 were used in Study 2. Descriptive statistics of these variables are detailed in Table 33.

Table 32: *Descriptive Statistics of Vignette variables.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis
Believe	81.82	17.09	16-100	-1.18	1.55
Blame Zoe	23.67	32.02	0-100	.98	-.64
Blame Mom's boyfriend	89.42	16.65	34-100	-1.50	1.09
Blame Mom	57.52	29.88	0-100	-.51	-.86
Harmful	86.95	15.57	34-100	-1.19	.85
Punishment	4.71	1.19	0-6	-1.39	2.79
Avoidable	60.69	31.07	0-100	-.59	-.87

Next, correlations between the vignette variables were computed. Results are displayed in Table 33.

Table 33: *Correlations between Vignette Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Believe	-	-.25***	.44***	-.01	.51***	.34***	-.10
2. Blame Zoe		-	-.68***	.31***	-.50***	-.30***	.32***
3. Blame Mom's boyfriend			-	-.17**	.70***	.44***	-.17**
4. Blame Zoe's Mom				-	-.11	.05	.24***
5. Harmful					-	.49***	-.14*
1. Punishment						-	<-.01
2. Avoidable							-

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Correlations between perceptions of the #metoo movement and responses to the vignette are displayed in Table 34. Similar to Study 2, these results show that participants with more negative perceptions of the movement were more likely to respond skeptically to the vignette. Participants

with more positive perceptions were more likely to display a more supportive response. Unlike Study 1, Study 2 did not find an effect of perception on punishment. Perhaps the finding in Study 1 was due to a Type 1 Error.

Table 34: *Correlations Between Perceptions of #metoo and Responses to a CSA Vignette*

	Positive Perceptions	Negative Perceptions
Believe	.49***	-.29***
Blame Zoe	-.02	.58***
Blame BF	.23**	-.41**
Blame Mom	-.03	.35***
Harmful	.33**	-.36***
Punishment	.12	-.12
Avoid	.03	.32***

Note: ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, † $p < .10$

Finally, the correlations between exposure to #metoo and perceptions of #metoo were examined. As in Study 1, having reposted the status was associated with stronger positive and negative perceptions. Knowing someone who reposted the status and being close to such a person was linked to positive perceptions, whereas knowing someone who did something to make someone else repost and being close to such a person had the opposite effect. Knowing someone who was falsely accused or who falsely accused someone was linked to more negative perceptions. Further results are displayed in Table 35.

Table 35: *Correlations between Exposure to and Perceptions of #metoo*

	Positive perceptions	Negative perceptions
Reposted #metoo	.17*	.40***
How many people do you know who reposted #metoo	.24***	.04
Closeness to person you know who reposted #metoo	.28**	.11
Do you know anyone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	.16*	.29***
Closeness to person you know who did something to make someone else repost #metoo	-.23	.51***
Do you know anyone who was falsely accused of sexual violence	.01	.57***
Closeness to person you know who was falsely accused	.28 [†]	.23
Do you know anyone who has falsely accused someone of sexual violence	-.09	.43***
Closeness to person you know who falsely accused someone	.44*	.18

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Similar results were found for proximity to sexual victimization independent of #metoo. Details are displayed in Table 36.

Table 36: *Correlations between Proximity to Sexual Victimization and Perceptions of #metoo*

	Positive perceptions	Negative perceptions
Do you know anyone who was a victim of sexual violence	.26***	-.13
How many people do you know who were a victim of sexual violence	-.21*	.22*
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual violence	.27**	-.16
Do you know anyone who was a victim of sexual harassment	.30***	-.14*
How many people do you know who were a victim of sexual harassment	-.20*	.19*
Closeness to person you know who was a victim of sexual harassment	.15	.12

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

R1: HOW DOES A FALSE ALLEGATION IMPACT PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO A CSA VIGNETTE?

H1: Men will feel threatened by a false allegation and respond more negatively to a subsequent disclosure.

The articles were piloted among undergraduate research assistants and graduate students. No significant differences emerged in responses to the article during the pilot. PANAS scores from participants after reading either article are displayed in Table 37.

Table 37: *PANAS Scores for Control and Threat Article*

	<u>#metoo Article</u>		<u>False Allegation</u>		<i>T</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD			
Upset	3.26	1.13	3.49	1.10	-1.60	.14	[-.51, .05]
Hostile	2.74	1.33	2.77	1.27	-.21	.17	[-.36, .29]
Alert	3.63	1.07	3.62	1.08	.12	.14	[-.26, .29]
Ashamed	2.26	1.35	2.20	1.39	.33	.18	[-.29, .40]
Inspired	2.60	1.32	2.25	1.36	2.03*	.17	[.01, .69]
Nervous	2.44	1.41	2.15	1.21	1.76	.17	[-.34, .63]
Determined	3.18	1.24	2.76	1.37	2.50*	.17	[.09, .74]
Attentive	3.90	.97	3.59	1.18	2.29*	.14	[.04, .59]
Afraid	2.46	1.39	2.15	1.28	1.82	.17	[.03, .64]
Active	3.07	1.31	3.00	1.30	.84	.17	[-.25, .40]

Note: * $p < .05$

After reading the control article, participants responded feeling more inspired, determined, and attentive. Next, gender differences in response to the articles were examined. No significant gender differences were found for the #metoo article, however, for the false allegation article, several variables showed a gender difference. Details are displayed in Table 38.

Table 38: *Differences between Men and Women in Response to Reading the Threat or Control Article*

	<u>Control Article</u>							<u>Threat Article</u>						
	<u>Men (N=58)</u>		<u>Women (N=66)</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<u>Men (N=60)</u>		<u>Women (N=61)</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD				Mean	SD	Mean	SD			
Upset	3.24	1.16	3.26	1.11	-.13	.21	[-.40, .41]	3.5	1.11	3.38	1.13	.59	.20	[-.34, .45]
Hostile	2.74	1.31	2.71	1.37	.19	.24	[-.42, .54]	3.08	1.24	2.43	1.23	2.94**	.23	[.18, 1.07]
Alert	3.55	1.16	3.73	1.00	-.86	.19	[-.59, .18]	3.68	1.00	3.54	1.16	.73	.20	[-.25, .54]
Ashamed	2.47	1.37	2.06	1.32	1.75 [†]	.24	[-.05, .91]	2.70	1.45	1.75	1.19	3.97***	.24	[.50, 1.45]
Inspired	2.48	1.25	2.68	1.38	-.86	.24	[-.65, .30]	2.76	1.39	1.83	1.19	4.01***	.23	[.53, 1.46]
Nervous	2.21	1.39	2.62	1.41	-1.53	.26	[-.89, .12]	2.42	1.28	1.86	1.08	2.63*	.22	[.14, .99]
Determined	3.14	1.26	3.24	1.23	-.45	.22	[-.58, .31]	3.08	1.20	2.47	1.45	2.57*	.24	[.19, 1.15]
Attentive	3.95	.99	3.88	.97	.38	.18	[-.30, .40]	3.52	1.23	3.67	1.15	-.70	.22	[-.55, .31]
Afraid	2.45	1.56	2.44	1.25	.12	.25	[-.46, .53]	2.65	1.31	1.65	1.03	4.67***	.22	[.57, 1.42]
Active	3.26	1.26	2.94	1.35	1.36	.24	[-.18, .76]	3.33	1.23	2.70	1.32	2.76**	.23	[.22, 1.13]

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

A series of two-way ANOVAs were conducted to assess the presence of any interaction effects for the PANAS variables. Men were more likely to feel inspired after the false allegation article ($F(1, 244)=11.79$ $p=.001$), as well as nervous ($F(1, 244)=8.20$ $p=.005$), determined ($F(1, 244)=4.75$ $p=.03$), and afraid ($F(1, 244)=8.70$ $p=.003$).

A series of two-way ANOVAs with gender and article condition were conducted to examine if there were any interaction effects on the vignette variables. A significant interaction effect was found for judging the vignette as harmful ($F(1, 239)=6.30, p=.01$). A similar interaction was found for the amount of blame attributed to the victim ($F(1, 240)= 4.47, p=.04$). Both of these interactions remained significant after entering closeness to a victim of sexual violence as a covariate (Harmful: $F(1, 238)= 7.81, p=.006$; Blame Victim: $F(1, 238)= 5.93, p=.02$).

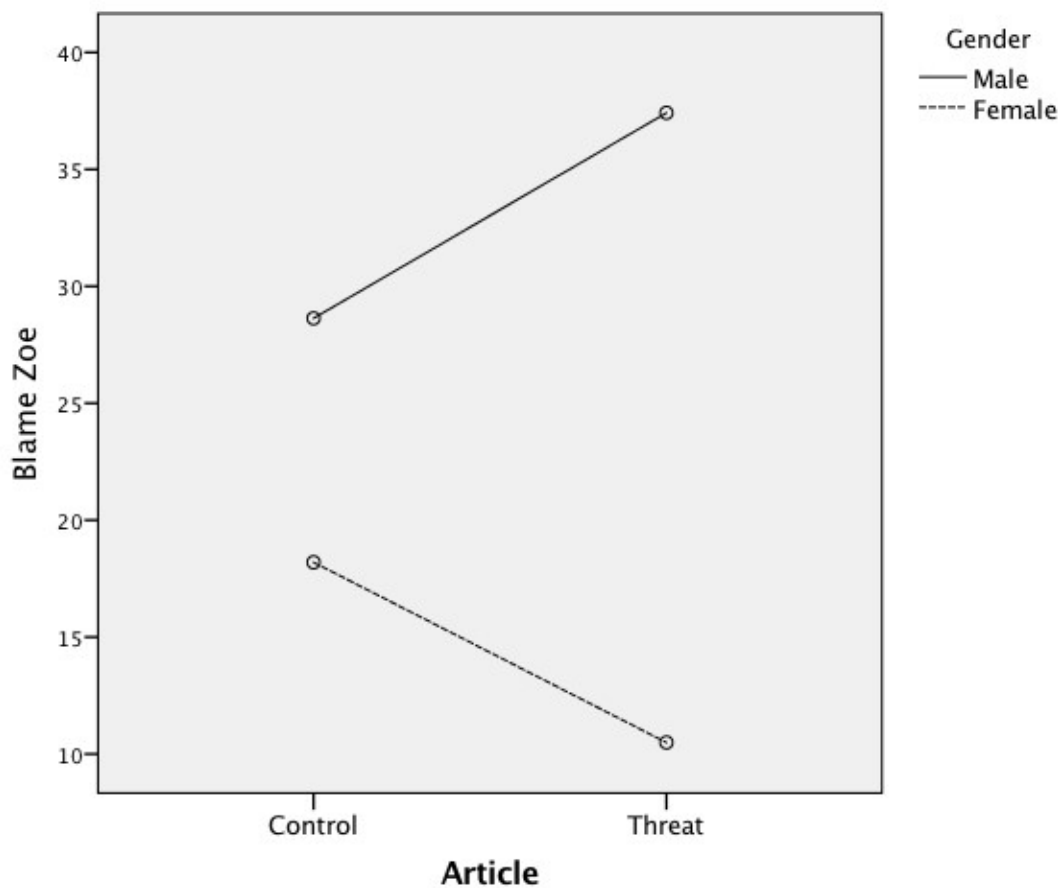


Figure 1. The Effect of Article Condition on the Amount of Blame Allocated to Zoe for Men and Women

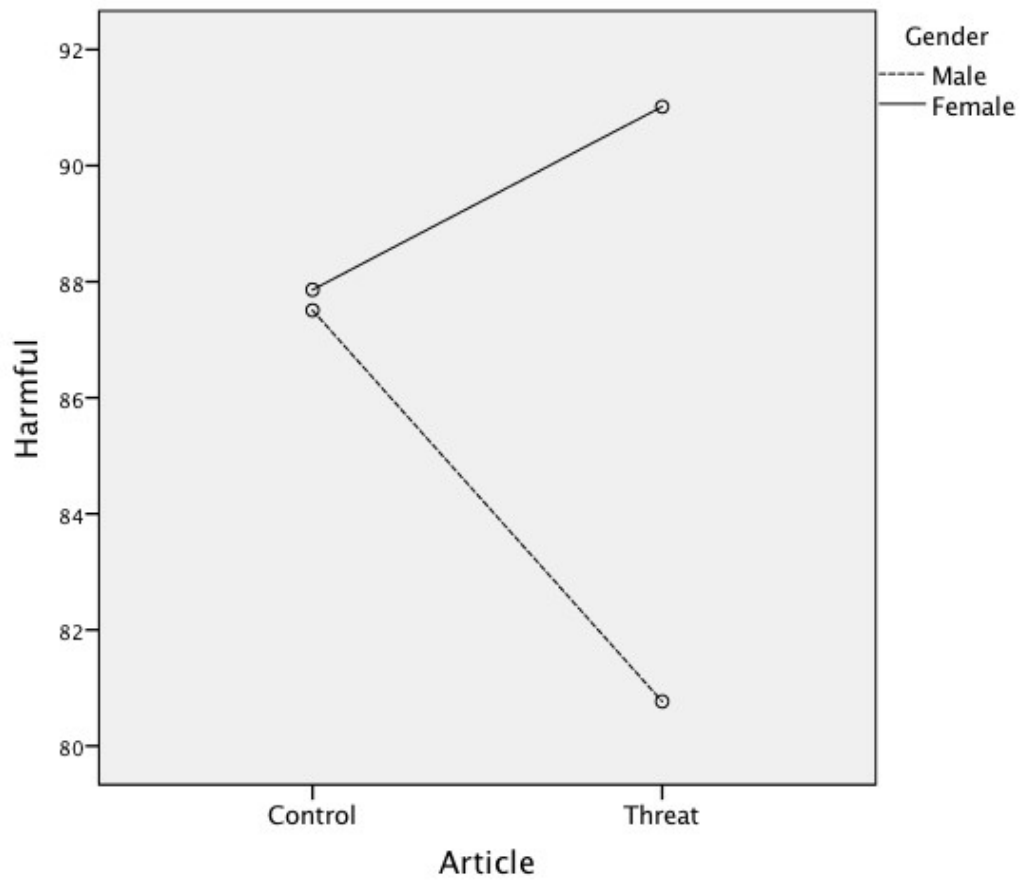


Figure 2. The Effect of Article Condition on the Perceived Harmfulness of the Vignette for Men and Women

As in Study 1, multiway contingency tables were used to assess the effect of gender and article on the type of punishments participants would give the perpetrator, but no significant effects were found.

R2: WILL PROXIMITY TO CSA, OR TO FALSE ALLEGATIONS IMPACT THESE FINDINGS?

H2: People with higher proximity to victimization will respond more positively to victims, regardless of condition.

To assess this hypothesis, a series of stepwise multiple regressions were conducted. For each of these, closeness to a victim of sexual violence (unrelated to #metoo) was entered, followed by participant gender and article condition in the second block, and the interaction between these two variables in the final block. Significant results are displayed below in Table 39, Table 40, Table 41, and Table 42. No significant results were found for blaming Zoe's mom or for judging the vignette to be avoidable.

Table 39: *Stepwise Regression of Belief in the Vignette on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Victim of Sexual Violence	.25	3.97***	.18	2.77**	.21	2.24*
False Accusation			-.05	-.88	-.03	-.35
Gender			.21	3.30**	.21	3.21**
False Accusation*Gender					-.04	-.43
R ²	.06		.11		.11	
R ² change	.06***		.04**		.001	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 40: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Victim of Sexual Violence	-.22	-3.58***	-.15	-2.28*	-.06	-.68
False Accusation			-.001	-.23	.07	.86
Gender			-.25	-3.83***	-.26	3.97***
False Accusation*Gender					-.13	-1.29
R ²	.05		.09		.10	
R ² change	.05***		.055**		.006	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 41: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom's Boyfriend on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Victim of Sexual Violence	.23	3.61***	.17	2.64**	.13	1.43
False Accusation			.005	.08	-.03	-.34
Gender			.18	2.64**	.18	2.68**
False Accusation*Gender					.06	.58
R ²	.05		.08		.08	
R ² change	.05***		.03*		.001	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 42: *Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness on Proximity to Sexual Victimization, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Victim of Sexual Violence	.17	2.71**	.13	1.94	.05	.49
False Accusation			-.05	-.75	-.12	-1.38
Gender			.13	1.92	.14	2.07*
False Accusation*Gender					.13	1.22
R ²	.03		.05		.05	
R ² change	.03**		.02		<.01	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

The article condition did not affect response to a vignette, but proximity to sexual victimization and participant gender were significant predictors of the response.

H3: People with higher proximity to perpetration or false allegations will respond more negatively to victims, especially in the false allegation condition.

To assess this hypothesis, an interaction variable of proximity to perpetration and condition was computed, and entered in the second step. It did not yield any significant results and thus was excluded from the subsequent analyses.

Proximity to perpetration:

Another series of stepwise multiple regressions were conducted, with closeness to a perpetrator of sexual violence entered in the first block, followed by article condition and gender in the second block, and the interaction of these two variables in the final block. Significant results are displayed in Table 43, Table 44, and Table 45.

Proximity to perpetration had no effect on belief in the vignette, blame allocated to Zoe's mom, or how avoidable the participant judged the vignette to be.

Table 43: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Perpetrator of Sexual Violence	.38	5.88***	.35	5.55***	.39	6.31***
False Accusation			-.001	-.01	.15	2.05*
Gender			-.25	-3.97***	-.22	-3.53**
False Accusation*Gender					.15	2.05*
R ²	.14		.20		.25	
R ² change	.14***		.06***		.05***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 44: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom's Boyfriend on Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Perpetrator of Sexual Violence	-.26	-3.88***	-.24	-3.58***	-.28	-4.34***
False Accusation			-.02	-.32	-.18	-2.39*
Gender			.20	3.01**	.16	2.54*
False Accusation*Gender					.29	3.78***
R ²	.07		.11		.16	
R ² change	.07***		.04*		.06***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 45: *Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Perpetration, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to Perpetrator of Sexual Violence	-.19	-2.81**	-.18	-2.58*	-.21	-3.09*
False Accusation			-.06	-.83	-.18	-2.22*
Gender			.14	2.13*	.12	1.75
False Accusation*Gender					.22	2.72**
R ²	.04		.06		.09	
R ² change	.06*		.03 [†]		.03**	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

Proximity to falsely accused person

The same analyses were conducted for proximity to a falsely accused person. No effect was found on belief in the vignette, blame allocated to Zoe's mom, or participants' judgment of how avoidable the vignette was. Significant results are displayed in Table 46, Table 47, Table 48, and Table 49.

Table 46: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe on Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to falsely accused person	.54	9.30***	.51	8.83***	.53	9.42***
False Accusation			.03	.55	.17	2.51*
Gender			-.20	-3.51**	-.17	-3.09**
False Accusation*Gender					-.24	-3.69***
R ²	.29		.33		.37	
R ² change	.29***		.04**		.04***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 47: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom's Boyfriend Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to falsely accused person	-.27	-4.06***	-.24	-3.62***	-.26	-4.03***
False Accusation			-.03	-.48	-.18	-2.27*
Gender			.19	2.80**	.16	2.39*
False Accusation*Gender					.26	3.38**
R ²	.07		.11		.15	
R ² change	.07***		.04*		.05*	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 48: *Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to falsely accused person	-.21	-3.09*	-.19	-2.80*	-.21	-3.06*
False Accusation			-.07	-.97	-.17	-2.17*
Gender			.13	1.95	.11	1.62
False Accusation*Gender					.20	2.46*
R ²	.04		.07		.09	
R ² change	.04**		.02 [†]		.03*	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 49: *Stepwise Regression of Avoidable Proximity to Falsely Accused Person, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to falsely accused person	.26	3.87***	.27	3.96***	.27	3.92***
False Accusation			.03	.48	.03	.31
Gender			.06	.81	.05	.78
False Accusation*Gender					.01	.16
R ²	.07		.07		.07	
R ² change	.07***		.004		<.001	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Proximity to someone who falsely accused someone else

Finally, the same analyses were conducted to examine whether closeness to someone who falsely accused someone else of sexual violence was a predictor of response to a vignette. Significant results are displayed in Table 50, Table 51, and Table 52.

Table 50: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Zoe Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to person who falsely accused someone	.50	8.37***	.46	7.65***	.48	8.14***
False Accusation			-.04	-.70	.09	1.28
Gender			-.19	-3.13**	-.16	-2.72**
False Accusation*Gender					-.24	-3.43**
R ²	.25		.28		.32	
R ² change	.25***		.03**		.04**	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 51: *Stepwise Regression of Blame Mom's Boyfriend on Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to person who falsely accused someone	-.24	-3.56***	-.20	-2.91**	-.22	-3.28**
False Accusation			.002	.03	-.14	-1.75
Gender			.18	2.71**	.15	2.31*
False Accusation*Gender					.25	3.26**
R ²	.06		.09		.13	
R ² change	.06***		.03*		.04**	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 52: *Stepwise Regression of perceived Harmfulness Proximity to Person who Falsely Accused Someone, Gender, and Condition*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>		<u>Step 3</u>	
	β	t	β	t	β	t
Closeness to person who falsely accused someone	-.18	-2.72**	-.15	-2.18*	-.17	-2.42*
False Accusation			-.04	-.57	-.14	-1.77
Gender			.13	1.90	.11	1.58
False Accusation*Gender					.19	2.37*
R ²	.03		.05		.08	
R ² change	.03**		.02		.03*	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

R3: DOES PROXIMITY TO CSA VICTIMIZATION PREDICT RESPONSE TO CSA VIGNETTE ABOVE AND BEYOND EMPATHY DIFFERENCES?

H4: Even after controlling for empathy differences, proximity to CSA victimization will significantly predict response to a CSA vignette.

The internal consistency of the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire was $\alpha = .877$. The mean empathy score in the sample was 43.74 ($range = 19-64$; $SD = 10.22$). Empathy scores were positively correlated with closeness to a victim of sexual violence ($r = .23$, $p = .001$). Further, empathy was negatively correlated with closeness to perpetration ($r = -.24$, $p < .001$), closeness to someone who was falsely accused ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$), and closeness to someone who falsely accused someone else of sexual violence ($r = -.28$, $p < .001$). Finally, empathy was positively correlated with positive perceptions of the #metoo movement ($r = .31$, $p < .001$) and negatively correlated with negative perceptions of the movement ($r = -.52$, $p < .001$).

A series of stepwise multiple regressions were conducted to examine whether the effect of proximity of victimization on response to a vignette remained when adding empathy to the model. Due to the strong link between gender and proximity, gender was included as well. Significant results are displayed in Table 53, Table 54, Table 55, and Table 56.

Table 53: *Stepwise Regression of Belief in Vignette on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Closeness to victim sexual violence	.18	2.74**	.12	1.98*
Gender	.16	2.43*	.07	1.06
Empathy			.37	6.00***
R ²	.08		.20	
R ² change	.08***		.12***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 54: *Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Zoe on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Closeness to victim sexual violence	-.16	-2.49*	-.08	-1.45
Gender	-.20	-2.98**	-.07	-1.18
Empathy			-.51	-8.87***
R ²	.09		.32	
R ² change	.09***		.23***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 55: *Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Mom's Boyfriend on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Closeness to victim sexual violence	.21	3.10**	.12	2.13*
Gender	.10	1.53	-.03	-.52
Empathy			.53	9.25***
R ²	.07		.32	
R ² change	.07***		.25***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 56: *Stepwise Regression of Perceived Harmfulness on Proximity to Sexual Victim, Gender, and Empathy*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Closeness to victim sexual violence	.17	2.46*	.09	1.43
Gender	.07	1.02	-.06	-1.00
Empathy			.52	8.80***
R ²	.04		.28	
R ² change	.04**		.24***	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

R4: DOES SELF-AFFIRMATION PROTECT PEOPLE FROM DEFENSIVE RESPONDING?

H5: A self-affirmation task will serve as a buffer protecting people from perceived threat, thus increasing the likelihood of a positive response to a CSA vignette.

To examine this final hypothesis, a series of stepwise regression with self-affirmation and article condition in first step, and the interaction between both variables in the second step were conducted. No interaction effects emerged, however, the self-affirmation condition had a

significant effect on the amount of blame allocated to Zoe, to mom's boyfriend, and the perceived harmfulness of the vignette. In all three cases, self-affirmation resulted in a more supportive response to the vignette.

Table 56: *Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Zoe on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Self-Affirmation	-.14	-2.19*	-.22	-2.43*
False Accusation	-.001	-.01	-.08	-.87
Self-Affirmation*False Accusation			.13	1.24
R ²	.02		.03	
R ² change	.02X		<.01	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 57: *Stepwise Regression of Blame allocated to Mom's Boyfriend on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Self-Affirmation	.20	3.20**	.30	3.38**
False Accusation	.01	.12	.10	1.18
Self-Affirmation*False Accusation			-.17	-1.57
R ²	.04		.05	
R ² change	.04**		.01	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
Gender: male=0, female=1.

Table 58: *Stepwise Regression of Perceived Harmfulness on Self-Affirmation Condition, False Accusation Condition, and the Interaction between both Conditions*

Predictor Variable	<u>Step 1</u>		<u>Step 2</u>	
	β	T	β	t
Self-Affirmation	.17	2.70**	.23	2.53*
False Accusation	-.04	-.65	.01	.15
Self-Affirmation*False Accusation			-.09	-.88
R ²	.03		.04	
R ² change	.03*		<.01	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Gender: male=0, female=1.

As in Study 1, multiway contingency tables were used to assess the effect of self-affirmation and article on the type of punishments participants would give the perpetrator, but no significant effects were found.

Discussion

The goal of Study 2 was to replicate some of the findings from Study 1, and to further extend them to include the threat of false allegations, and the possible effect of self-affirmation on defensiveness. First, Study 2 assessed proximity to victimization independent of the #metoo movement. Women reported a greater proximity to victimization than men, consistent with the findings of Study 1 and previous research.

When assessing proximity using exposure to #metoo, men reported a greater proximity to someone who did something that would make someone else repost the status. This finding replicates the finding from Study 1 regarding proximity to perpetration. Study 2 included a proximity to false accusations of sexual violence. Although the baseline in this sample was low, men were more likely to know someone who was falsely accused of sexual violence. This finding is in line with expectations about who is more likely to be accused of sexual violence, and it speaks to the reason why #metoo may trigger defensiveness in men. Further, this greater proximity may facilitate an availability heuristic, which would make it easier for men to think of a case of false accusation, thus making this possibility seem more prevalent than it actually is.

Apart from similar results regarding exposure across both studies, perceptions of #metoo were also similar in both studies, with men holding less positive views of the movement, and women less negative views. Further, participants who held more positive views were more likely to respond to the vignette in a supportive manner, similar to Study 1. Looking at the association between exposure to and perceptions of #metoo, results again indicated that participants who reposted #metoo displayed more positive and negative perceptions. Closeness to a victim was associated with positive perceptions, and closeness to someone who did something that would make someone else repost was linked with negative perceptions, again, underlying the importance

of proximity for shaping perceptions. The addition of proximity to false accusations showed that this factor, whether it was knowing an accuser or accused, was related to more negative perceptions, suggesting that false accusations may negatively skew people's perceptions of the #metoo movement. It would appear then that people who have a negative experience with false accusations generalize this experience to a movement, and display more skeptical views as a result. No further details were asked about the nature of the false accusations, which means endorsement of these items was entirely reliant on the participant's judgment of a situation. It may be the case that some of these instances did not actually constitute a false accusation. Regardless, this study was interested in how people's perceptions about issues related to sexual violence shapes their opinions and the results indicate that proximity to false accusations does play a role.

The article mentioning a false accusation of sexual violence was included to create a threat that may enhance defensive attributions, particularly in male participants. This manipulation elicited the expected emotions, with men reporting significantly more negative emotions than women after reading the false accusation article. The expectation was that as a result of such emotions, male participants would be more likely to respond negatively to a CSA vignette after they read the false accusation article. Indeed, results indicated that men who read the false accusation article were more likely to blame Zoe for what happened, and to perceive the vignette as less harmful. These particular variables were also impacted in Study 1, underlining that defensiveness may be a secondary process. Belief in the vignette is not affected, but participants then cope with these mixed feelings of belief and defensiveness by minimizing harm and blaming the victim.

A second point of interest was whether proximity to sexual victimization, perpetration, or false accusations would affect the impact of the threatening article. With regards to proximity to

sexual victimization, both proximity and participant gender affected belief in the vignette, with participants who were female or closer to a victim of sexual violence more likely to believe the vignette. Similar to results in Study 1, this finding may point to women's increased identification with victims, and a potential perceived vulnerability in women that reflects similar defensive attributions. The blame attributed to Zoe by men was greater than by women, and the reverse was found for blaming Zoe's mom's boyfriend, irrespective of article condition. With regard to the perceived harmfulness of the vignette, only gender was a significant predictor, with men less likely to perceive the vignette as harmful. These findings underline that priming men with a threat may indeed shift responses to a CSA vignette, but the strongest predictors are gender and proximity to victimization independent of threat condition. It may be that the article manipulation was not strong enough to elicit the expected effect in male participants when accounting for gender and proximity to victimization.

With regards to proximity to perpetration, a similar effect was found with belief unaffected, the amount of blame allocated to Zoe predicted by closeness to a perpetrator of sexual violence, the false accusation condition, gender, and the interaction between these two. In short, both increased closeness to a perpetrator and male participants who read the threat article were more likely to allocate blame to Zoe. A similar, reverse pattern was found for the amount of blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend. Further, the perceived harmfulness of the vignette was similarly affected. These are the same three vignette variables that seem to be most affected by proximity and threat, suggesting that they may form part of the defensive response that may occur when presented with a CSA vignette. This is particularly underlined by the fact that belief in the vignette remains unaffected. The same three vignette variables were affected by proximity to someone who was falsely accused of sexual violence, with the same pattern of variables predicting

more blame allocated to the victim and less to the perpetrator, and the vignette being perceived as less harmful. Interestingly, the same pattern was found for closeness to someone who falsely accused someone else of sexual violence. It may be the case that because such accusations and incidents of sexual violence often occur in close, social circles, someone who knows a falsely accused person is also more likely to know the accuser. Knowing of such an incident may be used to overgeneralize to other instances of sexual violence, leading to more skepticism. Interestingly, it does not affect belief, pointing again to a secondary response.

Study 2 incorporated empathy to determine whether the effects found in Study 1 would emerge in Study 2 when including empathy. Participants who displayed higher levels of empathy were more likely to be close to a victim of sexual violence, but less likely to be close to a perpetrator, or someone who was falsely accused of or falsely accused someone of sexual violence. Further, participants with higher empathy scores tended to hold more positive views of the #metoo movement. Upon entering empathy into the models predicting vignette responses, it emerged as the strongest predictor. However, proximity to a victim of sexual violence remained a significant predictor of belief in the vignette, and amount of blame allocated to Zoe's mom's boyfriend. Thus, proximity to a victim of sexual violence remains important in predicting belief in a disclosure as well as allocating blame to the perpetrator, regardless of empathy.

Finally, self-affirmation was hypothesized to be able to buffer the triggered defensive attributions. Unfortunately, the threat article was not a strong enough manipulation to trigger these attributions in the first place, however, even without a specific threat, men already responded more negatively to the vignette. Despite the absence of an effect for article condition, the effects of self-affirmation, the article, and the interaction between the two on the vignette variables were assessed. No interaction between article and self-affirmation emerged, but self-affirmation did have a

positive effect on the three variables that this study's results found may be part of a defensive response; blame allocated to the victim, to the perpetrator, and the perceived harmfulness of the vignette. In each of these cases, participants in the self-affirmation condition were more likely to respond in a supportive manner. These findings are in line with previous research that found that self-affirmation can reverse a defensive response to information that threatens the individual's identity. As such, self-affirmation may be a useful tool in countering defensive responses to sexual violence and disclosures.

The second study had similar limitations as Study 1, in terms of not asking about participants' own perpetration. Further, the lack of details about the information recalled regarding victimization, perpetration, and false allegations means that a wide range of circumstances may have been included in participants' answers. Future studies should incorporate questions that ask about more specific circumstances to explore the types of experiences participants identify as relevant. Finally, the threat article did not elicit the enhanced defensive attributions to the expected extent, which means a stronger manipulation of this variable may be necessary.

This second study replicated and extended the findings of the first study and found similar gender differences in exposure to sexual victimization and perpetration, as well as in perceptions of CSA disclosure and the #metoo movement. Threatening men with a story about a false allegation appeared to have some effect on more victim-blaming as well as minimizing the harmfulness of the CSA scenario. Regardless of threat, self-affirmation reversed the defensive process in making participants respond in a more supportive manner.

General Discussion

This set of studies explored people's exposure to, and perceptions of the #metoo movement and found that women were more likely to know a victim and to hold more positive views of the movement. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to know someone who did something to make someone else repost #metoo, someone who had falsely accused someone or been falsely accused by someone, and to have less positive views of the movement. Closeness to a victim predicted a more supportive response to a CSA disclosure, even when controlling for empathy, and gender differences emerged in such responses as well, with men responding in a more skeptical manner. Although belief in the disclosure remained unaffected, men were more likely to allocate blame from the perpetrator to the victim and to view the scenario as less harmful. Finally, self-affirmation was useful in reversing these effects.

Although only a small number of participants reported having reposted the status themselves, the results indicate that these participants show strong positive and negative perceptions of the #metoo movement. This may have occurred for several reasons, one of which characterizes reposting as a type of disclosure. Reposting #metoo is a form of disclosure, even though it may not be the individual's first disclosure. Previously discussed research included findings regarding the therapeutic effects of expressive writing after trauma, and how this effect may not hold for CSA survivors (Batten, Folette, Hall, & Palm, 2002). Perhaps reposting a status, and the variety of responses people open themselves up to by doing so, has a retraumatizing effect mixed with the potential for empowerment. Future studies should further examine reposters' reasons for doing so, and their feelings about doing so. Further, research should examine the types of responses people who reposted the status received, as this is likely to shape their experience. Finally, participants who reposted acknowledge themselves as a victim, which may indicate

greater well-being or adjustment. Future studies should include questions about why participants may have chosen not to repost the status.

The gender difference uncovered in these studies was in line with previous studies. #metoo may be viewed as a threat to men's established superiority, which results in the most negative responses to the other group (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). #metoo may emphasize the difference between both groups, thus helping to create defensive attributions in men. A future study may explore if emphasizing similarities between both groups is useful in alleviating a subsequent negative response to a disclosure.

The fact that belief in the vignette was largely unaffected, but the subsequent allocation of blame and perceived harmfulness of the vignette was affected suggests there may be underlying cognitive dissonance, to which the blame shifting, and minimization of harm are a secondary process. The belief question was asked before the other two questions, indicating a temporal process may indeed be at work. Future studies should further explore the different facets of this response and perhaps ask participants about their reasoning to uncover the process for shifting blame and minimizing harm despite intact belief.

The results on self-affirmation have implications for the success of a public awareness campaign, such as #metoo. The results underline the importance of empowering male allies and making them feel as if they can be part of the solution rather than the problem (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2004). Even reaching a percentage of men who may be allies should have a positive effect. The in-group members decide on the social norms or what is and is not acceptable to the group (Pettigrew, 1961; Turner, 1991). Men calling out other men on inappropriate behavior may be the only way to help reshape social norms among men and shift them to a more supportive, less defensive framework (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003). Attempts at

engaging men and boys are evident in hashtags such as #HowIWillChange, which trended in Twitter in response to #metoo (Vagianos, 2017). As a recent study points out (PettyJohn, Muzzey, Maas, & McCauley, 2018), hashtags usually focus on giving a voice to women who experience violence at the hand of men, e.g. #MaybeHeDoesn'tHitYou, #WhyIStayed, #WhyILeft, #YesAllWomen (Cravens, Whiting, & Amar, 2015; Maas, McCauley, Bonomi, & Leija, 2018; McCauley, Bonomi, Maas, Bogen, & O'Malley, 2018; Rodino-Colocino, 2014). These hashtags leave no room for men to join the conversation and to evaluate their own role in the perpetuation of violence against women and girls. #HowIWillChange was started by a man, with the intent of engaging boys and men in the conversation. PettyJohn and colleagues (2018) conducted a qualitative analysis of the hashtag to examine the content and how people were talking about it. They identified three themes; actively engaging to attempt to dismantle rape culture, resistance to social change because it is perceived as unfair to men, hostile resistance to social change. It would appear that only the first theme is indicative of a response free from defensiveness. Perhaps incorporating self-affirmation in the conversation will allow men to sidestep defensive responses and respond in this more supportive manner instead. Future studies may use some of these tweets to examine how it makes people respond, and what type of discourse is more useful in engaging men as allies.

In summary, #metoo may empower survivors of sexual violence and allow them to speak up about their experiences, but the nature of their reposting experience is more complex. It is likely that a mere reposting is not enough to generate the necessary support, and given the polarized perceptions of the movement, reposting may expose the survivor to negative responses. Perhaps the reach of the #metoo movement should include men in the conversation, to address defensive attributions that may skew their responses to be less supportive. Self-affirmation was demonstrated

to be beneficial in this process, and if the movement is to achieve a goal of empowerment as well as creating a safe environment for survivors of sexual violence to speak up, the answer may lie in handing men tools that allow them to emerge as allies to women and to sexual violence survivors.

References

- Abrahams, N. (1996). Negotiating power, identity, family, and community: Women's community participation. *Gender & Society, 10*(6), 768-796.
- Abrams, D., Viki, G. T., Masser, B., & Bohner, G. (2003). Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism in victim blame and rape proclivity. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 84*(1), 111.
- Alaggia, R. (2005). Disclosing the trauma of child sexual abuse: A gender analysis. *Journal of loss and trauma, 10*(5), 453-470.
- Alaggia, R. (2010). An ecological analysis of child sexual abuse disclosure: Considerations for child and adolescent mental health. *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 19*(1), 32.
- Alaggia, R., & Millington, G. (2008). Male child sexual abuse: A phenomenology of betrayal. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 36*(3), 265-275.
- Alaggia, R., & Turton, J. V. (2005). Against the odds: The impact of woman abuse on maternal response to disclosure of child sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 14*(4), 95-113.
- Alexander, C. S., & Becker, H. J. (1978). The use of vignettes in survey research. *Public opinion quarterly, 42*(1), 93-104.
- Anderson, T. H. (2011). Against the wind: Male victimization and the ideal of manliness. *Journal of Social Work, 13*, 231-247.
- Arata, C. M. (1998). To tell or not to tell: Current functioning of child sexual abuse survivors who disclosed their victimization. *Child Maltreatment, 3*(1), 63-71.

- Arce, R., Fariña, F., & Sobral, J. (1996). From jurors to jury decision making. A non model approach. *Psychology, law and criminal justice. International developments in research and practice*, 337-343.
- Archambault, J., & Lonsway, K. A. (2012). Clearance methods for sexual assault cases. Retrieved from <https://www.evawintl.org/Library/DocumentLibraryHandler.ashx?id=34>
- Archambault, J., & Lonsway, K. A. (2012). *Clearance methods for sexual assault cases*. Retrieved from <https://www.evawintl.org/Library/DocumentLibraryHandler.ashx?id=34>
- Armstrong, M. W. (1989). Therapy of incest survivors: abuse or support?. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 13(4), 549-562.
- Aron, A., Aron E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of other in the self scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, 596-612.
- Ashton, N. L. (1982). Validation of a rape myth acceptance scale. *Psychological Report*, 50, 252.
- Back, S., & Lips, H. M. (1998). Child sexual abuse: victim age, victim gender, and observer gender as factors contributing to attributions of responsibility1. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 22(12), 1239-1252.
- Baker, K. A., & Dwairy, M. (2003). Cultural norms versus state law in treating incest: A suggested model for Arab families. *Child abuse & neglect*, 27(1), 109-123.
- Baldwin, M. R., & Kleike, C. L. (1994). Effects of severity of accident, intent, and “alcoholism is a disease” excuse on judgments of a drunk driver. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(23), 2097-2109.

- Banyard, V. L. (1997). The impact of childhood sexual abuse and family functioning on four dimensions of women's later parenting. *Child abuse & neglect, 21*(11), 1095-1107.
- Banyard, V. L., Arnold, S., & Smith, J. (2000). Childhood sexual abuse and dating experiences of undergraduate women. *Child maltreatment, 5*(1), 39-48.
- Banyard, V. L., Plante, E. G., & Moynihan, M. M. (2004). Bystander education: Bringing a broader community perspective to sexual violence prevention. *Journal of community psychology, 32*(1), 61-79.
- Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 71*(2), 230.
- Barnett, N. J., & Feild, H. S. (1977). Sex differences in university students' attitudes toward rape. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 18*, 93-96.
- Barter, K. (2005). Alternative approaches to promoting the health and wellbeing of children: Accessing community resources to support resilience. In Ungar, M. (Ed.), *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts* (pp. 343–356). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Batten, S. V., Follette, V. M., Hall, M. L. R., & Palm, K. M. (2002). Physical and psychological effects of written disclosure among sexual abuse survivors. *Behavior Therapy, 33*(1), 107-122.

- Batson, C. D., Early, S., & Salvarani, G. (1997). Perspective taking: Imagining how another feels versus imaging how you would feel. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 751-758. doi:10.1177/0146167297237008
- Batson, C. D., O'Quin, K., Fultz, J., Vanderplas, M., & Isen, A. M. (1983). Influence of self-reported distress and empathy on egoistic versus altruistic motivation to help. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45, 706-718. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.45.3.706
- Batten, S. V., Follette, V. M., Rasmussen Hall, M. L., & Palm, K. M. (2002). Physical and psychological effects of written disclosure among sexual abuse survivors. *Behavior Therapy*, 33, 107-122.
- BBC (2015, February 26). *Jimmy Savile abuse reports: At-a-glance*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-31637937>
- Becker, J. V. (1994). Offenders: Characteristics and treatment. *Future of Children*, 4, 176-197.
- Bederian-Gardner, D., & Goldfarb, D. (2014). Expectations of emotions during testimony: The role of communicator and perceiver characteristics. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 32(6), 829-845.
- Bell, S. T., Kuriloff, P. J., & Lottes, I. (1994). Understanding attributions of blame in stranger rape and date rape situations: An examination of gender, race, identification, and students' social perceptions of rape victims. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(19), 1719-1734.
- Berliner, L., & Conte, J. R. (1990). The process of victimization: The victims' perspective. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 14(1), 29-40.

- Berrick, J. D. (1988). Parental involvement in child abuse prevention training: What do they learn?. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 12(4), 543-553.
- Black, C. A., & De-Blassie, R. R. (1993). Sexual abuse in male children and adolescents: Indicators, effects, and treatments. *Adolescence*, 28(109), 123.
- Black, K. A., & Gold, D. J. (2008). Gender differences and socioeconomic status biases in judgments about blame in date rape scenarios. *Violence and victims*, 23(1), 115.
- Blumberg, M. L., & Lester, D. (1991). High school and college students' attitudes toward rape. *Adolescence*, 26, 727-729.
- Bohner, G., Eyssel, F., Pina, A., Siebler, F., & Viki, G. T. (2009). Rape myth acceptance: Cognitive, affective and behavioural effects of beliefs that blame the victim and exonerate the perpetrator. *Rape: Challenging contemporary thinking*, 17-45.
- Bohner, G., Siebler, F., & Schmelcher, J. (2006). Social norms and the likelihood of raping: Perceived rape myth acceptance of others affects men's rape proclivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(3), 286-297.
- Bolen, R. (2002). Child sexual abuse and attachment theory: are we rushing headlong into another controversy?. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 11(1), 95-124.
- Bolen, R. M., & Scannapieco, M. (1999). Prevalence of child sexual abuse: A corrective metanalysis. *Social Service Review*, 73(3), 281-313.
- Bollingmo, G. C., Wessel, E. O., Eilertsen, D. E., & Magnussen, S. (2008). Credibility of the emotional witness: A study of ratings by police investigators. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 14(1), 29-40.

- Bolton Jr, F. G., Morris, L. A., & MacEachron, A. E. (1989). *Males at risk: The other side of child sexual abuse*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Borden, L. A., Karr, S. K., & Caldwell-Colbert, A. (1988). Effects of a university rape prevention program on attitudes and empathy toward rape. *Journal of College Student Development*.
- Bottoms, B. L., & Goodman, G. S. (1994). Perceptions of children's credibility in sexual assault cases. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(8), 702-732.
- Bottoms, B. L., Rudnicki, A. G., & Epstein, M. A. (2007). A retrospective study of factors affecting the disclosure of childhood sexual and physical abuse. *Child sexual abuse: Disclosure, delay, and denial*, 175-194.
- Boudewyn, A. C., & Liem, J. H. (1995). Childhood sexual abuse as a precursor to depression and self-destructive behavior in adulthood. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 8(3), 445-459.
- Bradley, R. G., & Follingstad, D. R. (2001). Utilizing disclosure in the treatment of the sequelae of childhood sexual abuse: A theoretical and empirical review. *Clinical psychology review*, 21(1), 1-32.
- Bradley, A. R., & Wood, J. M. (1996). How do children tell? The disclosure process in child sexual abuse. *Child abuse & neglect*, 20(9), 881-891.
- Brady, E. C., Chrisler, J. C., Hosdale, D. C., Osowiecki, D. M., & Veal, T. A. (1991). Date rape: Expectations, avoidance strategies, and attitudes toward victims. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 13,427-429.

- Brannon, J. M., Larson, B., & Doggett, M. (1991). Peer Counseling Strategies: Facilitating Self-Disclosure Among Sexually Victimized Juvenile Offenders. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling*, 11(2), 51-58.
- Breitenbecher, K. H. (2001). Sexual revictimization among women: A review of the literature focusing on empirical investigations. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 6(4), 415-432.
- Briere, J., & Elliott, D. M. (2003). Prevalence and psychological sequelae of self-reported childhood physical and sexual abuse in a general population sample of men and women. *Child abuse & neglect*, 27(10), 1205-1222.
- Briggs, F., & Hawkins, M. F. (1996). A comparison of the childhood experiences of convicted male child molesters and men who were sexually abused in childhood and claimed to be nonoffenders. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 20, 221-233.
- Broussard, S. D., & Wagner, W. G. (1988). Child sexual abuse: Who is to blame?. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 12(4), 563-569.
- Broussard, S., Wagner, W. G., & Kazelskis, R. (1991). Undergraduate students' perceptions of child sexual abuse: The impact of victim sex, perpetrator sex, respondent sex, and victim response. *Journal of Family Violence*, 6(3), 267-278.
- Brown, R. J., & Ross, G. R. (1982). The battle for acceptance: An exploration into the dynamics of intergroup behavior. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp. 155–178). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, rape*. New York:

- Budin, L. E., & Johnson, C. F. (1989). Sex abuse prevention programs: Offenders' attitudes about their efficacy. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 13(1), 77-87.
- Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T., & Gosling, S. D. (2011). Amazon's Mechanical Turk: A new source of inexpensive, yet high-quality, data?. *Perspectives on psychological science*, 6(1), 3-5.
- Bunting, L. (2005). *Females who sexually offend against children: Responses of the child protection and criminal justice systems*. London: NSPCC.
- Bunting, A. B., & Reeves, J. B. (1983). Perceived male sex orientation and beliefs about rape. *Deviant Behavior*, 4(3-4), 281-295.
- Burchfield, K. B., & Mingus, W. (2008). Not in my neighborhood: Assessing registered sex offenders' experiences with local social capital and social control. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 35(3), 356-374.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 38(2), 217.
- Burt, M. R. (1991). Rape myths and acquaintance rape. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (Eds.), *Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime* (pp. 26-40). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Burt, D. L., & DeMello, L. R. (2003). Attribution of rape blame as a function of victim gender and sexuality, and perceived similarity to the victim. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 43(2), 39-57.
- Bussey, K., & Grimbeek, E. J. (1995). Disclosure processes: Issues for child sexual abuse victims.
- Butler, L., Classen, C., Koopman, C., & Spiegel, D. (2000, November). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: Rates, targets, responses, and memory. *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Society of Traumatic Stress Studies, San Antonio, TX.*

- Butler, I., & Williamson, H. (1994). *Children speak: Children, trauma and social work*. Longman Publishing Group.
- Bybee, D., & Mowbray, C. T. (1993). An analysis of allegations of sexual abuse in a multi-victim day-care center case. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 17(6), 767-783.
- Caceres, C. (2005). Assessing young people's non-consensual sexual experiences: lessons from Peru. *Sex without Consent: Young people in Developing Countries*. London and New York, Zed Books, 127-138.
- Cairns, K. (1999). *Surviving Paedophilia: Traumatic stress after organised and network child sexual abuse*. Stylus Publishing, LLC..
- Campis, L. B., Hebden-Curtis, J., & Demaso, D. R. (1993). Developmental differences in detection and disclosure of sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 32(5), 920-924.
- Carr, C. P., Martins, C. M. S., Stingel, A. M., Lemgruber, V. B., & Juruena, M. F. (2013). The role of early life stress in adult psychiatric disorders: a systematic review according to childhood trauma subtypes. *The Journal of nervous and mental disease*, 201(12), 1007-1020.
- Cawson, P., Wattam, C., Brooker, S., & Kelly, G. (2000). Child maltreatment in the United Kingdom: A study of the prevalence of abuse and neglect. *London: NSPCC*.
- Cermak, P., & Molidor, C. (1996). Male victims of child sexual abuse. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 13(5), 385-400.

- Chaikin, A. L., & Darley, J. M. (1973). Victim or perpetrator?: Defensive attribution of responsibility and the need for order and justice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 25(2), 268.
- Charles, J. (2012, August 19). The Jaco Report: August 19, 2012. Fox News.
- Christiansen, J. R., & Blake, R. H. (1990). The grooming process in father-daughter incest. In A. L. Horton, B. L. Johnson, L. M. Roundy, & D. Williams (Eds.), *The incest perpetrator: A family member no one wants to treat* (pp. 88-98). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cameron, C. A., & Stritzke, W. G. (2003). Alcohol and acquaintance rape in Australia: Testing the presupposition model of attributions about responsibility and blame. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33(5), 983-1008.
- Cohen, G. L., Aronson, J., & Steele, C. M. (2000). When beliefs yield to evidence: Reducing biased evaluation by affirming the self. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(9), 1151-1164.
- Cohen, J. A., Deblinger, E., Mannarino, A. P., & Steer, R. A. (2004). A multisite, randomized controlled trial for children with sexual abuse-related PTSD symptoms. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 43(4), 393-402.
- Cohen, G. L., & Sherman, D. K. (2014). The psychology of change: Self-affirmation and social psychological intervention. *Annual review of psychology*, 65.

- Collin-Vézina, D., Daigneault, I., & Hébert, M. (2013). Lessons learned from child sexual abuse research: Prevalence, outcomes, and preventive strategies. *Child and adolescent psychiatry and mental health*, 7(1), 22.
- Collin-Vézina, D., De La Sablonnière-Griffin, M., Palmer, A. M., & Milne, L. (2015). A preliminary mapping of individual, relational, and social factors that impede disclosure of childhood sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 43, 123-134.
- Collings, S. J. (1997). Development, reliability, and validity of the child sexual abuse myth scale. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12(5), 665-674.
- Collings, S. J. (2002). Unsolicited interpretation of child sexual abuse media reports. *Child abuse & neglect*, 26(11), 1135-1147.
- Colman, R. A., & Widom, C. S. (2004). Childhood abuse and neglect and adult intimate relationships: A prospective study. *Child abuse & neglect*, 28(11), 1133-1151.
- Conte, J.R. (2002). *Critical issues in child sexual abuse: Historical, legal, and psychological perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Conte, J. R., & Schuerman, J. R. (1987). Factors associated with an increased impact of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 11(2), 201-211.
- Conte, J. R., Wolf, S., & Smith, T. (1989). What sexual offenders tell us about prevention strategies. *Child abuse & neglect*, 13(2), 293-301.
- Coolbear, J. (1992). Credibility of young children in sexual abuse cases: Assessment strategies of legal and human service professionals. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne*, 33(2), 151.

- Cooper, A., Quas, J. A., & Cleveland, K. C. (2014). The Emotional Child Witness: Effects on Juror Decision-making. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 32(6), 813-828.
- Cravens, J. D., Whiting, J. B., & Amar, R. O. (2015). Why I stayed/left: an analysis of voices of intimate partner violence on social media. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 37(4), 372-385.
- Critelli, J. W., & Bivona, J. M. (2008). Women's erotic rape fantasies: An evaluation of theory and research. *Journal of Sex Research*, 45(1), 57-70.
- Crittenden, P. M., & Ainsworth, M. D. (1989). *Child maltreatment and attachment theory* (pp. 432-463). London, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Cromer, L., & Freyd, J. J. (2007). What influences believing child sexual abuse disclosures? The roles of depicted memory persistence, participant gender, trauma history, and sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31(1), 13-22.
- Cromer, L. D., & Freyd, J. J. (2009). Hear no evil, see no evil? Associations of gender, trauma history, and values with believing trauma vignettes. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 9(1), 85-96.
- Cromer, L. D., & Goldsmith, R. E. (2010). Child sexual abuse myths: Attitudes, beliefs, and individual differences. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 19(6), 618-647.
- Cromwell, M., (2017, December 19). *#MeToo movement goes too far.* Retrieved from: <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-op-1220-metoo-toofar-20171219-story.html>.
- Cutler, S. E., & Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (1991). Accounting for sex differences in depression through female victimization: Childhood sexual abuse. *Sex roles*, 24(7-8), 425-438.

- Davies, M., & Hudson, J. (2011). Judgments toward male and transgendered victims in a depicted stranger rape. *Journal of homosexuality*, 58(2), 237-247.
- Davies, M., Pollard, P., & Archer, J. (2001). The influence of victim gender and sexual orientation on judgments of the victim in a depicted stranger rape. *Violence and Victims*, 16(6), 607.
- Davies, M., & Rogers, P. (2009). Perceptions of blame and credibility toward victims of childhood sexual abuse: Differences across victim age, victim-perpetrator relationship, and respondent gender in a depicted case. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 18(1), 78-92.
- Davies, M., Rogers, P., & Bates, J. A. (2008). Blame toward male rape victims in a hypothetical sexual assault as a function of victim sexuality and degree of resistance. *Journal of homosexuality*, 55(3), 533-544.
- Davis, K. E., & Jones, E. E. (1960). Changes in interpersonal perception as a means of reducing cognitive dissonance. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 61(3), 402.
- Denov, M. S. (2003). To a safer place? Victims of sexual abuse by females and their disclosures to professionals. *Child abuse & neglect*, 27(1), 47-61.
- Denov, M. S. (2004). The long-term effects of child sexual abuse by female perpetrators: A qualitative study of male and female victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 19(10), 1137-1156.
- Dersch, C. A., & Munsch, J. (1999). Male victims of sexual abuse: An analysis of substantiation of child protective services reports. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 8(1), 27-48.
- DeVoe, E. R., & Faller, K. C. (1999). The characteristics of disclosure among children who may have been sexually abused. *Child Maltreatment*, 4(3), 217-227.

- Dexter, H. R., Penrod, S., Linz, D., & Saunders, D. (1997). Attributing responsibility to female victims after exposure to sexually violent films. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 27(24), 2149-2171.
- DeYoung, M. (1994). Immediate maternal reactions to the disclosure or discovery of incest. *Journal of Family Violence*, 9, 21-33.
- Dhaliwal, G. K., Gauzas, L., Antonowicz, D. H., & Ross, R. R. (1996). Adult male survivors of childhood sexual abuse: Prevalence, sexual abuse characteristics, and long-term effects. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 16(7), 619-639.
- DiLillo, D. (2001). Interpersonal functioning among women reporting a history of childhood sexual abuse: Empirical findings and methodological issues. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 21(4), 553-576.
- DiPietro, E. K., Runyan, D. K., & Fredrickson, D. D. (1997). Predictors of disclosure during medical evaluation for suspected sexual abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 6(1), 133-142.
- Donalek, J. G. (2001). First incest disclosure. *Issues in mental health nursing*, 22(6), 573-591.
- Donnerstein, E., Berkowitz, L., & Linz, D. (1986). Role of aggressive and sexual images in violent pornography. *Unpublished manuscript, University of Wisconsin-Madison*.
- Donovan, R. A. (2007). To blame or not to blame: Influences of target race and observer sex on rape blame attribution. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 22(6), 722-736.
- Dorahy, M. J., & Clearwater, K. (2012). Shame and guilt in men exposed to childhood sexual abuse: A qualitative investigation. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 21(2), 155-175.

- Dube, S. R., Anda, R. F., Whitfield, C. L., Brown, D. W., Felitti, V. J., Dong, M., & Giles, W. H. (2005). Long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse by gender of victim. *American journal of preventive medicine*, 28(5), 430-438.
- Dull, R. T., & Giacomassi, D. J. (1987). Demographic correlates of sexual and dating attitudes: A study of date rape. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 14(2), 175-193.
- Dye, E., & Roth, S. (1990). Psychotherapists' knowledge about and attitudes toward sexual assault victim clients. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14, 191-212.
- Eagly, A. H., & Kite, M. E. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to both women and men?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53(3), 451.
- Easton, S. D. (2012). Understanding adverse childhood experiences (ACE) and their relationship to adult stress among male survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of prevention & intervention in the community*, 40(4), 291-303.
- Easton, S. D. (2013). Disclosure of child sexual abuse among adult male survivors. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 41(4), 344-355.
- Easton, S. D., Saltzman, L. Y., & Willis, D. G. (2014). "Would you tell under circumstances like that?": Barriers to disclosure of child sexual abuse for men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 15(4), 460.
- Ebert, L., Johnson, C. S., Foley, E. G., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2000). Helpful and unhelpful social responses to women childhood sexual abuse survivors. *In annual meeting of the International Society of Traumatic Stress Studies. San Antonio, TX.*

- Eisenberg, N., Owens, R. G., & Dewey, M. E. (1987). Attitudes of health professionals to child sexual abuse and incest. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 11(1), 109-116.
- Elkins, T. J., Phillips, J. S., & Konopaske, R. (2002). Gender-related biases in evaluations of sex discrimination allegations: Is perceived threat the key?. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 87(2), 280.
- Elliot, M. (1993). *Female sexual abuse of children: The ultimate taboo*. Essex, Eng.: Longman.
- Elliott, D. M., & Briere, J. (1992). Sexual abuse trauma among professional women: Validating the Trauma Symptom Checklist-40 (TSC-40). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 16(3), 391-398.
- Elliott, M., Browne, K., & Kilcoyne, J. (1995). Child sexual abuse prevention: What offenders tell us. *Child abuse & neglect*, 19(5), 579-594.
- Ellis, A. L., O'Sullivan, C. S., & Sowards, B. A. (1992). The impact of contemplated exposure to a survivor of rape on attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 22(11), 889-895.
- Everill, J., & Waller, G. (1995). Reported sexual abuse and eating psychopathology: A review of the evidence for a causal link. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 18(1), 1-11.
- Everson, M. D., Hunter, W. M., Runyon, D. K., Edelsohn, G. A., & Coulter, M. L. (1989). Maternal support following disclosure of incest. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59(2), 197-207.
- Ewoldt, C. A., Monson, C. M., & Langhinrichsen-Rohling, J. (2000). Attributions about rape in a continuum of dissolving marital relationships. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 15(11), 1175-1182.

- Eysenck, H. J. (1978). *Sex and personality*. London: Open Books.
- Fabiano, P. M., Perkins, H. W., Berkowitz, A., Linkenbach, J., & Stark, C. (2003). Engaging men as social justice allies in ending violence against women: Evidence for a social norms approach. *Journal of American College Health*, 52, 105–112.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07448480309595732>
- Faller, K. C. (1989). Why sexual abuse? An exploration of the intergenerational hypothesis. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 13(4), 543-548.
- Faller, K. C., & DeVoe, E. (1995). Final report: Computer-assisted interviewing with children who may have been sexually abused. *School of Social Work: University of Michigan, USA*.
- Feather, N. T. (1996). Reactions to penalties for an offense in relation to authoritarianism, values, perceived responsibility, perceived seriousness, and deservingness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(3), 571.
- Feigenbaum, J. D., & De Silva, P. (2000). Mental health professionals' attitudes and practices towards male childhood sexual abuse. *Child abuse & neglect*, 24(3), 391-409.
- Feild, H. S. (1978a). Attitudes toward rape: A comparative analysis of police, rapists, crisis counselors, and citizens. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(2), 156.
- Feild, H. S. (1978b). Juror background characteristics and attitudes toward rape: Correlates of jurors' decisions in rape trials. *Law and Human Behavior*, 2,73-93.
- Feiring, C., Taska, L., & Lewis, M. (1996). A process model for understanding adaptation to sexual abuse: The role of shame in defining stigmatization. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20(8), 767-782.

- Fergusson, D. M., McLeod, G. F., & Horwood, L. J. (2013). Childhood sexual abuse and adult developmental outcomes: Findings from a 30-year longitudinal study in New Zealand. *Child abuse & neglect, 37*(9), 664-674.
- Feshbach, S., & Singer, R. D. (1957). The effects of fear arousal and suppression of fear upon social perception. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 55*(3), 283.
- Festinger, L.: 1957, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford University Press: Stanford, California).
- Finkelhor, D. (1990). Early and long-term effects of child sexual abuse: An update. *Professional psychology: Research and practice, 21*(5), 325.
- Finkelhor, D., Hotaling, G., Lewis, I., & Smith, C. (1990). Sexual abuse in a national survey of adult men and women: Prevalence, characteristics, and risk factors. *Child abuse & neglect, 14*(1), 19-28.
- Fisher, E. H., Nadler, A., & Witcher-Alagna, S. (1982). Recipient reactions to aid. *Psychological Bulletin, 91*, 27–54. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.91.1.27>
- Fleming, J., Mullen, P. E., Sibthorpe, B., & Bammer, G. (1999). The long-term impact of childhood sexual abuse in Australian women. *Child abuse & neglect, 23*(2), 145-159.
- Fondacaro, K. M., Holt, J. C., & Powell, T. A. (1999). Psychological impact of childhood sexual abuse on male inmates: The importance of perception. *Child abuse & neglect, 23*(4), 361-369.
- Fonow, M. M., Richardson, L., & Wemmerus, V. A. (1992). Feminist rape education: Does it work? *Gender and Society, 6*, 108-121.

- Font, S. A. (2013). Perceptions of juvenile sexual abuse victims: A meta-analysis on vignette-based studies on the effects of victims' age and respondents' gender. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 22(5), 593-611.
- Fontes, L. A., Cruz, M., & Tabachnick, J. (2001). Views of child sexual abuse in two cultural communities: An exploratory study among African Americans and Latinos. *Child Maltreatment*, 6(2), 103-117.
- Fontes, L. A., & Plummer, C. (2010). Cultural issues in disclosures of child sexual abuse. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 19(5), 491-518.
- Ford, T. M., Liwag-McLamb, M. G., & Foley, L. A. (1998). Perceptions of rape based on sex and sexual orientation of victim. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 13(2), 253.
- Frazier, P. A., & Seales, L. M. (1997). Acquaintance rape is real rape.
- Frenken, J., & Van Stolk, B. (1990). Incest victims: Inadequate help by professionals. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 14, 253-263.
- Frese, B., Moya, M., & Megías, J. L. (2004). Social perception of rape: How rape myth acceptance modulates the influence of situational factors. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 19(2), 143-161.
- Fromuth, M. E. (1986). The relationship of childhood sexual abuse with later psychological and sexual adjustment in a sample of college women. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 10(1), 5-15.
- Furedi, F. (2001). Paranoid parenting.
- Furnham, A., & Boston, N. (1996). Theories of rape and the just world. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 2(3), 211-229.

- Furniss, T. (1991). *The multi-professional handbook of child sexual abuse: integrated management, therapy, and legal intervention*. London: Routledge.
- Fuselier, D. A., Durham, R. L., & Wurtele, S. K. (2002). The child sexual abuser: Perceptions of college students and professionals. *Sexual Abuse, 14*(3), 271-280.
- Futa, K. T., Hsu, E., & Hansen, D. J. (2001). Child sexual abuse in Asian American families: An examination of cultural factors that influence prevalence, identification, and treatment. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice, 8*(2), 189-209.
- Gagnier, C., & Collin-Vézina, D. (2016). The disclosure experiences of male child sexual abuse survivors. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 25*(2), 221-241.
- Garcia, L. T. (1985). Exposure to pornography and attitudes about women and rape: A correlational study. *Journal of Sex Research, 21*, 378-385.
- Gardner, W., Mulvey, E. P., & Shaw, E. C. (1995). Regression analyses of counts and rates: Poisson, overdispersed Poisson, and negative binomial models. *Psychological Bulletin, 118*(3), 392—404.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorielli, N., & Shanahan, J. (1994). Media effects: Advances in theory and research. *Growing Up with Television: The Cultivation Perspective, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, NJ, 17-41*.
- German, D. N. E., Habenicht, D. J., & Fatcher, W. G. (1990). Psychological profile of the female adolescent incest victim. *Child abuse & neglect, 14*(3), 429-438.

- Gerson, J., (2017, October 17). *Jen Gerson: I mean no disrespect when I say that I have a problem with #MeToo*. Retrieved from: <http://nationalpost.com/opinion/jen-gerson-the-problem-with-metoo-it-holds-the-wrong-people-responsible-for-sex-assault>.
- Gilbert, L., El-Bassel, N., Schilling, R. F., & Friedman, E. (1997). Childhood abuse as a risk for partner abuse among women in methadone maintenance. *The American journal of drug and alcohol abuse*, 23(4), 581-595.
- Gilbert, R., Widom, C. S., Browne, K., Fergusson, D., Webb, E., & Janson, S. (2009). Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries. *The lancet*, 373(9657), 68-81.
- Gill, M., & Tutty, L. M. (1999). Male survivors of childhood sexual abuse: A qualitative study and issues for clinical consideration. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 7(3), 19-33.
- Gilligan, P., & Akhtar, S. (2006). Cultural barriers to the disclosure of child sexual abuse in Asian communities: Listening to what women say. *British Journal of Social Work*, 36(8), 1361-1377.
- Gilmartin-Zena, P. (1987). Attitudes toward rape: Student characteristics as predictors. *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 15(2), 175-182.
- Glass, D. C. (1964). Changes in liking as a means of reducing cognitive discrepancies between self-esteem and aggression. *Journal of Personality*, 32(4), 531-549.
- Glover, D. A., Loeb, T. B., Carmona, J. V., Sciolla, A., Zhang, M., Myers, H. F., & Wyatt, G. E. (2010). Childhood sexual abuse severity and disclosure predict posttraumatic stress

- symptoms and biomarkers in ethnic minority women. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 11(2), 152-173.
- Godbout, N., Briere, J., Sabourin, S., & Lussier, Y. (2014). Child sexual abuse and subsequent relational and personal functioning: The role of parental support. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 38(2), 317-325.
- Gold, A. R., Landerman, P. G., & Bullock, K. W. (1977). Reactions to victims of crime: Sympathy, defensive attribution, and the just world. *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, 5(2), 295-304.
- Goldman, R., & Goldman, J. (1982). *Children's Sexual Thinking: A Comparative Study of Children Aged 5 to 15 Years in Australia, North America, Britain and Sweden*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, c/o Technical Impex Corporation, 190 Merrimack Street, Lawrence, MA 01843 (Cloth, \$24.95)..
- Gomes-Schwartz, B., Horowitz, J. M., & Cardarelli, A. P. (1990). *Child sexual abuse: The initial effects*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Gonzalez, L. S., Waterman, J., Kelly, R. J., McCord, F., & Oliveri, M. K. (1993). Children's patterns of disclosures and recantations of sexual and ritualistic abuse allegations in psychotherapy. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 17, 281–289.
- Goodman, G. S., Taub, E. P., Jones, D. P., England, P., Port, L. K., Rudy, L., ... & Melton, G. B. (1992). Testifying in criminal court: Emotional effects on child sexual assault victims. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, i-159.

- Goodman-Brown, T. B., Edelstein, R. S., Goodman, G. S., Jones, D. P., & Gordon, D. S. (2003). Why children tell: A model of children's disclosure of sexual abuse. *Child abuse & neglect*, 27(5), 525-540.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review*, 25, 161-178.
- Graham, L., Rogers, P., & Davies, M. (2007). Attributions in a hypothetical child sexual abuse case: Roles of abuse type, family response and respondent gender. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22(8), 733-745.
- Grant, P. R. (1992). Ethnocentrism between groups of unequal power in response to perceived threat to social identity and valued resources. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 24, 28-44.
- Grayston, A. D., & De Luca, R. V. (1999). Female perpetrators of child sexual abuse: A review of the clinical and empirical literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 4(1), 93-106.
- Gregory, J., & Lees, S. (1996). Attrition in rape and sexual assault cases. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 36(1), 1-17.
- Gries, L. T., Goh, D. S., & Cavanaugh, J. (1996). Factors associated with disclosure during child sexual abuse assessment. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 5 (3), 1 -19.
- Gries, L. T., Goh, D. S., & Cavanaugh, J. (1997). Factors associated with disclosure during child sexual abuse assessment. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 5(3), 1-19.
- Groth, A. N., Longo, R. E., & McFadin, J. B. (1982). Undetected recidivism among rapists and child molesters. *Crime & Delinquency*, 28(3), 450-458.

- Grubb, A. R., & Harrower, J. (2009). Understanding attribution of blame in cases of rape: An analysis of participant gender, type of rape and perceived similarity to the victim. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 15*(1), 63-81.
- Halford, W. K., Wilson, K., Watson, B., Verner, T., Larson, J., Busby, D., & Holman, T. (2010). Couple relationship education at home: does skill training enhance relationship assessment and feedback?. *Journal of family psychology, 24*(2), 188.
- Hanson, R. K., Scott, H., & Steffy, R. A. (1995). A comparison of child molesters and nonsexual criminals: Risk predictors and long-term recidivism. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 32*(3), 325-337.
- Harber, K. (1995). *Sources of validation scale*. Unpublished scale.
- Hartwig, J., & Wilson, J. C. (2002). Factors affecting children's disclosure of secrets in an investigatory interview. *Child Abuse Review, 11*(2), 77-93.
- Hauser, D. J., & Schwarz, N. (2016). Attentive Turkers: MTurk participants perform better on online attention checks than do subject pool participants. *Behavior research methods, 48*(1), 400-407.
- Hazzard, A., & Rupp, G. (1986). A note on the knowledge and attitudes of professional groups toward child abuse. *Journal of Community Psychology, 14*(2), 219-223.
- Hébert, M., Tourigny, M., Cyr, M., McDuff, P., & Joly, J. (2009). Prevalence of childhood sexual abuse and timing of disclosure in a representative sample of adults from Quebec. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 54*(9), 631-636.

- Hecht, D. B., & Hansen, D. J. (1999). Adolescent victims and intergenerational issues in sexual abuse. In *Handbook of Psychological Approaches with Violent Offenders* (pp. 303-328). Springer, Boston, MA.
- Heriot, J. (1996). Maternal protectiveness following the disclosure of intrafamilial child sexual abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 11*(2), 181-194.
- Hershkowitz, I., Lanes, O., & Lamb, M. E. (2007). Exploring the disclosure of child sexual abuse with alleged victims and their parents. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 31*(2), 111-123.
- Hess, U., Blairy, S., & Kleck, R. E. (2000). The influence of expression intensity, gender, and ethnicity on judgments of dominance and affiliation. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior, 24*, 265–283
- Hess, U., Senécal, S., Kirouac, G., Herrera, P., Philippot, P., & Kleck, R. E. (2000). Emotional expressivity in men and women: Stereotypes and self-perceptions. *Cognition & Emotion, 14*(5), 609-642.
- Hillberg, T., Hamilton-Giachritsis, C., & Dixon, L. (2011). Review of meta-analyses on the association between child sexual abuse and adult mental health difficulties: A systematic approach. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 12*(1), 38-49.
- Himelein, M. J. (1995). Childhood sexual abuse and the academic adjustment of college women. *Child abuse & neglect.*
- Holmes, W. C. (2008). Men's self-definitions of abusive childhood sexual experiences, and potentially related risky behavioral and psychiatric outcomes. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 32*(1), 83-97.

- Holmes, G., & Offen, L. (1996). Clinicians' hypotheses regarding clients' problems: Are they less likely to hypothesize sexual abuse in male compared to female clients?. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20(6), 493-501.
- Holmes, G. R., Offen, L., & Waller, G. (1997). See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil: Why do relatively few male victims of childhood sexual abuse receive help for abuse-related issues in adulthood?. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 17(1), 69-88.
- Holmes, W. C., & Slap, G. B. (1998). Sexual abuse of boys: Definition, prevalence, correlates, sequelae, and management. *Jama*, 280(21), 1855-1862.
- Hong, P. Y., Ilardi, S. S., & McCluskey-Fawcett, K. (2000, August). Child sexual abuse and borderline pathology: Invalidation as a mediator. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.
- Hooper, C. A., & Warwick, I. (2006). Gender and the politics of service provision for adults with a history of childhood sexual abuse. *Critical Social Policy*, 26(2), 467-479.
- Hornsey, M. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2000). Assimilation and diversity: An integrative model of subgroup relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(2), 143-156.
- Humphrey, J.A. & White, J.W. (2000). Women's vulnerability to sexual assault from adolescence to young adulthood. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 27, 419-424.
- Hunter, M. (1991). *Abused boys: The neglected victims of sexual abuse*. Ballantine Books.
- Hunter, S. V. (2006). Understanding the complexity of child sexual abuse: A review of the literature with implications for family counseling. *The Family Journal*, 14(4), 349-358.

- Hunter, S. V. (2011). Disclosure of child sexual abuse as a life-long process: Implications for health professionals. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 32(2), 159-172.
- Hussey, D. L., Strom, G., & Singer, M. (1992). Male victims of sexual abuse: An analysis of adolescent psychiatric inpatients. *Child and adolescent social Work Journal*, 9(6), 491-503.
- Intons-Peterson, M. J., Roskos-Ewoldsen, B., Thomas, L., Shirley, M., & Blut, D. (1989). Will educational materials reduce negative effects of exposure to sexual violence. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 8, 256-275.
- Iverson, K. M., Dick, A., McLaughlin, K. A., Smith, B. N., Bell, M. E., Gerber, M. R., ... & Mitchell, K. S. (2013). Exposure to interpersonal violence and its associations with psychiatric morbidity in a US national sample: A gender comparison. *Psychology of violence*, 3(3), 273.
- Jackson, S., Backett-Milburn, K., & Newall, E. (2013). Researching distressing topics: Emotional reflexivity and emotional labor in the secondary analysis of children and young people's narratives of abuse. *Sage open*, 3(2), 2158244013490705.
- Jenkins, M. J., & Dambrot, F. H. (1987). The attribution of date rape: Observer's attitudes and sexual experiences and the dating situation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 17, 875-895.
- Jennings, K. T. (1993). Female child molesters: A review of the literature. *Female sexual abuse of children*, 219-234.

- Jensen, T. K., Gulbrandsen, W., Mossige, S., Reichelt, S., & Tjersland, O. A. (2005). Reporting possible sexual abuse: A qualitative study on children's perspectives and the context for disclosure. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(12), 1395-1413.
- Johnson, B. K., & Kenkel, M. B. (1991). Stress, coping, and adjustment in female adolescent incest victims. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 15(3), 293-305.
- Jones, D. P. H. (2000). Editorial: Disclosure of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(2), 269-271.
- Jones, C., & Aronson, E. (1973). Attribution of fault to a rape victim as a function of respectability of the victim. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 26(3), 415.
- Jonzon, E., & Lindblad, F. (2004). Disclosure, reactions, and social support: Findings from a sample of adult victims of child sexual abuse. *Child maltreatment*, 9(2), 190-200.
- Jonzon, E., & Lindblad, F. (2005). Adult female victims of child sexual abuse: Multitype maltreatment and disclosure characteristics related to subjective health. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(6), 651-666.
- Kahn, A. S., & Mathie, V. A. (2000). Understanding the unacknowledged rape victim.
- Kahn, A. S., Rodgers, K. A., Martin, C., Malick, K., Claytor, J., Gandolfo, M., ... & Webne, E. (2011). Gender versus gender role in attributions of blame for a sexual assault. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 41(2), 239-251.
- Kaufmann, G., Drevland, G. C., Wessel, E., Overskeid, G., & Magnussen, S. (2003). The importance of being earnest: Displayed emotions and witness credibility. *Applied cognitive psychology*, 17(1), 21-34.

- Kaufman, K. L., Hilliker, D. R., & Daleiden, E. L. (1996). Subgroup differences in the modus operandi of adolescent sexual offenders. *Child Maltreatment, 1*(1), 17-24.
- Katerndahl, D. A., Burge, S. K., Kellogg, N., & Parra, J. M. (2005). Differences in childhood sexual abuse experience between adult Hispanic and Anglo women in a primary care setting. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 14*(2), 85-95.
- Kazarian, S. S., & Kazarian, L. Z. (1998). Cultural aspects of family violence. In: S. S. Kazarian, & D. R. Evans (Eds.), *Cultural clinical psychology: theory, research and practice* (pp. 316–347). Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Keary, K., & Fitzpatrick, C. (1994). Children's disclosure of sexual abuse during formal investigation. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 18*(7), 543-548.
- Kelley, H. H. (1973). The processes of causal attribution. *American psychologist, 28*(2), 107.
- Kelley, S. J., Brant, R., & Waterman, J. (1993). Sexual abuse of children in day care centers. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 17*, 71–89.
- Kelly, L., Lovett, J., & Regan, L. (2005). A gap or a chasm. *Attrition in reported rape cases*.
- Kelly, T. (2009). *Judgments and perceptions of blame: The impact of benevolent sexism and rape type on attributions of responsibility in sexual assault* (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kelly, L. (2010), 'The (In)credible Words of Women: False Allegations Research', *Violence Against Women, 16*, 1345-55.
- Kendall-Tackett, K. A., Williams, L. M., & Finkelhor, D. (1993). Impact of sexual abuse on children: a review and synthesis of recent empirical studies. *Psychological bulletin, 113*(1), 164.

- Kia-Keating, M., Grossman, F. K., Sorsoli, L., & Epstein, M. (2005). Containing and Resisting Masculinity: Narratives of Renegotiation Among Resilient Male Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 6(3), 169.
- Kim, S., & McGill, A. L. (2018). Helping Others by First Affirming the Self: When Self-Affirmation Reduces Ego-Defensive Downplaying of Others' Misfortunes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 44(3), 345-358.
- Kjelsberg, E., & Loos, L. H. (2008). Conciliation or condemnation? Prison employees' and young peoples' attitudes towards sexual offenders. *The International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 7, 95–103.
- Klinke, C. L., & Meyer, C. (1990). Evaluation of rape victim by men and women with high and low belief in a just world. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 14(3), 343-353.
- Kogan, S. M. (2004). Disclosing unwanted sexual experiences: Results from a national sample of adolescent women. *Child abuse & neglect*, 28(2), 147-165.
- Kogan, S. M. (2005). The role of disclosing child sexual abuse on adolescent adjustment and revictimization. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 14(2), 25-47.
- Kopper, B. A. (1996). Gender, gender identity, rape myth acceptance, and time of initial resistance on the perception of acquaintance rape blame and avoidability. *Sex Roles*, 34(1-2), 81-93.
- Koss, M. P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal, and situational characteristics. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 9(2), 193-212.

- Koss, M. P. (1988). Hidden rape: Sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of students in higher education. In A. W. Burgess (Ed.). *Rape and Sexual Assault II* (pp. 3-25). New York: Garland.
- Koss, M. P., Leonard, K. E., Beezley, D. A., & Oros, C. J. (1985). Nonstranger sexual aggression: A discriminant analysis of the psychological characteristics of undetected offenders. *Sex Roles, 12*(9-10), 981-992.
- Kouabenan, D. R., Medina, M., Gilibert, D., & Bouzon, F. (2001). Hierarchical position, gender, accident severity, and causal attribution. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 31*(3), 553-575.
- Lam, K. Y. I. (2014). Factors associated with adolescents' disclosure of sexual abuse experiences in Hong Kong. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 23*(7), 768-791.
- Lamb, S., & Edgar-Smith, S. (1994). Aspects of disclosure: Mediators of outcome of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 9*(3), 307-326.
- Lambert, A. J., Burroughs, T., & Nguyen, T. (1999). Perceptions of risk and the buffering hypothesis: The role of just world beliefs and right-wing authoritarianism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*(6), 643-656.
- Lang, P. J., & Bradley, M. M. (2010). Emotion and the motivational brain. *Biological psychology, 84*(3), 437-450.
- Lange, A., DeBeurs, E., Dolan, C., Lachnit, T., Sjollema, S., & Hanewald, G. (1999). Long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse: Objective and subjective characteristics of the abuse and psychopathology in later life. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 187*(3), 150-158.

- Lannin, D. G., Vogel, D. L., Brenner, R. E., Abraham, W. T., & Heath, P. J. (2016). Does self-stigma reduce the probability of seeking mental health information? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 63*, 351–358. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000108>
- Lannin, D. G., Vogel, D. L., Guyll, M., & Seidman, A. J. (2018). Reducing threat responses to help-seeking information: Influences of self-affirmations and reassuring information. *Journal of counseling psychology.*
- Larsen, K. S., & Long, E. (1988). Attitudes toward rape. *Journal of Sex Research, 24*(1), 299-304.
- Lawson, L., & Chaffin, M. (1992). False negatives in sexual abuse disclosure interviews: Incidence and influence of caretaker's belief in abuse in cases of accidental abuse discovery by diagnosis of STD. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 7*(4), 532-542.
- Leclerc, B., & Wortley, R. (2015). Predictors of victim disclosure in child sexual abuse: Additional evidence from a sample of incarcerated adult sex offenders. *Child abuse & neglect, 43*, 104-111.
- Leifer, M., Kilbane, T., & Grossman, G. (2001). A three-generational study comparing the families of supportive and unsupportive mothers of sexually abused children. *Child maltreatment, 6*(4), 353-364.
- Lepore, S. J. (1997). Expressive writing moderates the relation between intrusive thoughts and depressive symptoms. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 73*(5), 1030.
- Lerner, M. J. (1965). Evaluation of performance as a function of performer's reward and attractiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1*(4), 355.

- Lerner, M. J. (1971). Observers evaluation of a victim: Justice, guilt, and veridical perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 20(2), 127.
- Lerner, M. J. (1978). " Belief in a Just World" Versus the" Authoritarianism" Syndrome... but Nobody Liked the Indians. *Ethnicity*, 5(3), 229-37.
- Lerner, M. J., & Simmons, C. H. (1966). Observer's reaction to the" innocent victim": Compassion or rejection?. *Journal of Personality and social Psychology*, 4(2), 203.
- Levenson, E. (2018, January 24). *Larry Nassar sentenced to up to 175 years in prison for decades of sexual abuse*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/24/us/larry-nassar-sentencing/index.html>
- Ligezinska, M., Firestone, P., Manion, I. G., McIntyre, J., Ensom, R., & Wells, G. (1996). Children's emotional and behavioral reactions following the disclosure of extrafamilial sexual abuse: Initial effects. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20(2), 111-125.
- Lincoln, A., & Levinger, G. (1972). Observers' evaluations of the victim and the attacker in an aggressive incident. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 22(2), 202.
- Linz, D. G., Donnerstein, E., & Penrod, S. (1988). Effects of long-term exposure to violent and sexually degrading depictions of women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5, 758-768.
- Lippert, T., Cross, T. P., Jones, L., & Walsh, W. (2009). Telling interviewers about sexual abuse: Predictors of child disclosure at forensic interviews. *Child Maltreatment*, 14(1), 100-113.
- Lisak, D. (1994). The psychological impact of sexual abuse: Content analysis of interviews with male survivors. *Journal of traumatic stress*, 7(4), 525-548.

- Lisak, D., Gardinier, L., Nicksa, S. C., & Cote, A. M. (2010). False allegations of sexual assault: An analysis of ten years of reported cases. *Violence Against Women, 16*(12), 1318-1334.
- Locke, L. M., & Richman, C. L. (1999). Attitudes toward domestic violence: Race and gender issues. *Sex Roles, 40*(3-4), 227-247.
- London, K., Bruck, M., Ceci, S. J., & Shuman, D. W. (2005). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: What does the research tell us about the ways that children tell?. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 11*(1), 194.
- London, K., Bruck, M., Wright, D. B., & Ceci, S. J. (2008). Review of the contemporary literature on how children report sexual abuse to others: Findings, methodological issues, and implications for forensic interviewers. *Memory, 16*(1), 29-47.
- Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1994). Rape myths. In review. *Psychology of women quarterly, 18*(2), 133-164.
- Lynch, D. L., Stern, A. E., Kim Oates, R., & O'Toole, B. I. (1993). Who participates in child sexual abuse research?. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 34*(6), 935-944.
- Lyon, T. D. (2007). False denials: Overcoming methodological biases in abuse disclosure research. *Child sexual abuse: Disclosure, delay and denial, 41-62*.
- Lyon, T. D., & Koehler, J. J. (1996). Relevance Ratio: Evaluating the Probative Value of Expert Testimony in Child Sexual Abuse Cases. *Cornell L. Rev., 82*, 43.
- Maas, M. K., McCauley, H. L., Bonomi, A. E., & Leija, S. G. (2018). "I Was Grabbed by My Pussy and Its# NotOkay": A Twitter Backlash Against Donald Trump's Degrading Commentary. *Violence Against Women, 1077801217743340*.

- Machia, M., & Lamb, S. (2009). Sexualized innocence: Effects of magazine ads portraying adult women as sexy little girls. *Journal of Media Psychology, 21*(1), 15-24.
- Mahalik, J. R., Good, G. E., & Englar-Carlson, M. (2003). Masculinity scripts, presenting concerns, and help seeking: Implications for practice and training. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 34*(2), 123.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1984). Debriefing effectiveness following exposure to pornographic rape depictions. *The Journal of Sex Research, 20*, 1-13.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1985). The effects of aggressive pornography on beliefs in rape myths: Individual differences. *Journal of Research in Personality, 19*, 299-320.
- Malloy, L. C., Brubacher, S. P., & Lamb, M. E. (2013). "Because She's One Who Listens" Children Discuss Disclosure Recipients in Forensic Interviews. *Child maltreatment, 18*(4), 245-251.
- Malloy, L. C., Lyon, T. D., & Quas, J. A. (2007). Filial dependency and recantation of child sexual abuse allegations. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 46*(2), 162-170.
- Margolin, L., Miller, M., & Moran, P. B. (1989). When a kiss is not just a kiss: Relating violations of consent in kissing to rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles, 20*, 231-243.
- Master SL, Eisenberger NI, Taylor SE, Naliboff BD, Shirinyan D, Lieberman MD. 2009. A picture's worth: Partner photographs reduce experimentally induced pain. *Psychological Science, 20*, 1316–18

- Mayall, A., & Gold, S. R. (1995). Definitional issues and mediating variables in the sexual revictimization of women sexually abused as children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 10, 26–42.
- Mayerson, S. E., & Taylor, D. A. (1987). The effects of rape myth pornography on women's attitudes and the mediating role of sex role stereotyping. *Sex Roles*, 17, 321-338.
- McCauley, H. L., Bonomi, A. E., Maas, M. K., Bogen, K. W., & O'Malley, T. L. (2018). #MaybeHeDoesntHitYou: Social media underscore the realities of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Women's Health*.
- McElvaney, R., Greene, S., & Hogan, D. (2012). Containing the secret of child sexual abuse. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 27(6), 1155-1175.
- McGee, H., Garavan, R., de Barra, M., Byrne, J., & Conroy, R. (2002). *The SAVI Report: Sexual abuse and violence in Ireland – a national study of Irish experiences, beliefs and attitudes concerning sexual violence*. Dublin: The Liffey Press & Dublin Rape Crisis Centre.
- McGregor, K., Jülich, S., Glover, M., & Gautam, J. (2010). Health professionals' responses to disclosure of child sexual abuse history: Female child sexual abuse survivors' experiences. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 19(3), 239-254.
- Mendelsohn, C. (1994). Child sexual abuse: the relation between victim disclosure and familial closeness of perpetrator. Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University. Dissertation Abstracts Online No. 01367090.

- Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). # MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(2), 236-246.
- Mennen, F. E. (1994). Sexual abuse in Latina girls: Their functioning and a comparison with White and African American girls. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 16(4), 475-486.
- Mian, M., Wehrspann, W., Klajner-Diamond, H., Lebaron, D., & Winder, C. (1986). Review of 125 children 6 years of age and under who were sexually abused. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 10(2), 223-229.
- Miller, A. K., Amacker, A. M., & King, A. R. (2011). Sexual victimization history and perceived similarity to a sexual assault victim: A path model of perceiver variables predicting victim culpability attributions. *Sex Roles*, 64(5-6), 372-381.
- Miller, G. R., & Burgoon, J. K. (1982). Factors affecting assessments of witness credibility. *The psychology of the courtroom*, 169-194.
- Miller, K. E., & Cromer, L. D. (2015). Beyond gender: proximity to interpersonal trauma in examining differences in believing child abuse disclosures. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, 16(2), 211-223.
- Mitchell, D., Hirschman, R., & Nagayama Hall, G. C. (1999). Attributions of victim responsibility, pleasure, and trauma in male rape. *Journal of Sex Research*, 36(4), 369-373.
- Montanaro (September 26, 2018). *New Poll Finds Americans Deeply Divided By Gender On Kavanaugh Nominaiton*. Retrieved from

<https://www.npr.org/2018/09/26/651647131/poll-nearly-6-in-10-to-closely-watch-kavanaugh-ford-hearing-many-undecided-on-tr>

- Morison, S., & Greene, E. (1992). Juror and expert knowledge of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 16(4), 595-613.
- Motz, A. (2001). Deliberate self-harm. *The Psychology of Female Violence*.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., & Linton, M. A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 34(2), 186.
- Mullen, P. E., & Fergusson, D. M. (1999). *Childhood sexual abuse: An evidence-based perspective* (Vol. 40). Sage Publications.
- Muller, R. T., Caldwell, R. A., & Hunter, J. E. (1994). Factors predicting the blaming of victims of physical child abuse or rape. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 26(2), 259.
- Muntarhorn, V. (1996). *Sexual exploitation of children*.
- Murphy, W. D., Coleman, E. M., & Haynes, M. R. (1986). Factors related to coercive sexual behavior in a nonclinical sample of males. *Violence and Victims*, 1(4), 255.
- Myers, J. E., Redlich, A. D., Goodman, G. S., Prizmich, L. P., & Imwinkelried, E. (1999). Jurors' perceptions of hearsay in child sexual abuse cases. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 5(2), 388.
- National Victim Center (1992). *Rape in America: A report to the nation*. Report prepared by the Crime Victims Research and Treatment Center. Charleston, SC: Medical University of South Carolina.

- Nelson, S. K., Fuller, J. A., Choi, I., & Lyubomirsky, S. (2014). Beyond self-protection: Self-affirmation benefits hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40(8), 998-1011.
- Nelson, B. S., & Wampler, K. S. (2000). Systemic effects of trauma in clinic couples: An exploratory study of secondary trauma resulting from childhood abuse. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 26(2), 171-184.
- Norton, R., & Grant, T. (2008). Rape myth in true and false rape allegations. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 14(4), 275-285.
- Nuttall, R., & Jackson, H. (1994). Personal history of childhood abuse among clinicians. *Child abuse & neglect*, 18(5), 455-472.
- Oates, R. K., Jones, D. P., Denson, D., Sirotnak, A., Gary, N., & Krugman, R. D. (2000). Erroneous concerns about child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(1), 149-157.
- Ohlheiser, A., (2017, October 19). *The woman behind 'Me Too; knew the power of the phrase when she created it – 10 years ago.* Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/>.
- O'Leary, P. J., & Barber, J. (2008). Gender differences in silencing following childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 17(2), 133-143.
- O'Neal, E. N., Spohn, C., Tellis, K., & White, C. (2014). The truth behind the lies: The complex motivations for false allegations of sexual assault. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 24(4), 324-340.

- Orlando, J. A., & Koss, M. P. (1983). The effects of sexual victimization on sexual satisfaction: A study of the negative-association hypothesis. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 92*(1), 104.
- Ornduff, S. R., Kelsey, R. M., & O'Leary, K. D. (2001). Childhood physical abuse, personality, and adult relationship violence: A model of vulnerability to victimization. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 71*(3), 322.
- Padgett, V. R., & Brislin-Slutz, J. A. (1989). Pornography, erotica and negative attitudes towards women: The effects of repeated exposure. *Journal of Sex Research, 26*, 479-491.
- Peterson, D. L., & Pfof, K. S. (1989). Influence of rock videos on attitudes of violence against women. *Psychological Reports, 64*, 319-322.
- Petronio, S., Flores, L. A., & Hecht, M. L. (1997). Locating the voice of logic: Disclosure discourse of sexual abuse. *Western Journal of Communication, 61*(1), 101–113.
- Paine, M. L., & Hansen, D. J. (2002). Factors influencing children to self-disclose sexual abuse. *Clinical psychology review, 22*(2), 271-295.
- Palmer, S. E., Brown, R. A., Rae-Grant, N. I., & Loughlin, M. J. (2001). Survivors of childhood abuse: Their reported experiences with professional help. *Social Work, 46*(2), 136-145.
- Payne, D. L., Lonsway, K. A., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1999). Rape myth acceptance: Exploration of its structure and its measurement using the Illinois rape myth acceptance scale. *Journal of Research in Personality, 33*(1), 27-68.
- Pennebaker, J. W. (1997). Writing about emotional experiences as a therapeutic process. *Psychological science, 8*(3), 162-166.

- Pennebaker, J. W., Kiecolt-Glaser, J. K., & Glaser, R. (1988). Disclosure of traumas and immune function: Health implications for psychotherapy. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology, 56*(2), 239.
- Pereda, N., Guilera, G., Forns, M., & Gómez-Benito, J. (2009). The prevalence of child sexual abuse in community and student samples: A meta-analysis. *Clinical psychology review, 29*(4), 328-338.
- Petronio, S., Reeder, H. M., Hecht, M. L., & Ros-Mendoza, T. M. T. (1996). Disclosure of sexual abuse by children and adolescents.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1961). Social psychology and desegregation research. *American Psychologist, 16*(3), 105.
- PettyJohn, M. E., Muzzey, F. K., Maas, M. K., & McCauley, H. L. (2018, September 13). #HowIWillChange: Engaging Men and Boys in the #MeToo Movement. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000186>
- Phillips, L. T., & Lowery, B. S. (2015). The hard-knock life? Whites claim hardships in response to racial inequity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 61*, 12-18.
- Pintello, D., & Zuravin, S. (2001). Intrafamilial child sexual abuse: Predictors of postdisclosure maternal belief and protective action. *Child maltreatment, 6*(4), 344-352.
- Pistorello, J., & Follette, V. M. (1998). Childhood sexual abuse and couples' relationships: female survivors' reports in therapy groups. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 24*(4), 473-485.

- Polusny, M. A., & Follette, V. M. (1995). Long-term correlates of child sexual abuse: Theory and review of the empirical literature. *Applied and preventive psychology*, 4(3), 143-166.
- Priebe, G., & Svedin, C. G. (2008). Child sexual abuse is largely hidden from the adult society: An epidemiological study of adolescents' disclosures. *Child abuse & neglect*, 32(12), 1095-1108.
- Proite, R., Dannells, M., & Benton, S. L. (1993). Gender, sex-role stereotypes, and the attribution of responsibility for date and acquaintance rape. *Journal of College Student Development*, 34, 411-417.
- Putnam, F. W. (2003). Ten-year research update review: Child sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 42(3), 269-278.
- RAINN. *Tips for talking with survivors of sexual assault*. Retrieved from <https://www.rainn.org/articles/tips-talking-survivors-sexual-assault>. October 26, 2018.
- Regan, P. C., & Baker, S. J. (1998). The impact of child witness demeanor on perceived credibility and trial outcome in sexual abuse cases. *Journal of family violence*, 13(2), 187-195.
- Reilly, M. E., Lott, B., Caldwell, D., & DeLuca, L. (1992). Tolerance for sexual harassment related to self-reported sexual victimization. *Gender & Society*, 6(1), 122-138.
- Reinhart, M. A. (1987). Sexually abused boys. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 11(2), 229-235.
- Reinka, M. A., & Leach, C. W. (2017). Race and reaction: Divergent views of police violence and protest against. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(4), 768-788.

- Rheingold, A. A., Campbell, C., Self-Brown, S., de Arellano, M., Resnick, H., & Kilpatrick, D. (2007). Prevention of child sexual abuse: Evaluation of a community media campaign. *Child maltreatment, 12*(4), 352-363.
- Rieser, M. (1991). Recantation in child sexual abuse cases. *Child Well, Ire, 70*(6), 611-621.
- Rodino-Colocino, M. (2014). # YesAllWomen: Intersectional mobilization against sexual assault is radical (again). *Feminist Media Studies, 14*(6), 1113-1115.
- Rogers, P., & Davies, M. (2007). Perceptions of victims and perpetrators in a depicted child sexual abuse case: Gender and age factors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 22*(5), 566-584.
- Romero, G. J., & Arguelles, L. (1993). AIDS knowledge and beliefs of citizen and noncitizen Chicanas/Mexicanas. *Latino Studies Journal, 4*, 79-94.
- Romero, G. J., Wyatt, G. E., Loeb, T. B., Carmona, J. V., & Solis, B. M. (1999). The prevalence and circumstances of child sexual abuse among Latina women. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 21*(3), 351-365.
- Rose, M. R., Nadler, J., & Clark, J. (2006). Appropriately upset? Emotion norms and perceptions of crime victims. *Law and Human Behavior, 30*(2), 203-219.
- Ruggiero, K. J., Smith, D. W., Hanson, R. F., Resnick, H. S., Saunders, B. E., Kilpatrick, D. G., & Best, C. L. (2004). Is disclosure of childhood rape associated with mental health outcome? Results from the National Women's Study. *Child Maltreatment, 9*(1), 62-77.
- Rumney, P. N. (2006). False allegations of rape. *The Cambridge Law Journal, 65*(1), 128-158.
- Rumstein-McKean, O., & Hunsley, J. (2001). Interpersonal and family functioning of female survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Clinical Psychology Review, 21*(3), 471-490.

- Russell, D. (1986). *The secret trauma: Incest in the lives of girls and women*. New York: Basic Books.
- Russell, G. W., Horn, V. E., & Huddle, M. J. (1988). Male responses to female aggression. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 16, 51-57.
- Salter, D., McMillan, D., Richards, M., Talbot, T., Hodges, J., Bentovim, A., ... & Skuse, D. (2003). Development of sexually abusive behaviour in sexually victimised males: a longitudinal study. *The Lancet*, 361(9356), 471-476.
- Santiago, C., & Criss, D., (2017, October 17). *An activist, a little girl, and the heartbreaking origin of #metoo*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/17/us/me-too-tarana-burke-origin-trnd/index.html>.
- Sauzier, M. (1989). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: For better or for worse. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*.
- Sayfan, L., Mitchell, E. B., Goodman, G. S., Eisen, M. L., & Qin, J. (2008). Children's expressed emotions when disclosing maltreatment. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 32(11), 1026-1036.
- Schuller, R. A., & Wall, A. M. (1998). The effects of defendant and complainant intoxication on mock jurors' judgments of sexual assault. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22(4), 555-573.
- Schumann, K. (2014). An affirmed self and a better apology: The effect of self-affirmation on transgressors' responses to victims. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 54, 89-96.
- Schwendinger, J. R., & Schwendinger, H. (1974). Rape myths: In legal, theoretical, and everyday practice. *Crime and Social Justice*, (1), 18-26.

- Shaver, K. G. (1970). Defensive attribution: Effects of severity and relevance on the responsibility assigned for an accident. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 14(2), 101.
- Sherman, D.K., Cohen, G.L. (2006). The psychology of self-defense: self-affirmation theory. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, ed. MP Zanna, 38:183–242. San Diego, CA: Academic
- Shields, A., & Cicchetti, D. (1998). Reactive aggression among maltreated children: The contributions of attention and emotion dysregulation. *Journal of clinical child psychology*, 27(4), 381-395.
- Sigurdardottir, S., Halldorsdottir, S., & Bender, S. S. (2012). Deep and almost unbearable suffering: consequences of childhood sexual abuse for men's health and well-being. *Scandinavian journal of caring sciences*, 26(4), 688-697.
- Simons, C. W., & Piliavin, J. A. (1972). Effect of deception on reactions to a victim.
- Sims, C. M., Noel, N. E., & Maisto, S. A. (2007). Rape blame as a function of alcohol presence and resistance type. *Addictive Behaviors*, 32(12), 2766-2775.
- Sinclair, B. B., & Gold, S. R. (1997). The psychological impact of withholding disclosure of child sexual abuse. *Violence and Victims*, 12(2), 137.
- Sirles, E. A., & Franke, P. J. (1989). Factors influencing mothers' reactions to intrafamily sexual abuse. *Child abuse & neglect*, 13(1), 131-139.
- Sjöberg, R. L., & Lindblad, F. (2002). Limited disclosure of sexual abuse in children whose experiences were documented by videotape. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159(2), 312-314.

- Smallbone, S., & Wortley, R. (2000). *Child sexual abuse in Queensland: offender characteristics and modus operandi* (full report). Brisbane, Queensland, Australia: Queensland Crime Commission.
- Smartt, N., (2017, December 20). *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace in A #MeToo World*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbeshumanresourcescouncil/2017/12/20/sexual-harassment-in-the-workplace-in-a-metoo-world/#16fc34575a42>.
- Smith, D. W., Letourneau, E. J., Saunders, B. E., Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick, H. S., & Best, C. L. (2000). Delay in disclosure of childhood rape: Results from a national survey. *Child abuse & neglect*, 24(2), 273-287.
- Smyth, J. M., Hockemeyer, J. R., & Tulloch, H. (2008). Expressive writing and post-traumatic stress disorder: Effects on trauma symptoms, mood states, and cortisol reactivity. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, 13(1), 85-93.
- Snyder, C.; & Lopez, L, (2017, December 13). *Tarana Burke on why she created the #MeToo movement – and where it's headed*. Retrieved from: <http://www.businessinsider.com/how-the-metoo-movement-started-where-its-headed-tarana-burke-time-person-of-year-women-2017-12>
- Sorensen, T., & Snow, B. (1991). How children tell: The process of disclosure in child sexual abuse. *Child Welfare: Journal of Policy, Practice, and Program*.
- Sorrentino, R. M., & Hardy, J. E. (1974). Religiousness and derogation of an innocent victim. *Journal of Personality*, 42(3), 372-382.

- Sorsoli, L., Kia-Keating, M., & Grossman, F. K. (2008). "I keep that hush-hush": Male survivors of sexual abuse and the challenges of disclosure. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(3), 333.
- Spaccarelli, S., & Kim, S. (1995). Resilience criteria and factors associated with resilience in sexually abused girls. *Child abuse & neglect, 19*(9), 1171-1182.
- Spanos, N. P., Dubreuil, S. C., & Gwynn, M. I. (1991-1992). The effects of expert testimony concerning rape on the verdicts and beliefs of mock jurors. *Imagination, Cognition and Personality, 11*, 37-51.
- Spataro, J., Moss, S. A., & Wells, D. L. (2001). Child sexual abuse: A reality for both sexes. *Australian Psychologist, 36*(3), 177-183.
- Spera, S. P., Buhrfeind, E. D., & Pennebaker, J. W. (1994). Expressive writing and coping with job loss. *Academy of management journal, 37*(3), 722-733.
- Spiegel, J. (2003). *Sexual abuse of males: The SAM model of theory and practice*. New York: Brunner-Routledge.
- Spreng, R. N., McKinnon, M. C., Mar, R. A., & Levine, B. (2009). The Toronto Empathy Questionnaire: Scale development and initial validation of a factor-analytic solution to multiple empathy measures. *Journal of personality assessment, 91*(1), 62-71.
- St. Lawrence, J. A., & Joyner, D. J. (1991). The effects of sexually violent rock music on males' acceptance of violence against women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15*, 49-63.

- Staller, K. M., & Nelson-Gardell, D. (2005). "A burden in your heart": Lessons of disclosure from female preadolescent and adolescent survivors of sexual abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(12), 1415-1432.
- Steele CM. 1988. The psychology of self-affirmation: sustaining the integrity of the self. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, ed. L Berkowitz, 21:261–302. New York: Academic
- Steever, E. E., Follette, V. M., & Naugle, A. E. (2001). The correlates of male adults' perceptions of their early sexual experiences. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 14(1), 189-204.
- Stephens, B., (2017, December 20). *When #MeToo goes too far*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/20/opinion/metoo-damon-too-far.html>
- Steward, M. S., Bussey, K., Goodman, G. S., & Saywitz, K. J. (1993). Implications of developmental research for interviewing children. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 17, 25–37.
- Stoltenborgh, M., Van Ijzendoorn, M. H., Euser, E. M., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2011). A global perspective on child sexual abuse: meta-analysis of prevalence around the world. *Child maltreatment*, 16(2), 79-101.
- Stroud, D. D. (1999). Familial support as perceived by adult victims of childhood sexual abuse. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 11(2), 159-175.
- Struckman-Johnson, C., & Struckman-Johnson, D. (1994). Men pressured and forced into sexual experience. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 23(1), 93-114.

- Strum, L., (2017, October 26). *Twitter chat: What #MeToo says about sexual abuse in society*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/twitter-chat-what-metoo-says-about-sexual-abuse-in-society>.
- Suarez, E., & Gadalla, T. M. (2010). Stop blaming the victim: A meta-analysis on rape myths. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(11), 2010-2035.
- Summit, R. C. (1983). The child sexual abuse accommodation syndrome. *Child abuse & neglect*, 7(2), 177-193.
- Süssenbach, P., Eyssel, F., Rees, J., & Böhner, G. (2017). Looking for blame: rape myth acceptance and attention to victim and perpetrator. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 32(15), 2323-2344.
- Swingle, J. M., Tursich, M., Cleveland, J. M., Gold, S. N., Tolliver, S. F., Michaels, L., ... & Sciarrino, N. A. (2016). Childhood disclosure of sexual abuse: necessary but not necessarily sufficient. *Child abuse & neglect*, 62, 10-18.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. CUP Archive.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual review of psychology*, 33(1), 1-39.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, 33(47), 74.

- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tardif, M., Auclair, N., Jacob, M., & Carpentier, J. (2005). Sexual abuse perpetrated by adult and juvenile females: An ultimate attempt to resolve a conflict associated with maternal identity. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(2), 153-167.
- Taylor, N. (2007). Juror attitudes and biases in sexual assault cases. *Trends & Issues in Crime & Criminal Justice*, (344).
- Teicher, M. H., & Samson, J. A. (2013). Childhood maltreatment and psychopathology: a case for ecophenotypic variants as clinically and neurobiologically distinct subtypes. *American journal of psychiatry*, 170(10), 1114-1133.
- Temkin, J. (2002). *Rape and the legal process* (Vol. 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Temkin, J., & Krahé, B. (2008). *Sexual assault and the justice gap: A question of attitude* (No. 5). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Testa, M., Miller, B. A., Downs, W. R., & Panek, D. (1992). The moderating impact of social support following childhood sexual abuse. *Violence and Victims*, 7(2), 173.
- Thornton, B. (1992). Repression and its mediating influence on the defensive attribution of responsibility. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 26(1), 44-57.
- Tieger, T. (1981). Self-rated likelihood of raping and the social perception of rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 15, 147-158

- Toukmanian, S. G., & Brouwers, M. C. (1998). Cultural aspects of self-disclosure and psychotherapy. In: S. S. Evans, & D. R. Evans (Eds.), *Cultural clinical psychology: theory, research and practice* (pp. 106–124). Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press
- Tourigny, M., & Baril, K. (2011). Les agressions sexuelles durant l'enfance, ampleur et facteur de risque. In M. Hébert, M. Cyr, & M. Tourigny (Eds.), *L'agression sexuelle envers les enfants, tome 1* (pp. 7–50). Québec, Canada: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Trocmé, N., & Bala, N. (2005). False allegations of abuse and neglect when parents separate. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 29(12), 1333-1345.
- Turner, J. C. (1991). *Social influence*. Thomson Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- Twaite, J. A., & Rodriguez-Srednicki, O. (2004). Childhood sexual and physical abuse and adult vulnerability to PTSD: The mediating effects of attachment and dissociation. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(1), 17-38.
- Tyler, K. A. (2002). Social and emotional outcomes of childhood sexual abuse: A review of recent research. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 7(6), 567-589.
- Ullman, S. E. (2002). Social reactions to child sexual abuse disclosures: A critical review. *Journal of child sexual abuse*, 12(1), 89-121.
- Ullman, S. E. (2003). A critical review of field studies on the link of alcohol and adult sexual assault in women. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 8(5), 471-486.

- Ullman, S. E. (2007). Relationship to perpetrator, disclosure, social reactions, and PTSD symptoms in child sexual abuse survivors. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 16*(1), 19–36.
- Ullman, S. E., Foynes, M. M., & Tang, S. S. S. (2010). Benefits and barriers to disclosing sexual trauma: A contextual approach.
- Ullman, S. E., Najdowski, C. J., & Filipas, H. H. (2009). Child sexual abuse, post-traumatic stress disorder, and substance use: Predictors of revictimization in adult sexual assault survivors. *Journal of child sexual abuse, 18*(4), 367-385.
- Ungar, M., Tutty, L. M., McConnell, S., Barter, K., & Fairholm, J. (2009). What Canadian youth tell us about disclosing abuse. *Child abuse & neglect, 33*(10), 699-708.
- Vagianos, A. (2017). *In response to #MeToo, men are tweeting #HowIWillChange*. Huffington Post. Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/in-response-to-metoo-men-are-tweeting-howiwillchange_us_59e79bd3e4b00905bdae455d
- Violato, C., & Genius, M. (1993). Problems of research in male child sexual abuse: a review. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 2* (3), 33 –54.
- Von Hohendorff, J., Nelson-Gardell, D., Habigzang, L. F., & Koller, S. H. (2017). An Integrative Conceptual Model for Enhanced Understanding of the Dynamics of Sexual Violence Against Children. In *Vulnerable Children and Youth in Brazil* (pp. 77-88). Springer, Cham.
- Waller, G., & Ruddock, A. (1993). Experiences of disclosure of childhood sexual abuse and psychopathology. *Child Abuse Review, 2*(3), 185-195.
- Ward, C. (1988). The attitudes toward rape victims scale. *Psychology of women quarterly, 12*(2), 127-146.

- Ward, L. M., Reed, L., Trinh, S. L., & Foust, M. (2014). Sexuality and entertainment media. *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology*, 2, 373-423.
- Warshaw, R. (1988). *I never called it rape: The "Ms." report on recognizing, fighting, and surviving date and acquaintance rape*. Harper & Row Publishers.
- Watkins, B., & Bentovim, A. (1992). The sexual abuse of male children and adolescents: A review of current research. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 33(1), 197-248.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: the PANAS scales. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 54(6), 1063.
- Wattam, C., & Woodward, C. (1996). And do I abuse my children? No!''Learning about prevention from people who have experienced child abuse. *Childhood matters: the report of the National Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Child Abuse*, 2.
- Weiser, D. A. (2017). Confronting myths about sexual assault: A feminist analysis of the false report literature. *Family Relations*, 66(1), 46-60.
- Wessel, E., Drevland, G. C., Eilertsen, D. E., & Magnussen, S. (2006). Credibility of the emotional witness: A study of ratings by court judges. *Law and human behavior*, 30(2), 221-230.
- Wessel, E. M., Eilertsen, D. E., Langnes, E., Magnussen, S., & Melinder, A. (2016). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: expressed emotions and credibility judgments of a child mock victim. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 22(4), 331-343.
- Whatley, M. A. (1996). Victim characteristics influencing attributions of responsibility to rape victims: A meta-analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 1(2), 81-95.

- Whatley, M. A., & Riggio, R. E. (1993). Gender differences in attributions of blame for male rape victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8(4), 502-511.
- Whisman, M. A. (2006). Childhood trauma and marital outcomes in adulthood. *Personal Relationships*, 13(4), 375-386.
- White, J. (1996). Sexual revictimization: Sexual scripts and dating rituals. In *Invited address presented at the 104th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada*.
- White, B. H., & Kurpius, S. E. R. (2002). Effects of victim sex and sexual orientation on perceptions of rape. *Sex Roles*, 46(5-6), 191-200.
- Widom, C. S., & Ames, M. A. (1994). Criminal consequences of childhood sexual victimization. *Child abuse & neglect*, 18(4), 303-318.
- Widom, C. S., Czaja, S. J., & Dutton, M. A. (2008). Childhood victimization and lifetime revictimization. *Child abuse & neglect*, 32(8), 785-796.
- Widom, C. S., & Morris, S. (1997). Accuracy of adult recollections of childhood victimization, part 2: childhood sexual abuse. *Psychological assessment*, 9(1), 34.
- Wiener, R. L., Wiener, A. T. F., & Grisso, T. (1989). Empathy and biased assimilation of testimonies in cases of alleged rape. *Law and Human Behavior*, 13(4), 343.
- Wilhelm, H., (2017, October 23). *Where #MeToo goes off the rails*. Retrieved from: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-perspec-me-too-sexual-assault-wilhelm-1023-story.html>.

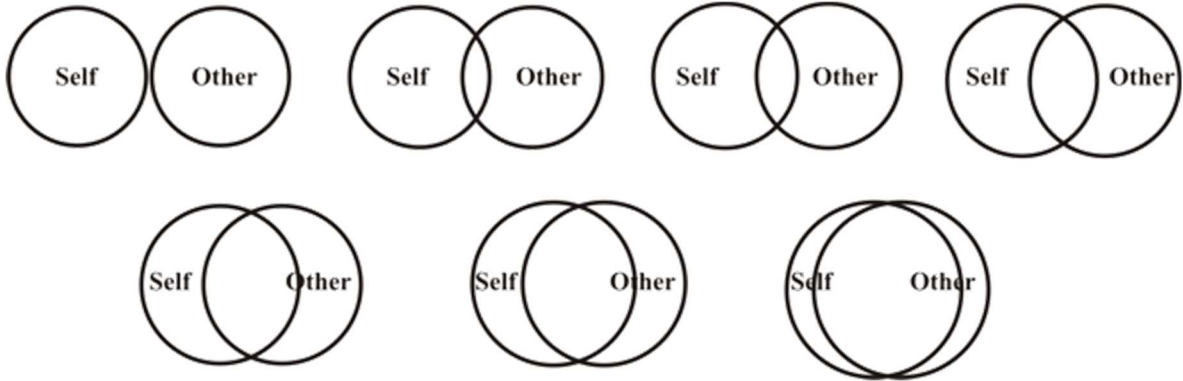
- Williams, L. M. (1995). Recovered memories of abuse in women with documented child sexual victimization histories. *Journal of traumatic stress*, 8(4), 649-673.
- Wilson, A. E., Calhoun, K. S., & Bernat, J. A. (1999). Risk recognition and trauma-related symptoms among sexually revictimized women. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 67(5), 705.
- Wilson, R. J., & Jonah, B. A. (1988). Assignment of responsibility and penalties for an impaired driving incident. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 18(7), 564-583.
- Wolfe, V. V., Gentile, C., Michienzi, T., Sas, L., & Wolfe, D. (1991). The Children's Impact of Traumatic Events Scale: A measure of post-sexual abuse PTSD symptoms. *Behavioral Assessment*, 13, 359-383.
- Wood, B., Orsak, C., Murphy, M., & Cross, H. J. (1996). Semistructured child sexual abuse interviews: Interview and child characteristics related to credibility of disclosure. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 20(1), 81-92.
- World Health Organisation (1999). Report of the consultation on child abuse prevention 29–31 March 1999 WHO, Geneva. Website: accessed at: <http://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/65900> on 31st March 2018
- Wurtele, S. K., Kvaternick, M., & Franklin, C. F. (1992). Sexual abuse prevention for preschoolers: A survey of parents' behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 1(1), 113-128.
- Wyatt, G. E. (1985). The sexual abuse of Afro-American and White-American women in childhood. *Child abuse & neglect*, 9(4), 507-519.

- Wyatt, G. E., Loeb, T. B., Solis, B., Carmona, J. V., & Romero, G. (1999). The prevalence and circumstances of child sexual abuse: changes across a decade¹. *Child abuse & neglect*, 23(1), 45-60.
- Wyatt, G. E., & Newcomb, M. D. (1990). Internal and external mediators of women's sexual abuse in childhood. *Journal of Consulting and clinical Psychology*, 58(6), 758.
- Zurbriggen, E. L., & Freyd, J. J. (2004). The link between child sexual abuse and risky sexual behavior: The role of dissociative tendencies, information-processing effects, and consensual sex decision mechanisms. *From child sexual abuse to adult sexual risk: Trauma, revictimization, and intervention*, 135-157.

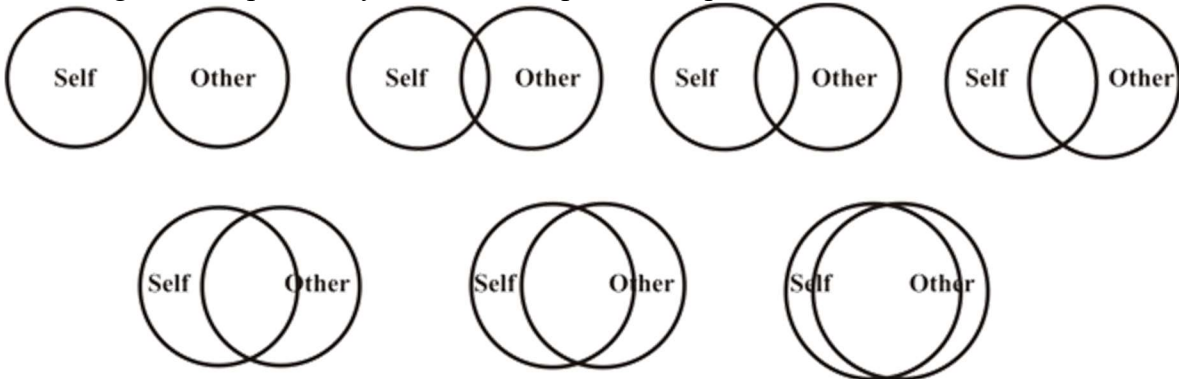
Appendix A: #metoo Exposure & Perceptions (both studies)

1. Are you familiar with the #metoo movement?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
2. Did you repost the #metoo hashtag online (i.e. on Facebook or Twitter)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure/I'd rather not say
3. How many people do you know who reposted #metoo?

0 1-2 3-5 6-8 8+
4. (if >0 in previous question) Think of the person you know who reposted #metoo that you feel closest to. Which of the below images best represents your relationship with this person?



5. Do you know someone who has engaged in anything that might cause someone else to repost #metoo? (i.e. sexual harassment, sexual violence, sexual assault)
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure/I'd rather not say
6. (if yes) Think of the person you thought of in the previous question. Which of the below images best represents your relationship with this person?



7. Please indicate to what extent you agree whether the #metoo movement is:

Helpful	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Important	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Divisive	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
A witch hunt	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Empowering	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Gone too far	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

8. Please indicate to what extent the #metoo movement makes you feel:

Supported	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Persecuted	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Worried	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Empowered	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Heard	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Attacked	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

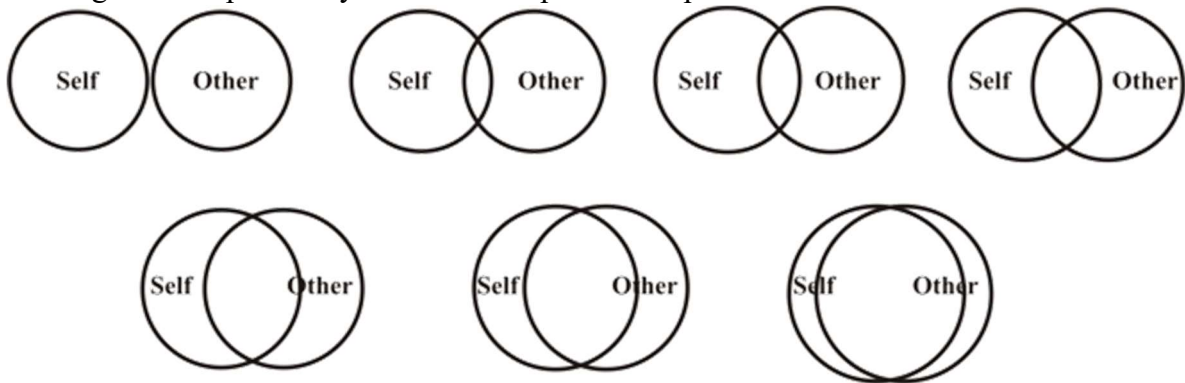
[remaining questions are for Study 2 only]

9. Do you know anyone who has been falsely accused of sexual violence?

- a. Yes
- b. No

c. Not sure/I'd rather not say

10. (if yes) Think of the person you thought of in the previous question. Which of the below images best represents your relationship with this person?



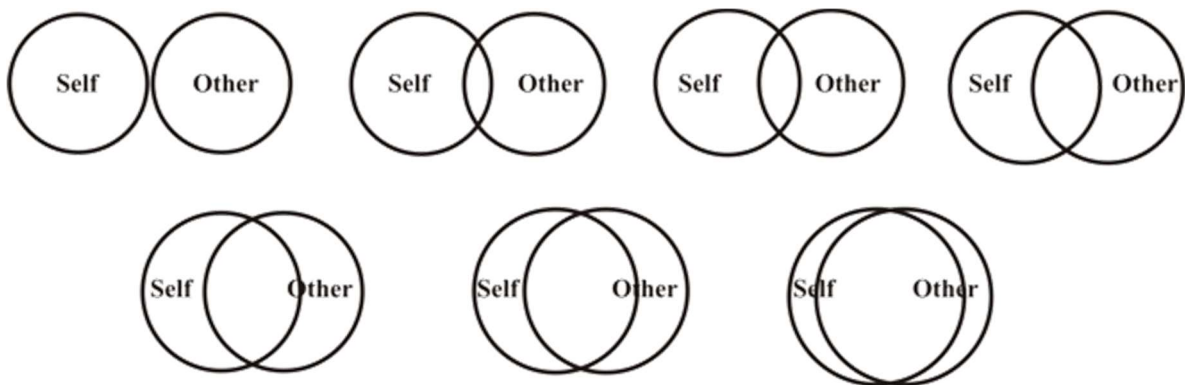
11. Do you know anyone who has falsely accused someone of sexual violence?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not sure/I'd rather not say

12. (if yes) Think of the person you thought of in the previous question. Which of the below images best represents your relationship with this person?



Appendix B: #metoo Manipulations (Study 1)

Participants will be randomly assigned to watch one of these videos and answer the associated questions.

#METOO CONDITION

Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MkR8GY2YBAU>

Attention checks:

Please indicate whether the following statements are true or false:

1. One woman expressed her fear of retaliation and the power of patriarchy [**true** ; false]
2. One woman tells about something that happened to her while she was in a movie theater [true; **false**]
3. At least two men speak in this video [**true** ; false]

CONTROL CONDITION

Video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c7M686pXr6M>

Attention checks:

Please indicate whether the following statements are true or false:

1. As this documentary was being filmed, the penguins' breeding season was coming to an end [**true** ; false]
2. The documentary is narrated by two different men who were part of the expedition [true ; **false**]
3. One of the people speaking in the documentary describes getting an incredible feeling when seeing the penguins [**true** ; false]

Appendix C: Vignette (Both studies)

You're talking with your friend Zoe about #metoo. She was one of the people who reposted the status on her Facebook wall. She tells you she reposted the status because from when she was thirteen until she was fifteen, her mom's boyfriend would come into her bedroom at night when everyone was asleep. She tells you he would undress and get under the covers with her. He would touch her and rub against her and "do some other stuff". It only stopped when her mom broke up with him because she had to move to a different city for her job. Zoe has never told anyone about what happened to her, but now that more people are speaking up, she feels that she can too.

1. Please indicate the extent to which you believe this story:
0 (not at all) 100 (completely)
2. Please indicate the extent to which you blame Zoe's mom's boyfriend:
0 (not at all) 100 (completely)
3. Please indicate the extent to which you blame Zoe's mom:
0 (not at all) 100 (completely)
4. Please indicate the extent to which you blame Zoe:
0 (not at all) 100 (completely)
5. How harmful do you think this experience was for Zoe?
0 (not at all) 100 (very)
6. Please indicate the type of punishment (if any) you would give Zoe's mom's boyfriend:
0 (no punishment) 1 (<1 year in prison) 2 (1-3 years in prison) 3 (3-5 years in prison) 4 (>5 years in prison)
7. How avoidable do you think what happened to Zoe was?
0 (not at all) 100 (completely)

Appendix D: Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (Study 2)

Below is a list of statements. Please read each statement *carefully* and rate how frequently you feel or act in the manner described. Please tick the correct answer. There are no right or wrong answers or trick questions. Please answer each question as honestly as you can.

1. When someone else is feeling excited, I tend to get excited too

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

2. Other people's misfortunes do not disturb me a great deal

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

3. It upsets me to see someone being treated disrespectfully

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

4. I remain unaffected when someone close to me is happy

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

5. I enjoy making other people feel better

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

6. I have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

7. When a friend starts to talk about his/her problems, I try to steer the conversation towards something else

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

8. I can tell when others are sad even when they do not say anything

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

9. I find that I am "in tune" with other people's moods

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

10. I do not feel sympathy for people who cause their own serious illnesses

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

11. I become irritated when someone cries

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

12. I am not really interested in how other people feel

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

13. I get a strong urge to help when I see someone who is upset

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

14. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I do not feel very much pity for them

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

15. I find it silly for people to cry out of happiness

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

16. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards him\her

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

Appendix E: Threat Manipulations (Study 2)

Participants will be randomly assigned to read either the false allegation story, or the more general #metoo story.

FALSE ALLEGATION MANIPULATION

Since the beginning of the #metoo movement, a local police station received 428 reports of sexual assault, compared to only 106 the year before. Of these 428 cases, 427 went to court and the perpetrator was found guilty. One of the 428 cases turned out to be a false allegation. The man in question, who was falsely accused of rape by his ex-girlfriend has said it will take years to rebuild his life.

David Smith said Lisa Anderson, 23, who was jailed for three years on Monday, left him with nothing when she accused him of rape.

He subsequently lost his job as an IT consultant.

"For me, it is as if someone's house burned down and everything they owned was in it. That is effectively what happened to me," he said.

Ms Anderson told police Mr Smith, 29, had drugged her before attacking her at their home.

"I walked out of the house and I was arrested," he said.

The rape investigation was dropped when officers became suspicious that Ms Anderson had made it up and she was charged, but by this time Mr Smith had already lost his job.

Anderson denied charges of perverting the course of justice, theft and fraud but was found guilty by a jury.

Mr Smith said the period after his arrest was difficult mentally. He felt isolated because his former work colleagues knew of the accusations and he was worried about the outcome.

"I think three years is a good sentence for her but for me it is never going to be enough," said Mr Joseph, who now has another job and has moved to a different city.

"It is done - it is over and I am trying to work as hard as I can to get back to where I was.

"It is going to take a number of years, but that is pretty much all I can do."

Adapted from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-surrey-11676804>

Attention checks:

Please indicate if the below statements are true or false:

1. The woman who falsely accused her ex-boyfriend of rape was found guilty [**True** ; False]
2. The ex-boyfriend lost his job and still does not have a new one [True ; **False**]

CONTROL MANIPULATION

Women 18-24 are more likely to experience sexual violence than any other female demographic in the U.S., according to Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN). College students within that age group are three times more likely than the average American woman to be assaulted. Young women within that age group not attending university are four times more likely.

According to a 2014 report from the U.S. Department of Justice, about 80 percent of victims knew their offender. No matter where they occur, these incidences are likely to go unreported, off or on campus. And, 20 percent of both groups cited fear of reprisal as the reason for not reporting.

In the days following allegations against Weinstein, millions took to Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and other social media to share the hashtag #MeToo. The posts were part of an awareness campaign, aimed at exposing the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and assault, and rape culture in the United States.

“A lot of people have responded to #MeToo by asking why survivors are always the ones who have to come forward and bear our traumas in order for people to see us as human,” said Sofie Karasek, 22, to MTV. Karasek organized a candlelight vigil for the survivor advocacy group, End Rape on Campus, in Washington.

“It’s also a crucial time to point out that people accused of sexual assault don’t just leave college and then disappear into the ether,” she said. “They can become powerful people who run companies, like Harvey Weinstein.”

“The #MeToo movement highlighted a reality of violence that women, queer, and trans folk already painfully and intimately knew – because we live it day in and day out,” Shivani Desai, a national campus organizer for the Feminist Majority Foundation (FMF) said.

“The power and reach of millions of voices provided a national platform, one that emphasized the dangerous culture that affords perpetrators and bigots positions of power and allows them to make harmful decisions.”

Adapted from: <https://www.voanews.com/a/hashtag-metoo-college-campus-sexual-harassment-assault/4114589.html>

Attention checks:

Please indicate if the below statements are true or false:

1. The majority of victims of sexual assault know their perpetrator [**True** ; False]
2. Most people who commit sexual violence at a university will leave the university [True ; **False**]

Appendix F: Self-Affirmation Task (Study 2)

Participants will be randomly assigned to complete either the self-affirmation task or the control task.

SELF-AFFIRMATION TASK

Below is a list of characteristics and values, some of which may be important to you, some of which may be unimportant. Please select the one that is most important to you (tick box).

- ☐ Artistic skills/aesthetic appreciation
- ☐ Sense of humor
- ☐ Relations with friends/family
- ☐ Spontaneity/living life in the moment
- ☐ Social skills
- ☐ Athletics
- ☐ Musical ability/appreciation
- ☐ Physical attractiveness
- ☐ Creativity
- ☐ Business/managerial skills
- ☐ Romantic values

Now, please describe three or four personal experiences in which this value or characteristic has been important to you and has made you feel good about yourself:

1.
2.
3.
4.

SOURCE: K. Harber (1995).

CONTROL TASK

Please list, in as much detail as you can, everything you have had to eat and drink in the last 48 hours.

Vita

Melissa Samantha de Roos was born and raised in The Netherlands. She graduated from The University of Groningen with a BSc in Psychology in February 2010. During the last year and a half of her degree, she worked as an assistant psychologist in forensic psychiatric services.

Melissa graduated with an MSc in Forensic Psychology from the University of Portsmouth, UK, in September 2011. As a graduate student in the US, Melissa has published three second authored papers in places such as the Journal of Evolutionary Psychology, Intimate Relations, and the Journal of Personality and Individual Differences. She has also presented two posters at national psychology conferences such as the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. In May 2017 she completed an MA in Experimental Psychology at the University of Texas at El Paso.

Her research focuses on childhood sexual abuse, and factors related to disclosures of sexual violence. During her time as a graduate student, she has taught a General Experimental Psychology lab as well as Introduction to Psychology and Personality Psychology. She worked as a research assistant on a grant-funded study for the state of Texas to assess the factors that would make a government employee leak confidential information. She completed a field placement at the Juvenile Probation Department in El Paso, where she conducted a program evaluation for the Sex Offender Treatment Program as well as the Home Detention Program. Melissa will start working as a Lecturer in Forensic Psychology at the University of Roehampton in London, UK, after her graduation.

Contact details: msderoos@utep.edu

This dissertation was typed by Melissa S. de Roos