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Sexual Assault & Students : Does involvement in a 'lad culture' affect British students' acceptance of sexual assault?

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# **Sexual Assault & Students**

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Does involvement in a ‘lad culture’ affect British students’ acceptance of sexual assault?

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Science (by Research)

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## Abstract

‘Lad culture’ – a phenomenon which exists predominantly amongst university students - has gained notoriety recently for its excessive alcohol consumption, sexist and homophobic ‘banter’, and objectification of women. However, research on the phenomenon in university environments, and its impact on women, is scarce. A relationship between involvement in lad culture and the likelihood of accepting and normalising sexual assault is inferred, however, it has not been empirically investigated. The aim of the current study is to examine this relationship and the impact of lad culture on students.

Using a mixed methodology, the first stage, a quantitative investigation, involved a questionnaire and survey developed for the research, which measured students’ involvement in lad culture and acceptance of sexual assault (respectively) (n=59). The purpose of this stage was to test for a relationship between the two variables and, thus, if involvement in lad culture increases acceptance of sexual assault. A second, qualitative stage utilised a mixed-gender focus group in which five students were asked about their experiences of lad culture, in order to explore its characteristics and impact.

The quantitative data revealed a significant positive relationship between involvement in lad culture and the acceptance of sexual assault amongst students. The qualitative data suggested that this was potentially brought about by a tacit acceptance of lad culture as a part of student life, and that it is a group phenomenon linked to the performance of masculinity. Alcohol use and the sexual harassment of women are used as ways to compete within groups of men. Despite the normalisation of the culture, findings also suggest that student men are beginning to oppose it; keen to disassociate themselves, as individuals, from the phenomenon.

Findings hold implications for the research area in terms of being the first to uncover a relationship between ‘lad culture’ and assault, as well as the impact it is having on the student body. It provides an impetus on which to base the needed intervention programmes, to inform university policy against the culture and its dangers, whilst also offering a platform on which to develop further research.

### Key to Abbreviations:

LC = Lad culture

HE = Higher education

ILCQ = Involvement in Lad Culture Questionnaire

ASAS = Acceptance of Sexual Assault Scale

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## Introduction

*'I don't think you could actually do anything to stop it...like it's one of those things that happens within people's halls, people's houses...and then...I don't know if you could control it...'*

This excerpt may sound like an example of a disease epidemic (Kranz, 1974), but in fact it refers to the infiltration of 'lad culture' (hereby abbreviated to LC) into the life of a student. LC, termed as such due to its predominant focus on young men (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015), pertains to a phenomenon in which sexism, misogyny, homophobia, sporting competition and heavy drinking come together under the guise of light-hearted 'banter' and 'being one of the lads' (Nation Union of Students, 2015). It became the focus of media interest around three years ago (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015), with media giants such as the Independent (Ali, 2015) and the Guardian (Young-Powell & Gil, 2015) along with many other outlets publishing several articles debating the plausibility of the concept (Slater, 2014) and concerns surrounding it (Bates, 2013).

These concerns responded to a piece of research commissioned by the National Union of Students (NUS), which had been apprehensive about the 'laddishness' of university students for some time (Ali, 2015). Conducted by Phipps and Young (2012), the research discovered that LC had permeated the social world of higher education (hereby abbreviated to HE) establishments in the United Kingdom, with a consensus that the personal lives of female students were being affected by the misogyny and sexism at the heart of the phenomenon (Phipps & Young, 2012). The majority of women within the study had experienced sexual harassment or objectification on campus and recognised LC as central to such incidents (Phipps & Young, 2012).

The impact of LC on the social and sexual wellbeing of students has been put under the spotlight, with the NUS calling on the government to conduct further research, whilst maintaining their own campaign against the impacts of the culture (Nation Union of Students, 2015). That being said, the research is one of the very few studies that exists concerning LC, despite its theorised impact on the safety of women at university (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015). Therefore, the goal of the present study was to systematically investigate LC as a complete concept, and whether the sexism and misogyny that it promotes has impacted students' acceptance of sexual assault at university.

Through specially created quantitative measures, it tested for a relationship between involvement in the culture and the level to which an individual accepts myths surrounding sexual assault. In addition, a qualitative methodology supplemented the existing research area by exploring the perspectives of both female and male students on the issues surrounding LC. This offered an extension of the literature as it provided the views of both genders. In summary, this piece of research attempted to establish a relationship between LC involvement and the acceptance of sexual assault amongst students, whilst also investigating how LC is experienced by students themselves.

As very little research exists into the phenomenon itself (Phipps & Young, 2012), the main body of the subsequent literature review focussed instead on the social context of LC and the processes theorised to underpin it. Beginning with theories surrounding the construction and maintenance of masculinities, it examines the relationship between the contestation of masculinity and traditional gender roles with the acceptance of sexual assault. It then discusses two of the main components of LC within masculinity, namely, alcohol and sexual

objectification. An investigation into the notion of a rape supportive culture in university follows, including the role of peer support; its impact on rape myths amongst students and the concentration of these amongst sports teams and societies. The role of these within LC is also discussed. A second part of the review is concerned with the evaluation of the limited studies dedicated to LC and its impact, as well as how these findings have influenced the current thesis.

Following a literature review the thesis will set out the mixed methodology of the study; including the justification of each of the empirical methods, instruments used, details of procedure and the acknowledgement of ethical considerations. A results chapter will then present the exact findings of the present study, which will be followed by a discussion chapter in which these findings will be explored in terms of each other and also to existing research discussed within the review. A summary of the main findings and implications of the thesis, including its potential impact on the research area, will then be considered within the conclusion section. Limitations of the present research and suggestions for future study will then conclude the thesis.

## Literature Review

The literature review is concerned with outlining LC in terms of its relationship with the acceptance of sexual assault. Therefore, the review will focus on the complex social process in which it flourishes, as well as the factors associated with LC and the implications that these have on a relationship to sexual assault and its acceptance amongst students.

### LC Definition and Overview

In recent years, concern has arisen that women students within HE are becoming increasingly uncomfortable on campus and are subject to unceasing sexual harassment, overt sexism and objectification by their male counterparts (Phipps & Young, 2015a). According to reports, behaviour once dismissed as ‘laddish’ (Dempster, 2011) is now at the forefront of debate surrounding the issue of sexual violence in university (National Union of Students, 2015). Research by Phipps (2010), originally conducted to explore the views of women students on sexual harassment and violence, found that a disproportionately high number had experienced some form of these offences at some point in their university life and attributed it to what they called ‘lads’ (Phipps, 2010). Further research discovered that these ‘lads’, while a minority of men, were having a significant effect on the wellbeing and social lives of students, and that sexual objectification of women, banter, and sometimes sexual assault were the norm within HE institutions (Phipps & Young, 2012). Phipps termed this phenomenon ‘lad culture’ (Phipps, 2010), which became a concept met with extensive media attention, as well as debates and campaigns (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015).

The National Union of Students (NUS), which commissioned the research, identified the key features of LC as sexist attitudes, heavy alcohol consumption, sports and society membership

and the use of sexist or homophobic ‘banter’, all within a ‘group or pack mentality’ (Phipps & Young, 2012, pp. 28). The integration of the culture into university has been suggested as responsible for the rise in sexual harassment and misogynistic behaviour towards female students (Phipps & Young, 2015a).

### Social context and Processes in which LC Exists

This review will discuss the separate components of LC in terms of their statistical implications and surrounding theory, and the influence they may have on sexual assault prevalence and the acceptance of it. However, the nature of LC as a socially constructed phenomenon requires the discussion of the social context in which it exists, including the way in which its individual components of alcohol consumption, sexism, homophobia and group membership influence the acceptance of sexual assault through social process. Therefore, the review will examine the social theories of masculinities, rape supportive culture and patriarchy and peer relations, including their relationship to LC.

### Masculinities

Masculinities are defined as the socially constructed beliefs and accepted behaviours that encompass what it means to be a man in a particular society (Dunphy, 2000). Thus masculinities research aims to study the concessions that men receive in modern society simply due to a gender bias (McCormack, 2012). It would then be beneficial to consider this research in terms of LC, due to its inherent nature as a socially constructed, male-orientated phenomenon.

Perhaps the dominant theory is Connell's (1987) theory of hegemonic masculinity. This postulates that there is one epitome of what it is to be 'masculine' in a society at any one time, with this archetype being the embodiment of the most societally revered personification of manliness (Connell, 2005). The historic archetype of masculinity within Western civilisation represents the man who is sexually confident, emotionally resilient and physically strong, and who can demonstrate these attributes through such past-times as alcohol consumption, athletic ability and the pursuit of women (Bird, 1996). This representation may not be common among the male population in terms of the number of men who actually symbolise the ideal, but provides a normative social process which requires all men to position themselves in a hierarchy relative to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Those who possess the appearance, behaviours and values in-keeping with the prevailing masculine criterion are accepted, whilst those who renounce these ideals or are unable to achieve them are ostracised (Beasley, 2008). It must be noted, however, that the dominant masculinity is never completely dominant as it can only exist when it is alongside the subordinate constructs of masculinity that it shuns (Hearn, 2004).

Nevertheless, the hierarchy in which masculinities function and the male ideal are both created and substantiated through social foundations such as school, familial relations and the media (Mosse, 1998), and they allow for the justification of women as subordinate to men (Whitehead, 2002). The masculine principles of LC, such as the emphasis on physicality and sexual assertion, represent these traditional gender beliefs of men as the stronger and more dominant sex (Phipps & Young, 2015a). The extent to which an individual endorses these beliefs has been researched as a significant predictor of violence towards sexual partners (Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche, & Silverman, 2006) and a greater incidence of both sexual

coercion and abuse within dating relationships (Ryan, 2004) which may hold implications for the impact that LC is having on the student population (Phipps & Young, 2012).

Connell (1987) proposed that hegemonic masculinity is both produced and maintained through two processes: physical domination demonstrated in activities, and behaviours and discursive marginalisation through the dispute of what is masculine. These social processes provide methods by which masculinity is policed within the male gender (Harper & Harris III, 2010). Those who do not comply with the 'rules' are chastised and ridiculed by their peers for being gay and this use of homophobia as a weapon denotes the way in which men attempt to preserve their beliefs about heterosexual masculinity by deriding the minority who do not follow their guidelines (Kimmel, 2010).

Connell's theory has been praised for its proficiency for application over several different social factors, due to its nature as a socially constructed concept (Benyon, 2002). Due to this, masculinities according to Connell are inseparable from, and also a response to, factors such as generation, race and class (Moller, 2007). For example, the notion of masculinity as contestable and dynamic allows for observable differences in masculine practice throughout history (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It is widely accepted that there are differences in the masculinities of fathers and their sons, which suggests that there is a difference in construction according to generation (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). This contingent nature also allows for its application across culture (Benyon, 2002) and thus, is an applicable explanation for LC amongst students within Britain.

However, the theory has been criticised for its ambiguity (Moller, 2007). Critics have noted that it is not clear who actually represents the dominant ideal, while Donaldson (1993) notes



that Connell's preceding research centred on an Australian surf champion who was a popular representation of the hegemonic ideal within his society, when in fact his status did not allow him to engage in the wild, promiscuous or drunken behaviour of which he was representative as fame hindered the opportunity for such acts. However, this ambiguity may also be a process inclusive of hegemonic masculinity, in that the dominant ideal is constructed and embellished by society rather than being representative of those that actually create it (Moller, 2007). Indeed, it has been noted that those within LC rarely embody the ideal but are more concerned with working towards the representation of 'lad' that the media represents (Dempster, 2011).

Anderson (2009) notes that the theory is outdated in terms of the importance it places on the use of homophobia as a policing method, with there being little contemporary evidence to suggest that this part of the theory is still relevant (Anderson, 2009). Homophobia is now often disapproved among the majority of students (Anderson, 2008) and so may not be accountable for the maintenance of masculinities between societies and sports teams (Anderson, 2011) or indeed, within LC. Hegemonic masculinity theory therefore cannot fully explain the multiple masculinities that continue to burgeon when homophobia is decreasingly pervasive in modern culture (McCormack & Anderson, 2010). However, the theory remains valuable in that it forms the basis for all theory on hierarchical masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

In response to these issues, the theory of inclusive masculinity as proposed by Anderson (2008) provides a contemporary alternative. Although it shares the fundamentals of the original theory, it postulates that the traditional use of homophobia as a method of policing masculinity is subordinate to the concept of 'homohysteria', where a man may not be

homophobic but remains fearful of the possibility of being homosexualised by the public (Anderson, 2008). Anderson (2011) suggests that the level of homophobia in any given society is influenced by both homophobia and sexism or 'femphobia', and that the extent of all three phenomena are contingent to one another.

The key difference between the two theories lies within the fact that 'with hegemonic masculinity theory there is always hegemony, with inclusive masculinity theory there is sometimes hegemony' (Anderson, 2011, p. 732). Periods of hegemony can exist within the inclusive masculinity of a society, when homophobia temporarily increases and thus both homophobia and sexism once again become significant for a space of time (Anderson, 2009). Indeed, research has suggested that high homophobia within a culture causes men to revert to traditional masculinities and express sexist attitudes, as well as demonstrating strength through sport and sexually objectifying women (Plummer, 2001), which draws parallels to LC. The use of 'banter' also allows for homophobia to come to the fore, where satire is employed to disguise politically incorrect beliefs while maintaining one's heterosexual position (Phipps & Young, 2015). The endorsement of this 'banter' and anti-women attitudes as processes of masculine expression have been found to predict sexually coercive behaviour and the acceptance of such (Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996). This provides weight to the argument that LC may indeed be a conducive environment for the acceptance of sexual assault.

It is agreed that one practice through which masculinities are performed is the consumption of alcohol (Dempster, 2011), which is also a key feature of LC (Phipps & Young, 2015a). It is widely acknowledged that men utilise drinking together as means by which to bond (Bird, 1996), but also as a setting in which to establish their place in the hierarchy (Capraro, 2010).

Indeed, West (2001) found that men in stereotypically ‘manly’ groups such as the Navy participate in group alcohol consumption to achieve both a sense of community and to negotiate status in their group. In Western culture, drinking is viewed as a male gender norm and as such, up until as recently as seventy years ago, it was frowned upon for women to attend public houses (McDonald, 1994).

Therefore, situations in which male groups drink together have become settings in which masculinity is both illustrated and established, where one displays that they can drink to excess to show that one is able to ‘hold more liquor’ than their peers (Capraro, 2010). This is to avoid being branded as a ‘lightweight’; an anti-woman insult pertaining to the idea that women are biologically unable to drink as much as men before becoming intoxicated (Dempster, 2011). For example, research has found, that student men admitted to feeling pressure to match the quantity of alcohol consumed by their peers to avoid being branded as such (Dempster, 2011).

Considering that heavy alcohol use is thought of as a ‘norm’ in university life, it is then the primary setting for men to exhibit how much they can drink and thus, their masculinity, and is crucial in the development of their position in a male peer group whilst at university (Harper & Harris III, 2010). Research has found that undergraduate men feel that heavy drinking provides an appropriate outlet for acting out masculinities, both in the act of drinking itself and in the justification it provides for displays of aggression and ‘laddishness’ (Benson & Archer, 2002). Perhaps, the heavy drinking standard has been competed to a point where the alcohol consumption requisite to being masculine is at the dangerously high level seen in LC (Phipps & Young, 2012), and this increased intoxication is in turn instigating inappropriate sexual behaviour from those who subscribe to it.

## Alcohol and sexual assault

The effect of intoxication on sexual assault is a topic on which there is a body of research (Ullman, Karabatsos, & Koss, 1999). Around half of reported sexual assaults on women within the general population involve the use of alcohol (Broach, 2004), a number which grows to seventy-percent amongst women in HE (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003). Previous survey research has found that seventy-four percent of student men who self-reported their perpetration of sexual assault, also disclosed that they had been drinking prior to the incident (Tuliao & McChargue, 2014). However, surveys such as this often do not include a measure of how much alcohol was consumed, thus it is only known that the perpetrator had been drinking and not how intoxicated they were (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004). Nonetheless, statistics such as this highlight the role of alcohol in sexual assault prevalence on campus, with the heavy alcohol consumption stereotypical of university perhaps an explanation for the higher numbers amongst the student population (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2009). In LC, this alcohol consumption has increased even more.

Alcohol indeed has the capacity to physically impair the victim in terms of resistance, however, it can also effect cognitive processes (Abbey, et al., 2002). In-keeping with the gender-stereotyping that belies masculinities - where men are the sexually dominant pursuers and women play the role of 'hard to get' (Abbey, 1991) – alcohol plays an important role in the discussion of sexual assault due to the narrative it creates for both genders (Korcuska & Thombs, 2003). When considering these narratives that surround gender, alcohol and sex, two issues become apparent: the relationship between women who drink and the 'blame' that they receive for dismissing gender expectations (Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998) and then the relationship between men and the gender stereotype that excuses sexual assault

perpetration, through alcohol (Broach, 2004). Discussion of these two issues may then enlighten why LC and the alcohol consumption within it is theorised to be conducive of sexual assault.

Pertaining to the first issue, gender stereotype assumes that women who drink heavily are disregarding the gender norms that require them to be decorous, which is perceived by some men to mean that they will also be likely to break the norms that restrict sex for women (Abbey, McAuslan, Thomson Ross, & Zawacki, 1999). The term ‘ladette’ has been adopted by the media as a term by which to describe women who engage in ‘laddish’ behaviour, including excessive drinking (Dempster, 2011). Day, Gough and McFadden (2004) suggest that bestowing this terminology on women who do not conform to the accepted gender paradigm may be in itself an attempt at marginalisation of them, designed to belittle them as ‘fakers’ of masculinity and imply that they are breaking gender norms regarding sexual availability.

In one study, George et al (1995) found that students were more likely to rate a woman stranger as promiscuous if she was drinking alcohol, than if she was drinking a soft drink. This offers support for the notion that men may perceive women who drink as breaking the rules of gender and therefore lacking limits when it comes to sexual activity (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004). According to these norms, it is then often the case that the victim of sexual assault is reproached by others for drinking to excess (Ullman & Najdowski, 2010) with the insinuation that they put themselves in that position by becoming intoxicated (Maurer & Robinson, 2008). A substantial number of victims then accept this narrative and excuse the act through self-blame (Weiss, 2009). In this way, LC may work towards a greater acceptance of sexual assault – in that women students who

participate in LC practices or in fact drink with friends, are regarded as 'inviting' the sexually inappropriate behaviours are also part of the culture. It must be noted, that no victim of assault is responsible for any part of an attack as it is the perpetrator alone who chose to commit the crime (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004).

On the second issue of alcohol and perpetrator-excuse, it has been reported that men often seek to fulfil the gender stereotype that devalues women who drink (George, Stoner, Norris, Lopez, & Lehman, 2000) by intoxicating the women of their interest in order for her to decrease her reservation on sex as well as rational judgement (Abbey, 2002) a notion which is also seen within LC (Phipps & Young, 2012). The unopposed advocacy in doing so from other men has led to the common conception that the use of alcohol to obtain sex is acceptable (Abbey, et al., 2002). For example, Armstrong, Hamilton and Sweeney (2006) found that students cited the practice of getting women drunk as a common way of obtaining sex, whether by lowering her inhibitions or more her ability to resist. The researchers argue that a culture in which men are recognised as the sexually dominant by nature, allows these coercive strategies to become normalised and thus, the perpetrator is excused (Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006).

It has been suggested that men are not only seeking to intoxicate their romantic interest but also may in fact be using alcohol themselves as a method of justifying their sexually inappropriate behaviour, whether consciously or unconsciously (Harrington Cleveland, Koss, & Lyons, 1999). According to this view, individuals become inebriated as they are aware that it will increase their perceptions of a woman's consent, whilst granting them the excuse of lessened responsibility for their actions (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2001). Indeed, research has found that alcohol consumption, as well as the misperception of

sexual intent that it increases, were significant predictors of the level of justification used by the perpetrator following a sexual assault (Wegner, Abbey, Pierce, Pegram, & Woerner, 2015). However, decreased accountability is difficult to establish, as it is unclear as to whether alcohol increases the disposition for sexual assault to take place or whether it provides vindication for the act, although it has been proposed that the two are not mutually exclusive (Broach, 2004). Regardless, intoxication does not excuse any kind of forced sexual activity and men should be held wholly responsible for their behaviour whether themselves or the victim has been drinking (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004).

Both sides of the gender issue surrounding alcohol and assault are combined within Feminist Routine Activities theory (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995), developed in an attempt to explain the disproportionately high volume of sexual assaults that take place on campus when statistically, university students have low levels of criminal records (Jackson, Gilliland, & Veneziano, 2006). Schwartz and Pitts (1995) suggest that sexual assault and rape are more likely to occur when there is a merging of three factors: the presence of a motivated offender, availability of a suitable target or victim and the absence of a capable guardian as a witness to the crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

Therefore, such a high incidence at university is due to a high number of convergences in which sexual assault could happen, with there being a disproportionate number of intoxicated women in comparison to the general population and also a lack of persons willing to intervene, due to the intoxication of others or increased peer pressure or encouragement (Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001). Men who otherwise would not be motivated to commit sexual assault do so due to the increased opportunities to offend without punishment (Clodfelter, Turner, Hartman, & Kuhns, 2010), utilising the practice of getting a woman

drunk to increase her suitability as a target and fulfil aforementioned gender norms that devalue her (Maurer & Robinson, 2008), whilst relying on the same norms to achieve an excuse for their behaviour through their own intoxication (Broach, 2004).

In terms of the acceptance of sexual assault, then, alcohol and intoxication exacerbate gender and sexist stereotypes, working to both excuse the offender of their actions as well as provide grounds for victim blaming (Grubb & Turner, 2012). In this way, with the emphasis that LC places on alcohol consumption as a method of proving ones 'laddishness', it may also be promoting the acceptance of assault amongst students in its use as both justification and an accepted method of sexual coercion amongst university students (Dempster, 2011).

### Sexual pursuit and the subordination of women

Congruent with the use of alcohol to construct and contest masculinity and the ideologies that this promotes, masculinity can also be constructed through the sexual pursuit of women (Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003) which is also a factor contributing to LC. In this way, men often sexually objectify women as a bonding experience within their peer group (Flood, 2008), but also use the pursuit of women as a competition through which to establish their masculinity (Bird, 1996). Men are believed to be the sexually dominant gender (Adams & Coltrane, 2005) and are expected to pursue women, thus what it means to be masculine is constructed around the ability of a man to achieve sexual encounters with them (Grazian, 2002). It is imperative to the establishment of the hierarchy that men express their desire towards women as a means to demonstrate heterosexuality (Kimmel, 2010). This may be established in many social settings, from school (Kehily, 2001) to the workplace (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012), but amongst young people is primarily focused on clubs, bars and other commercial 'nightlife' (Anderson, Daly, & Rapp, 2009).



These alcohol fuelled, somewhat anonymous situations are settings in which it has become the accepted norm for single individuals to seek casual sexual encounters (Thompson Jr & Cracco, 2008). Therefore, they provide the ideal backdrop for young men to display their sexual prowess and to establish their masculine status (Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). Whilst statistically the likelihood of obtaining a successful 'one night stand' from these situations is in fact rare, with less than one-fifth of adults meeting a sexual partner on a 'night out' (Mahay & Laumann, 2004) they remain the primary opportunity for men to pursue woman partners (Thompson Jr & Cracco, 2008).

Grazian (2002) suggests that this effect is due to so called 'girl hunting', in which the goal of the night out is less focused on the obtaining of sex and more about the performance of masculinity. The pursuit and often harassment of women is then a male-bonding activity through which to demonstrate masculine status to peers, establishing status within the hierarchy whilst exhibiting adherence to group regulations and in turn, group loyalty (Flood, 2008). Constructing in-group masculinities this way also reinforces the notion that women are subordinate to men, emphasising the male allegiance (Gardner, 1995).

Whilst the majority of peers are unsuccessful, the few who do achieve these relations are praised for achieving the mythical 'ideal' and thus the goal is reinforced (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Indeed, Messner (2002) emphasised the importance that young student men place on challenging one another to 'score' with as many women as possible and the support they give each other, suggesting that women are viewed as objects of group contest as well as collaboration (Bird, 1996). Participants within the NUS research indicated that these practices took place within LC; that it was the norm for 'packs' of student men to harass and objectify women as a competitive pastime (Phipps & Young, 2012).

However, the objectification of women and other competitive pastimes within LC are not new to the literature surrounding masculinities, in fact 'laddish' behaviour throughout history has been theorised as a reaction to the social and economic problems of the time (Morgan, 2006). In one of the few works concerning LC, Phipps and Young (2015) position the phenomenon as existing 'laddism' having grown especially severe and morphed into LC, in response to a modern emphasis on Universities as competitive markets in which grade outcome and individual performance supersede quality learning and togetherness. An emphasis on having the best grades may be translating into social and sexual relationships, where 'laddish' competition in terms of alcohol and sports has become ruthless and obtaining sexual encounters, consensual or forced, serves as an extension of this competition (Phipps & Young, 2015a).

There is also the notion that young women are triumphing over men in the current competitive environment (Miriam, 2015), a view that has been perpetuated by the media who have consistently reported girls and women in education as outperforming men, although the accuracy of this conception remains debated (Phipps & Young, 2015b). In another paper, Phipps and Young (2015b) postulate that this notion has incited the behaviours within LC; that it is a masculinised method of reclaiming power from women and re-seating the patriarchy as dominant. Traditional stereotypes position men as the more intellectual and higher-earning gender (Connell, 2005), thus masculinity is threatened by the increased number of women in equivalent stature and previously male dominated subjects (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2013). Evidence has shown that historically, men will employ both sexism and sexual harassment as methods of regaining dominance when they feel that gender

equality is threatening to their masculinity (Connell, 1987), which may explain why they are the foremost reported issues surrounding LC.

Phipps and Young (2015b) also suggests that as Universities have become commercialised, the leisure activities and nightlife of students has followed suit. Clubs have specialised 'student nights' that are widely advertised and designed to be profitable by bringing in as many students as possible (Phipps & Young, 2015b). The way in which these nights are advertised and themed have been criticised as hyper-masculine, sexualised and misogynistic (Grazian, 2002), often employing semi-naked women as promoters or bar staff (Bates, 2012). Themes are often derogatory of women, for example 'Pimps and Hoes' and 'Geeks and Sluts' are amongst some of the most commonly seen (Bates, 2012) and have been implied as a nod to LC in which male students are led to believe they are powerful and intelligent whilst women are devalued as sexual objects (Phipps & Young, 2015a).

Despite criticism these events remain popular amongst students, which may be a reflection of the popularisation of LC itself; where promoters and nightclub owners have capitalised on the sexist, misogynistic and hyper-masculine components of LC, for profitability (Phipps & Young, 2015a), which in turn may have further normalised its practices. Previous research links the portraying of women as 'sex objects' to the normalisation of sexual harassment (Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011), and offers weight to the argument that LC is impacting the extent to which students are accepting of sexual assault. Despite extensive discussion by Phipps and Young, the researcher notes that this impact has yet to be researched empirically.

According to the theory, LC would be a form of dominant masculinity which may have transpired in response to the increasing rate of high-achieving women in an academic

settings, within Universities that have become commercialised and competitive (Phipps & Young, 2015a). This hegemony would have been socially constructed among young men with a dominant archetype representative of the traditional Western ideals to an extreme degree (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). A period in which society favours physically dominant, sexually philandering, misogynistic, alcohol indulgent, sports-reverent men (Anderson, 2009) may have given rise to the LC phenomenon.

Indeed, the NUS ‘that’s what she said’ (Phipps & Young, 2012) findings suggested LC as a dominant masculinity within university culture. University life offers outlets for men to demonstrate these characteristics in the form of societies and sports teams (Harper & Harris III, 2010), groups that are often single-sex and hierarchally arranged and may also act as an outlet for physical demonstration, providing ideal conditions for the masculinities in LC to flourish (Frintner & Robinson, 1993). Though homophobia is no longer thought acceptable at university (McCormack, 2012), the sexist and homophobic ‘banter’ emphasised within the culture may also be an instrument of regulation, as existing homophobia renders students as fearful of the ‘gay’ brand (Anderson, 2008). The extreme level of sexism and objectification may also be the demonstration of ‘femphobia’ (Anderson, 2009), or in fact an additional method of demonstrating adherence to the ‘lad’ masculinity (Bird, 1996). Similarly, the extensive use of alcohol in LC would be a method of competition, as well as both justification for sexually assaultive behaviour and the promotion of victim blaming in these cases (Broach, 2004).

## Rape Supportive Culture, Rape Myths and Rape Acceptance

Masculinities and gender norms are proposed to be underpinned and upheld by the notion of a 'rape supportive culture' (Burgess, 2007). This culture is purported to exist as an undercurrent of principles throughout society, manifesting by way of messages and attitudes that work to favour a male-dominated culture by excusing them of sexually aggressive actions (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002). This is displayed through subtle victim blaming, the belittling of the seriousness of assault, and normalisation of the sexual objectification of women (Attenborough, 2014), which are arguably all witnessed in LC.

Often carried by the media (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002), examples include victim blaming through reference to the intoxication of the victim or to her chosen attire when the attack took place (Projansky, 2001) and is even evident in the teaching of young girls to take measures to protect themselves, as opposed to educating men not to rape (O'Sullivan, 1993). In a very recent case, the popular song 'Blurred Lines' by Robin Thicke caused controversy due to lyrics such as 'you know you want it', with some arguing that the precis of the song promotes the dismissal of sexual consent and the notion of a 'no means yes' attitude in a seemingly harmless guise (Fernandez, 2014). Nevertheless, the song remains the best-selling single of 2013 (Dredge, 2014) and many dismissed the dispute as an oversensitive feminist reaction, which in turn may be seen to be a rape-supportive mechanism in itself (Horeck, 2014). Amongst the student population, studies have found that whilst it is recognised that victims of sexual assault are not to blame for their ordeal, many students believe that a victim may have put herself in harm's way by flirting with the perpetrator (McMahon, 2005) whilst remaining unclear on how much blame should be placed on the male perpetrator (Ferro, Cermele, & Saltzman, 2008).

Schwartz and Dekeseredy (1993) proposed that this culture exists both on a societal and a group level, with some male groups fostering a subculture of rape support that encourages or excuses sexual offences (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1993). In particular, societies and sports teams within university have been found to be two factions that present pro-rape activities, language, and practices (Crosset, Benedict, & McDonald, 1995), perhaps due to their masculinist nature or the competitiveness and aggression of team sports (Dempster, 2009). In support of this claim, Boeringer (1999) found that participants affiliated with a society or sports team tolerated 56% of rape-supportive statements such as: “being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women”, whereas those who did not identify with such groups accepted only 8%. This suggests that those in societies or sports teams hold beliefs and attitudes that foster rape-supportive assumptions, corroborating the notion that a rape-supportive culture may exist within them (Boeringer, 1999).

Correspondingly, one of the most cited characteristics or constituents of being a ‘lad’ and belonging to the culture is membership to these groups (Phipps & Young, 2012). Sports teams and societies have been theorised to foster the ideal behaviours and attitudes to promote sexual misconduct as the result of a provocative peer support network (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000), a notion also put forward by Schwartz and Pitts (1995). It is argued that certain ‘subcultures’ that exist within the isolation of university (Binder, 2001) can develop peer norms that are masculinised to the extent that they actively encourage the objectification of women (Boeringer, 1999). These norms exist as an instruction to members on how to act, speak and behave (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003), if they are to ‘fit in’ and be identifiable as one of the ‘pack’ (Muir & Seitz, 2010). The norms are adopted by members of the group, and supported in practice by peers (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

A considerable proportion of the literature surrounding the effect of peer support within these groups centres on the assumption that membership increases the likelihood of acceptance of assault, or of being a perpetrator (Boeringer, 1996). Prior to discussion of this subject, it is notable that the majority of the literature is undertaken in US universities with a focus on ‘fraternities’ (Phipps & Young, 2012), exclusively male groups that remain extremely loyal and close-knit to one another (Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012). British Universities, however, host ‘societies’ (Gallagher & Gilmore, 2013). The two are structurally similar and comparable with regard to an emphasis on group togetherness, however, there are also differences – fraternities are gender exclusive and live together, whilst societies are predominantly mixed-gender and meet once a week (Rabinovitz, 2013). Despite a surplus of studies on fraternity membership and sexual assault, the equivalent has not been researched with societies in Britain a relationship between the two is often inferred (Phipps & Young, 2012). It is for this reason, that until further research is conducted in British Universities, the present study is obliged to draw implications from material predominantly based within the US.

There is an abundance of evidence that indicates a link between membership to these groups and rape acceptance (Moynihan & Banyard, 2008). Murnen and Kohlman (2007) conducted a meta-analytic review of the prevalence of sexually assaultive beliefs and behaviours among students in sports societies or fraternities and found that both groups were significant indicators of the likelihood of rape-supportive attitudes and self-reported instances of sexual assault (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Similarly, Boeringer (1999) found that men belonging to a fraternity or sports team upheld rape-supportive beliefs significantly more intensely than those in a control group. Evidence such as this that has led researchers to suggest that these

groups not only accept rape-myths to a greater extent, but also accept them more fervently (Warkentin, 2008).

Conversely, there are a number of studies that have found no support for a link between society or sports team membership and sexual assault (Moynihan & Banyard, 2008). In all-male societies, Schwartz and Nogrady (1996) found that members were no more likely than non-members to accept rape-myths. However, Boswell and Spade (1996) found that fraternities differ noticeably in terms of their attitudes towards alcohol and women and that those deemed 'high risk' within the study, who upheld a 'party atmosphere' where sex and alcohol were emphasised, typically had higher levels of gender segregation and showed degrading behaviour towards women. This suggests that inconsistencies in the research area is due to differences in group ethic (Boswell & Spade, 1996) and thus, groups at university may differ in their endorsement of LC behaviours.

In addition, contrasted findings may also be due to an effect that the peer group has over the individual (Boswell & Spade, 1996). For example, McMahon (2007) obtained contrasted evidence from a study of undergraduate athletes, in which survey results indicated that the majority of those asked understood sexual violence to be immoral and disagreed with elements of victim blaming, while group and individual interviews unveiled significant rape-supportive beliefs and attitudes (McMahon, 2007). In this way, it is acknowledged that beliefs of the peer group can override individual perspectives on sexual assault (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Peer-to-peer motivation for assault, as well as intensity of an individual's relationship to the most chauvinistic members, have been suggested as significantly predictive of sexual abuse to dating partners (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995). This is supported by research which found that despite a majority of college men coveting a positive



relationship with women, with regard to friendship as well as on issues of sexual assault, their adherence to peer norms impeded them from doing so (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003). Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) also found that perceived peer norms were more pertinent than personal attitudes in college male participants' intervening in incidents of sexual assault. These research outcomes would then seemingly evidence the profound role that peer norms have on both perpetuation of sexual assault and the likelihood of bystander intervention (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010).

The effect of peer norms on men and the support of sexual assault has been previously theorised in 'Male Peer Support' theory (MPS), proposed by Dekeseredy (1988). Originally derived from social support theory (Cohen & Wills, 1985), which argues that the level of support we receive from those around us is an essential component in the maintenance of disease management (Vaux, 1988), MPS applies the significance of support to the relationship between men and their peers in the likelihood of man-to-woman abuse (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000). Dekeseredy (1988) postulated that men would discuss with their peers the stresses they encountered in relations with women, from sexual problems to perceived challenges to their authority, and would receive support in the form of encouragement to 'exercise their male rights' and thus justification of abuse (DeKeseredy, 1988).

The theory was criticised on the grounds that it put forward only two variables as an explanation as to why some men abuse women (relationship stress and support from male friends) which is insufficient when accounting for the many factors that may influence men (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1993) proposed a modified theory, one in which four additional variables were suggested: alcohol consumption,

membership in social groups such as fraternities, ideology of an individual's familial patriarchy and the absence of a dissuasion to do so (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1993). Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1993) argue that it stands to reason that a man who has an impaired judgement due to intoxication, a family structure in which the patriarchy is dominant, and absence of consequences of perpetration, as well as a strong support system from peer groups, will be more likely to be a perpetrator of abuse against women.

Although the model was developed for the explanation of relationship abuse, it has on several occasions been applied to sexual assault in HE (Schwartz & Nograd, 1996). That is that male students who drink and take drugs, and associate with peers who encourage the emotional or physical exploitation of women, are more likely to commit and accept sexual assault (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Indeed, in their research, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (1997) found that these three variables, when together, created an effect in which male undergraduate students were nine times as likely to be a perpetrator of assault.

Opportunities for men to discuss and advise on sexual relations and women, as well as encourage misogynistic views and aggression, are now widely available on the internet and in the media (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). Such accessible platforms mean that male peer support is no longer restricted to the family or peer group and is now a vast network with international potential (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). As such, websites such as the Lad Bible (The Lad Bible, 2015) and UniLad (UniLad, 2015) which have been previously accused of promoting sexism, sexual assault and the degradation of women (Bates, 2013) have gained mass popularity. Regularly posting articles in which women are referred to as 'sluts' and 'hoes' (Bates, 2013) and using expressions such as '85% of rape cases go unreported – that's fairly good odds' (Kidson, 2012), advocates of the sites negate these

claims by positioning the articles as ‘banter’ (McAlpine, 2012), whilst many view them as the trivialisation and approval of sexual assault (Bates, 2013). As such, it could be argued that the proposed LC may be the result of MPS circulated on a massive scale and accepted within popular culture. Given the importance of male peer support and peer norms in the prospect of sexual assault being accepted (Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010), this view may implicate the impact of LC.

Corresponding to a rape-supportive culture is the acceptance of myths surrounding rape, which are defined as “attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.134). The study of these became popular when Burt (1980) developed the ‘Rape Myth Acceptance Scale’; a series of statements designed to assess an individual’s acceptance of rape-supportive tendencies (Burt, 1980). Studies which have used this scale are extensive, but several have found that those who endorse more traditional gender roles score significantly higher on the scale (Burt, 1980), that men are significantly more likely than women to accept rape myths (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994) and that individuals who have a higher score on the scale are more likely to both accept and expect sexual assault (Morry & Winkler, 2001). Whilst societal awareness of issues surrounding sexism and sexual assault has increased recently (Makin & Morczek, 2015), rape myths still exist, albeit in a more furtive manner than those represented in the original scale (McMahon, 2007). For example, one study suggested that victims of sexual assault often dismissed their victimisation on the grounds that unwanted sexual contact was commonplace and too insignificant to report, thus were accepting of the surrounding myths (Weiss, 2009).

The increase of LC is itself plagued by the rape myths that are perpetuated in a wider rape culture (Wemter, 2015). However, whilst rape culture within the general population presents as an undercurrent of belief (Attenborough, 2014) LC seems to be the extension of this into accepted everyday life at university to the extent of deriding victims, championing perpetrators and even endorsing assault (Phipps, 2010). This culture of rape support appears to flourish within societies and sports teams, perhaps as a result of the competitive masculinities within an all-male group, or the lack of deterrent for sexual assault that comes from the protection of being a university sponsored group (Phipps & Young, 2012) which may be an example of a patriarchal and rape-supportive influence itself (Binder, 2001). Regardless, the evidence would suggest that those involved in a 'LC' are associable with the formation and maintenance of attitudes towards women and sex that are related to the acceptance of sexual assault (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007).

### Experiences and impact of LC

Despite there being much interest surrounding LC, as well as extensive theory to corroborate its observed components, there remains very little research concerning the actual impact that it may be having. However, it remains within the interests of the current thesis to discuss the few existing studies and papers that explore LC, in order to discover the impact that it may be having as well as the areas that have been so far overlooked.

The primary piece of research concerning LC was conducted by Phipps and Young (2012) for the NUS, titled 'That's what she said'. Although this research provided an all-important definition for LC and the attitudes and behaviours it encompasses (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015), perhaps the most significant finding was that women students felt their social

lives and relationships had been greatly impacted by it (Phipps & Young, 2012). Many of the participants in the research expressed that both verbal and physical harassment from men was a regular occurrence and could be attributed directly to the popularisation of the culture, and this often made social situations uncomfortable (Phipps & Young, 2012). Despite widespread acclaim for the piece, as well as government interest (Ali, 2015), it has been criticised on the grounds that it included a small sample size that consisted exclusively of women (Whelan, 2015). This poses a problem in that women are more likely to experience harassment at university (Clodfelter, Turner, Hartman, & Kuhns, 2010) as well as speak out against sexism and laddism (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015) and as such the issues communicated in the study may have not been representative of student men who are also affected by LC.

In a subsequent piece again commissioned by the NUS, a large-sample online survey was used to try and gain a better understanding of students' experiences of LC and sexism (Stanton, 2014). Both men and women participated in the research. Questions focussed on the 'inappropriate behaviours' seen within LC, with a special interest on sexism and harassment (Stanton, 2014). Just under one third of students had received some sort of verbal harassment or overtly sexual conversation directed at themselves from so-called 'lads', a quarter had experienced unwanted touching and as many as two thirds reported witnessing inappropriate sexual comments towards fellow students or hearing rape jokes on campus (Stanton, 2014). Forty-five percent were aware of sites such as 'unilad' or 'the lad bible', citing that although these sites often unfairly represented women, they remained popular. Results showed that students were aware of material promoted by their university that had integrated LC through the featuring of sexualised images of women and derogatory terms for them (Stanton, 2014). Despite many feeling that LC had infiltrated their student experience, when asked openly about their concerns themes emerged in which students felt that sexism had become over-

exaggerated, and was often harmless (Stanton, 2014). The researcher also notes that though the results of the survey may initially appear significant in terms of sexism and harassment at university, pieces from ten or more years prior have witnessed similar and even higher numbers (Bagilhole & Woodward, 1995; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000).

Universities have been accused of being ignorant of the problems that this normalisation may create (Bates, 2012), with HE institutions called into question over the suggestion that their concern lies with attracting prospective students to the university, an important part of which is a popular nightlife (Phipps & Young, 2015b), and thus the impact of LC within it is overlooked (Bates, 2012). Research by Jackson and Sundaram (2015) found that staff at several UK universities often dismissed the idea of LC and considered any reported incidents as isolated cases of ‘laddishness’ gone awry, which may offer weight to concerns that behaviours within LC have been normalised not just amongst students, but also university staff. However, the majority of LC-related incidents are thought to go unreported, thus Universities themselves may not be made aware of an issue in the first place (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015). This is reflected in the aforementioned research by Stanton (2014), in which many students expressed their reluctance to report LC-related incidents as they did not believe they would be taken seriously.

Research by Jackson, Dempster and Pollard (2015) offers a different perspective. Rather than study its effect on relationships and the social life of students, the authors studied the way in which behaviours within the culture were impacting teaching and learning within university (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). Participants within the research included both men and women students from undergraduate to postgraduate level, as well as lecturers and support staff. The behaviours that were deemed characteristic of ‘lads’ were similar to those

identified within the NUS research - that they remain rude, disrespectful, loud, offensive and concerned with 'banter' (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). Students postulated that 'lads' often disrupted learning, with mature students particularly resentful of the detriment to their concentration and teaching they received (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). Women students were also concerned with the effect of LC in the learning environment more than men, however it was also found that extreme 'laddishness' often died down after the first year of university as those involved received such impairment to their own learning that they either dropped out or were ostracised from lectures (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015).

It seems that although LC has gained notoriety, little research has been conducted on it (Phipps & Young, 2015b). The few studies that do exist have suggested that it is having an impact in several ways, one of them being that the behaviours within it are profoundly affecting the learning of both the 'lads' involved, as well as those around them (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). It may then be sufficient to suggest that if LC is impacting the supervised learning environment of university, the effect may also translate into a somewhat unregulated social background (Phipps & Young, 2015a). Indeed, the few other dedicated studies on LC suggest that it is greatly contributing to the increasing discomfort of women students, as it bolsters sexism and inappropriate behaviour (Phipps, 2010), and has also been suggested in the increase of both verbal and physical harassment (Phipps & Young, 2012). This research has also implied that students are often unwilling to report related incidents for lack of being taken seriously (Stanton, 2014), a notion reflected by findings that suggest university staff are not aware of the issue (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015).

Throughout the limited studies so far, there is the suggestion that LC is related to sexual harassment and the inappropriate treatment of women on campus. However, the research area

has yet to investigate the reasons behind this assumption, or just how LC and the behaviours within it may be promoting such misconduct.

### Literature Review Summary

In 2012, the National Union of Students commissioned a review into LC in universities and told from first-hand accounts of the effects it has on the sexual and social wellbeing of women students (Phipps & Young, 2012). Despite the implications for the safety of young women and media interest, research surrounding the topic remains virtually non-existent. The literature review therefore focused on the individual components of LC that the NUS put forward and possible theoretical explanations for it, as well as the effect of LC on the acceptance of sexual assault, in order to better understand the concept. While the literature review was intended to be thorough, research refuting LC and indeed its theoretical link to the acceptance of sexual assault was not available at the time of publication, thus, it was not possible to present a counter argument at this point.

An overarching theme throughout review of the social contexts underlying LC pertained to the notion of threatened masculinity. The traditional Western ideals of men requires them to be tough, sexually confident, high-achieving, alcohol drinkers, and endorsement of this traditional role has been found to be correlated to a higher acceptance of rape myths (McMahon, 2007). Those who do not embody this ideal are ostracised (Connell, 2005). Alcohol consumption and the settings within sports teams and societies are therefore ideal avenues through which men can demonstrate their virility (Frintner & Robinson, 1993). Within LC, this is combined with the aggressive sexual pursuit of women (Gardner, 1995). ‘Banter’ is also used as a tool amongst men, often homophobic or sexist in nature, in order to ridicule those who do not conform and to keep peers ‘in check’ (Anderson, 2009).



With regard to this, it may be plausible to assume that LC has developed in universities as a masculine response to the observed excelling of women in academia and corporate systems (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 2010). As a consequence, the masculinities of society and young men in particular may have been threatened by the advancement of women in an otherwise patriarchal hierarchy, and thus the traditional Western expectations of men have been intensified in order for men to secure their virility (Phipps & Young, 2015a). Therefore, 'LC' may be a masculine ideal in which these properties have become increasingly acute, within a modern society in which the use of sexism, 'banter' and the objectification of women as tools for policing masculinity are widely accepted and accessible through media (Attenborough, 2014).

Also working towards a gender inequality is the concept of a 'rape culture', where there exists an unspoken undertow of attitudes and messages within society that exist to justify or 'play down' sexually aggressive behaviour from men (O'Sullivan, 1993). Attitudes supportive of assault have been found to be more evident amongst students, in the form of victim blaming (McMahon, 2005) and perpetrator excuse (Ferro, Cermele, & Saltzman, 2008). The review suggested parallels between rape culture and LC, arguing that LC may in fact be rape culture made accessible and acceptable through media (Makin & Morczek, 2015). This becomes pertinent when these rape-supportive assumptions - known as 'rape myths' - work towards the dismissal of male responsibility and justification of sexual assault (Burgess, 2007), which may place LC as a catalyst to these issues.

The alcohol consumption characteristic of LC exposed a widely accepted relationship between intoxication and incidence of assault (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004), as well as an effect on the promotion of rape-supportive attitudes and victim blaming,

through the promotion and facilitation of sexist social stereotypes (Broach, 2004). Alcohol may also facilitate assault in terms of aiding motivated offenders to perpetrate when either himself, victim, or bystanders are intoxicated (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). Therefore, a culture which promotes alcohol use to such a dangerous level may be also indirectly promoting a greater level of tolerance for sexual assault itself (Abbey, 1991).

Research into the sports and societies that were cited often in the NUS research also uncovered that they had been linked to greater perpetration rates of assault (Boeringer, 1996), however this was disputed (Moynihan & Banyard, 2008). The inconsistency in findings has been explained through the effect of group norms, or that some of these groups promote behaviours and attitudes conducive to the acceptance of assault (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000). Nonetheless, much research has suggested a relationship between sports or society membership amongst students and rape-supportive, derogatory attitudes towards women (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). An investigation into LC is then necessary in order to understand its influence in sports and societies and relationship to sexual assault.

The little research that focusses on LC has suggested that it is having various impacts within university. For example, one study suggests that the behaviours within the culture are affecting the learning of students, as well as the quality of teaching that they receive (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). It could then be assumed that if LC is impacting learning at university, it may have a similar effect on the social lives and relationships of students. Indeed, two pieces of research have found LC as having an impact on the sexism in university; increasing misogyny and both verbal and physical harassment and resulting in the increasing discomfort of women on campus (Stanton, 2014; Phipps & Young, 2012). Despite this, additional research has suggested that a large proportion of university staff do not yet see

LC as a problem, instead that isolated incidents are rarities (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015). Throughout this small literature area, there remains the assumption that LC is contributing to sexual harassment and assault, yet, the reason that this may be happening has yet to be researched.

### Research aim

Due to the possible impact that masculinities have on the acceptance of sexual assault, as well as a similar effect for the individual components within LC, and the suggestion by the few pieces that are dedicated to LC as indicative of its impact on sexual assault and harassment, it is imperative that a link between the two is researched. The aim of the current study is therefore to explore this relationship. It will employ a similar qualitative methodology to the NUS research in order to build upon its findings and investigate the experience of sexual assault within LC as well as experience of LC itself, but will also include quantitative study in order to investigate the demographics surrounding the phenomenon and ultimately, to establish whether there is a relationship between LC and the acceptance of sexual assault.

### Research Questions

Based on the findings of the literature review, and the aims of the research, the research questions are as follows:

1. Does a student's level of involvement in so called LC affect his/her acceptance of sexual assault?
2. How is LC experienced by university students?
3. How does LC affect university students?

## Methodology

The previous chapter highlighted key issues surrounding LC and its potential effect the student population, in terms of its relationship to the acceptance of sexual assault. This chapter will lay out the research methodology including how the research was designed and implemented, the reasoning behind the methodological design, limitations of the research and ethical considerations.

### Mixed Methods Approach

This study adopted a non-experimental mixed methods design, utilising quantitative and qualitative methodologies to explore whether involvement in LC affects acceptance of sexual assault amongst students and the experiences of and impact of LC.

Employing a combination of methodologies provided a more robust understanding of the underdeveloped topic than may be possible from one method alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007), with an assumption that the application of dual research paradigms provided a fuller understanding of a complex phenomenon (Rocca, Bliss, Gallagher, & Perez-Prado, 2003). First, quantitative study was carried out in order to explore the relationship between LC and the acceptance of sexual assault, followed by a focus group (qualitative element) to explore the experiences of participants, in a sequential explanatory design (Creswell, 2003). This complimentary mixed methods design (Yin, 2013) meant that quantitative results would identify the most pertinent issues to inform a focus group (Creswell, 2012) and thus qualitative results would facilitate interpretation of any quantitative relationship between LC

and sexual assault acceptance (Bryman & Bell, 2007), by elaborating on any effects and providing context (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

As the research itself is conducted in two parts the following sections will be broken down correspondingly, where both quantitative and qualitative aspects will be discussed separately in terms of their approach, sample, instruments, procedure and analysis, as well as limitations surrounding validity and reliability.

### Quantitative stage

The first stage of the research was quantitative; concerned with exploring the relationship between involvement in LC and an individual's acceptance of sexual assault, thus addressing research question number one. This stage utilised two measures to examine a) participants' level of involvement in LC and b) participants' acceptance of sexual assault. A correlational analysis was then performed on data from the two measures, to identify whether a relationship between the two does indeed exist. Further empirical testing on the demographics of participants within these measures was then conducted.

### Sample

There were 59 participants involved in the quantitative study. Inclusion criteria required that all participants were students in HE, in order to be consistent with research question number one. As the current research is concerned specifically with students it was decided that a purposive sample would be taken; a method which assumes a subset of a specific target population as representative of that population and that attempts to identify a group that will be the most effective in understanding a phenomenon (Creswell, 2005). This method of

sampling is generally expected to be more representative of the target population, as those who do not meet inclusion criteria are eliminated prior to study (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). It also improved internal reliability of the study, as this style of sampling is concerned with one population in which all experiences are shared (Patton, 2002).

The chosen sample consisted of male and female students currently studying at one British university. Students from the human sciences school within the university were invited. Thus, the sample was also opportunistic in nature, where the targeted groups were available and accessible to the researcher (Coolican, 2009) as a student of the school itself. The sample was obtained via a recruitment email to students, which included an internet link to two measures, which were hosted online.

## Materials

Two measures were created especially for the quantitative phase. The first, was intended to measure individual level of involvement in LC. The second was designed to assess the acceptance of sexual assault.

### *Involvement in LC questionnaire (ILCQ)*

This measure was created to examine individual level of involvement in LC. Questionnaires are most successful in measuring the issue concerned when they are worded appropriately, have a good general appearance, and categorise variables appropriate to the topic (Brain, 2002). Statements within the ILCQ were worded in correspondence with the second measure (subsequently discussed in this chapter), which in turn was based on an existing measure that had been developed specifically for students (Pauna & Pleszewski, 2012), to achieve

consistency between both measures and to ensure that language was appropriate for the sample. The ILCQ was also formatted in a clear and understandable way; thus appearance was taken into account.

In order to categorise variables for the ILCQ, the main constructs of LC were identified through literature review, as well as the foremost concerns and theories within each of these topics. Identified topics were excessive alcohol consumption, sports or society membership, and sexist attitudes. As such, these core constructs formed three main sections within the ILCQ. Each section included questions that aimed to identify participant association with each of these variables, including items directed at the way in which they relate to masculinities, a concept recognised within the literature review as a possible origin of LC.

The full ILCQ can be found in Appendix 7. Participants were asked to rate their agreement on a Likert-type scale measured from 1-5 respectively which were displayed in one of two formats according to the literacy of the statement:

*Strongly disagree*      *Disagree*      *Undecided*      *Agree*      *Strongly Agree*

*Or*

*Never*      *Rarely*      *Every once in a while*      *Sometimes*      *Almost always*

Examples of the statements as they appear in the ILCQ can be seen below:

1. Women over exaggerate sexism on campus:

*Strongly disagree*                      *Disagree*                      *Undecided*                      *Agree*                      *Strongly Agree*

2. I get so drunk that I cannot remember chunks of the night before:

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Every once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

As these statements are designed to measure factors associated with LC and the literature review proposed LC as a composition of them, numeric values of each given rating were combined to provide a total rating of involvement in LC. All items were worded positively with regard to involvement and as such, no reverse coding was required. Consequently, the higher the figure, the more involved the participant was in LC. There were 37 questions in total.

#### *Acceptance of sexual assault scale (ASAS)*

Second, a scale was constructed as a measure of acceptance of sexual assault. Rape and sexual assault myth acceptance is not a novel concept, with the original Rape Myth Acceptance Scale developed in the 1980 by Martha Burt (Burt, 1980). Since then, there have been many scales developed, such as the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance scale (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999); the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression scale (Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007) and the Updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (McMahon & Farmer, 2011). However, none were deemed appropriate for



the present research as they were found to focus excessively on the act of rape, whereas the current focus is concerned with all forms of sexual assault. It is for this reason that a new scale was developed.

A foundation for the newly developed scale was Pauna and Pleszewski's (2012) Acceptance of Modern Myths about Rape Scale (AMMRS), which was chosen as the most suitable for the current study due to its contemporary style and application to students, with appropriate questions and language which are relatable to a student sample. Items from the AMMRS were reworded or changed to place a focus on assault rather than rape exclusively, and to relate to practices within LC.

The developed scale was peer reviewed by three fellow researchers, in order to assess the suitability of each item in measuring acceptance of sexual assault, of which the survey instrument used for assessment can be found in Appendix 9. In this case, reviewers assessed each item on how accurately it would measure the statement in question and so it is anticipated that internal validity of the measure would be improved. These assessments can be found in Appendix 10.

Items were amended and improved according to this feedback. There were 25 items included in the final scale, named the Acceptance of Sexual Assault Scale (ASAS). The majority of statements were positive in nature; however, some were deliberately worded contrary to this in order to address any inadvertent agreement from participants, or 'acquiescence bias' (Brain, 2002). In these cases, scoring was reversed.

## Procedure

Quantitative study is concerned with the empirical investigation of complex phenomena by its systematic reduction into measurable variables; thus testing hypothesis through its ability to objectively establish cause and effect between the variables concerned (Creswell, 2003). Therefore, employing a quantitative methodology provided measures by which to examine whether participation in LC has an effect on the acceptance of sexual assault, thus addressing research question number one. Participants were identified according to their student status within a human sciences school at one British university, and were recruited via an email that included a description of the research, as well as the internet links to the ILCQ and ASAS. A transcript of this email can be seen in Appendix 1. For the benefit of the research, the measures were combined into one document in order to ensure that participants completed both measures in their entirety.

These measures were set up and hosted on the website surveyplanet.com. There are concerns over the use of measures administered online, such as a sample biased to internet users or the effect of differences in the computer literacy of participants (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). However, as the present research is concerned with a sample in which the internet and computers are now requisite to study (Weller, 2011) and has a focus on a concept that is heavily apparent online (Bates, 2013), these concerns were not considered relevant. Rather, the benefits of online hosting of measures; such as ease and speed of administration, simplicity of downloadable data, and convenience for participation (Evans & Mathur, 2005) were found to out-weigh any disadvantages.

## Analysis

In order to determine a pre-existing relationship between involvement in LC and acceptance of sexual assault, a correlational research method was adopted. Correlational analysis is concerned with exploring a relationship between two variables and the extent to which these variables influence one another (Giles, 2002). Analysing the covariant data in this way satisfied the first research question, as the outcome would establish the nature and degree of the influence of LC on acceptance of assault. Specifically, a Pearson's R test for correlation coefficient was used to analyse the data.

Due to the topic of LC being under-researched (Phipps & Young, 2012), it was decided that further testing would be carried out on the quantitative data sets, to better establish the scope of LC. Employing analysis on the factors of gender, relationship status, sexual orientation and previous sexual encounters, would provide demographical information on whether there is a certain type of individual who is most likely to be involved in LC, thus furthering the research area. The effect of gender and previous sexual encounters were explored using tests of difference; a Mann-Whitney U and a 2 sample t-test, respectively. The effect of relationship status and sexual orientation were investigated using a Kruskal-Wallis test of variance. The reasons behind the choosing of these specific tests is discussed in depth in the Results section of this thesis.

## Validity and Reliability

As with any research, the study was not without its concerns regarding validity of data collection. Internal validity is preoccupied with the extent to which an instrument does in fact measure the construct that it claims to measure (Burns, 2000). In this way, internal validity is

important to uphold as an inaccurate measure would produce imprecise data, and thus would not sufficiently address the research aims or objectives (Lobiondo-Wood & Haber, 2014). One type of internal validity is content validity, which refers to the careful consideration of a measure as to how relevant the items are in measuring the concept in question (Coolican, 2009). The ASAS was compared to the original AMMRS, and each item was systematically scored in terms of their accuracy for measurement by peer review; therefore improving content validity of the instrument (Ware, 2008).

The ILCQ perhaps posed the biggest threat to internal validity, in that it utilised the variables of attitudes towards alcohol, sports and society membership and attitudes towards women and relationships, to measure overall involvement in LC. In this way, especially due to the lack of research into LC, the ILCQ may have failed to pinpoint essential areas or constructs within the culture. However, the researcher chose to measure LC through the specific components as asking an individual to simply rate their involvement in the culture is limited by their understanding of the concept and may also be prone to a social desirability bias (Rattray & Jones, 2007). Nonetheless, validity of the ILCQ was improved as all investigated factors associated with LC were taken from an extensive literature review as well as the few previous studies concerning LC.

External validity, or the extent to which the results of a study are generalizable to other populations, times and settings (Coolican, 2009), was also considered during the research. Indeed, results from the present research may be difficult to generalise as they focused on a purposive sample of students within one single university (Tewksbury, 2009). Additionally, LC is theorised as a fluid concept dependent on environment (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010); meaning that it may differ between universities and as such results from the current

research may have been effected by a sample bias, therefore may not be entirely applicable to those outside of the university in question (Bryman, 2015). That being said, when considering a novel concept such as LC, a precise sample provides a basis by which to develop theory within a small and controlled experiment (Creswell, 2003); thus the external validity of results was not a substantial concern within the present research.

Reliability of measures pertains to the way in which they are consistent in nature and thus any outcomes can be reproduced (Coolican, 2009). Within this concept, internal reliability refers to how consistent the measure is within itself; that is, whether several items that measure a concept produce similar results to one another (Dawson, 2013). In terms of the present research, the scale was tested through Cronbach's Alpha and a high reliability rating for the scale was obtained (0.899), outputs of which are observed in Appendix 20.

The ILCQ was developed especially for the current study, therefore, was tested for reliability through Cronbach's Alpha. As it included three subscales (alcohol, sports and society membership, attitudes towards women and relationships), each was tested, in-turn. A high reliability rating was obtained for both the alcohol subscale (0.804) and the attitudes to women and relationships subscale (0.891) and moderate for the sports and societies subscale (0.590). These data outputs can be found in Appendix 19.

The sequential design of the research meant that the interview guide for the subsequent qualitative phase was developed from quantitative findings. This style of design is thought to enhance consistency throughout the research, especially when the second phase includes participants that have also taken part in the first stage (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

## Qualitative stage

Thus far, Phipps and Young's 'that's what she said' study (Phipps & Young, 2012) is one of few pieces of research to have focused on LC within UK universities, with a qualitative methodology focusing exclusively on student women and utilising a 'colour coding' method to identify themes (Phipps & Young, 2012). These authors have also completed a handful of qualitative papers discussing LC and the neo-liberalisation of university (Phipps & Young, 2015a; Phipps & Young, 2015b), as have Jackson and Sundaram (2015) with their work on LC from the perspective of university staff. Adopting a qualitative approach similar to these, but expanding on them with the study of both genders and the use of structured thematic analysis, would greatly develop the research area.

Utilising a qualitative element of study as subsequent to a quantitative stage would also allow for the explanation of quantitative findings. Although quantitative methods allows for elucidation as to whether LC has an effect acceptance of sexual assault among students, they cannot access the impact that it has on individuals on a personal level (Willig, 2001). Therefore, the research was part qualitative in order to understand what LC means to students, both from those involved and those who have witnessed it, with regard to how it is understood, how it is constructed and how it may be affecting them (Tewksbury, 2009); the interpretation of which would clarify the findings of quantitative study.

Due to this process, research question numbers two and three were sufficiently addressed.

## Method

A focus group was selected as the method of data collection as it allowed for an insight into not only the individual beliefs surrounding LC but also provided an understanding of the way in which LC is constructed through social processes (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2013). Focus groups have a heuristic value in that the debate and discussion that occurs within the group has the potential to generate new ideas surrounding the topic, which would otherwise not be found during individual interviews (Acocella, 2012). They also offer the opportunity to study the topic on an ‘intra-personal’ level, such as the thoughts and beliefs of an individual, as well as on an ‘intra-group’ level; or how communication informs the ideas that are produced through group process (Millward, 1995). Utilising a focus group therefore allowed for a robust study of LC due to its nature as a socially constructed and demonstrated phenomena.

As focus groups are a form of interview, it is essential that they follow a thorough process in order to remain reliable in collecting data (Yin, 2003) whilst also maintaining a comfortable environment to encourage participant contribution (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2013). Therefore, the researcher attempted to establish a rapport with participants whilst using open questions that outlined the topic, allowing room for discussion and introduced probing questions when this discussion diminished, so as to ensure all topics and opinions were investigated (Millward, 1995).

Prior to data collection, important aspects of the literature review were noted and incorporated into questions. These questions formed an indicative interview schedule; a transcript of which can be found in Appendix 11. The key findings collected from quantitative analysis and interpretation were also considered and informed questions on the schedule, and items from the ILCQ and ASAS that received the most prominent results also

asked within the focus groups. Doing so reduced the opportunity for research design bias and provided thematic consistency between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the research (Creswell, 2003); allowing for a more informed interpretation between the two data sets (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

## Sample

The focus group was mixed gender and consisted of a group of current students, comprised of two women and three men. Aforementioned research has suggested that individuals covet a positive relationship with the opposite gender on issues surrounding sexism and sexual assault (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003); and due to the concept of LC as a fluent and socially constructed one (Phipps & Young, 2012), both genders were included so as to provide context to the way in which LC is constructed in relation to one another, and the issues that this would raise.

Inclusion criteria for the focus group were identical to those in the quantitative section, aside from the fact that participants were required to have taken part in and completed the quantitative measures. Consequently, they were recruited via volunteer sample, as they had responded to a questionnaire at the end of the measures which asked for their interest in taking part in a focus group. Although volunteer sampling is often criticised on the grounds of its potential to produce a self-selected and non-representative sample (Dawson, 2013), due to the extremely sensitive nature of the research it was decided that it would be ethically appropriate to use participants who were informed and willing to speak on the subject. Also, gathering data from participants previously included in the quantitative stage provided a consistent research process, increasing validity of the findings identified within the focus groups and facilitating the analysis of both stages as complimentary to one another (Creswell



& Plano Clark, 2007). Sampling in this way also meant that participants were again students currently in HE, which again addresses the research concern. Each participant within the group was given a pseudonym to protect their identity, should they be quoted in the forthcoming analysis.

## Analysis

Thematic Analysis was chosen to measure the quantitative data. Thematic analysis is concerned with ‘identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79), highlighting the most important issues that surround a particular topic. It aims to describe a set of data in full detail and through this can also begin to interpret features of the topic in question and suggest relevant theory (Boyatzis, 1998), which is useful when researching a novel concept such as LC.

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that due to the absence of underlying theoretical framework, thematic analysis can be applied as combining both essentialist and constructionist framework into a ‘contextualist’ method, which is concerned with the way in which participants make meaning from their experiences and how social context impacts these meanings. Adopting this perspective, thematic analysis then identified the aspects of LC that are most pertinent to students in terms of both their experiences of it, and how their opinions of it are affected by the social processes of the group. It also allowed for the data to be viewed as a contributory presentation from all those involved, with opinions being neither predisposed on an individual level nor belonging to the group as a whole, but as ideas which have been negotiated through the group itself (Smithson, 2000).

In the present research, a thematic analysis was carried out in accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines to do so, and as follows:

The transcription was read and re-read methodically; an extremely important step within thematic analysis as it allows the researcher to become familiar with the content and begin developing informed ideas of patterns. These ideas then formed initial 'codes'; small elements from the data that appeared as significant in accordance with research question two, of which as many as possible were written in note form alongside the transcript. Codes were then listed and analysed in terms of their similarities to one another, to reflect on whether they could be combined into overarching themes. Prospective themes were reviewed in relation to each other and to the underlying codes, to discriminate those that could be merged, separated, or perhaps discarded due to lack of evidence. The refined themes were then named according to the overall premise that they represented within the data, of which are present in a table in Appendix 13, and a description of each is provided in the 'Results' section of this thesis. The contextualisation of these with the quantitative data and existing literature is available in the 'Discussion' section. A copy of the transcript, including original coding, can be found in Appendix 12.

Throughout the focus group and analysis stages, the researcher resolved to remain reflexive. This entailed a continuous awareness of how the experiences, actions and values of the researcher can impact on both data collection and qualitative interpretation, as well as the way in which participants respond and form their own views (Morrow, 2006). It is an imperative concept within qualitative methodologies, as self-evaluation unveils biases and presumptions that could affect the accuracy and understanding of the phenomenon as it is represented by the participants (Willig, 2001). Therefore, the researcher was continually

mindful of any personal opinion, assumptions and social identities that may have effected either process, in order for the interpretation of participants' experience of LC to remain authentic.

### Validity and Reliability

There are some concerns surrounding validity that are similar to those concerning the quantitative stage. Again, the external validity of data produced by the focus group may be questionable as the group of students was small. However, as the questions asked within the group were specific to LC and comments from participants were in direct response to the topic, face validity of the focus group is therefore typically high (Nyamathi & Shuler, 1990). There is the possibility that data may have been affected by experimenter bias, however as aforementioned, the research endeavoured to remain reflexive during data collection and analysis in order to improve internal validity (Willig, 2001). Results would then be more credible, as they are increasingly likely to reflect the perspective of the participant themselves (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Credibility of the research was also improved by peer debriefing, or the gaining of insight via the supervisors of the research (Noble & Smith, 2015), which served to identify prospective flaws in the methodology as well as any alternative insights during analysis (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002).

Traditional reliability is rather redundant in focus group research such as in the current project; as the aim of the research was to gain an in-depth insight into the experience of the group and to raise potential issues for future research, rather than to determine whether the experience is the same for all students (Sprenkle & Piercy, 2005). In fact, many qualitative

researchers forgo the idea of reliability as a test for rigour and in fact refer to the ‘trustworthiness’ of the data (Burns, 2000). Within the present research trustworthiness was improved through a meticulous approach to data collection. This was considered in several ways; the first being the accurate transcription of data. During the analysis stages, the researcher was also concerned with clearly stating thought processes and interpretations of the data by hand, in order to make findings transparent and to allow peers to corroborate the data (Noble & Smith, 2015). Trustworthiness was also enhanced by rigorously following the procedure of thematic analysis as set out by Braun and Clarke (2006), in order to ensure comprehensive data collection and to make sure that this qualitative stage can be thoroughly replicated in future research (Rolfe, 2006).

### Ethical considerations of the present study

The present research followed the Code of Human Research Ethics as set by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2009) and received ethical approval from the School Research Ethics Panel within the appropriate school at the awarding university, prior to any data collection (a copy of approval form can be found in Appendix 6). The researcher understood the potential for distress to participants due to the sensitive nature of research surrounding sexual assault and rape (Allnock & Barns, 2011). Therefore, participants were fully informed of the nature of the study; including the focus on LC and sexual assault, the inclusion of questions that they may find uncomfortable and the aims of the research itself. This information was provided on an information sheet prior to completion of the measures and focus group, copies of which can be found in Appendices 2 and 3. This information was given to potential participants so that they could make an informed decision as to whether they would be comfortable partaking in the study, thus protecting them from distress.

It was also understood that confidentiality and anonymity may be of concern during a study of this delicate nature. Therefore, participants were informed that their data would be confidential and would be kept secure with only the researcher having access to this information. They were informed of their right to withdraw their data at any time until the date of the write-up began, and that all raw data would be destroyed five years after the completion of the study. As well as this, they were advised that should they elect to take part in the qualitative section of the study, their anonymity would be ensured through the use of pseudonym. Participants were required to sign a consent form (found in Appendix 4) to demonstrate their understanding of the nature and aims of the research, their right to withdraw, their right to confidentiality and anonymity, and to give consent for their data to be used within the present thesis and ultimately, to take part in the research. Should they have failed to acknowledge any of these points, their participation was terminated and they did not complete the measures.

In keeping with BPS guidelines, participants were presented with a debriefing subsequent to their participation in the study. This included information on the research they had completed, as well as contact details of the researcher and supervisors should they have any enquiries. To further protect participants from harm and offer additional support the debrief also included reference to the Wellbeing services of the university at which the students attended, in addition to the contact details of Rape Crisis England and Wales (Rape Crisis England and Wales, 2016) and Victim Support (Victim Support, 2016). The debrief transcript can be found in Appendix 5.

## Results

This chapter details the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, with each section directed by the relevant research questions. Statement of the results will be followed by a summary of the findings, leading into the next chapter in which these results will be discussed regarding their relationship to each other and in accordance with previous literature.

### Results of quantitative analysis

The reader is reminded of research question number one:

1. Does a student's level of involvement in so called LC affect their acceptance of sexual assault?

In order to satisfy this research question, measures of both LC and sexual assault were completed by each participant, in the form of two measures.

### Demographic figures

59 participants completed the measures, all of whom were current students at one British university. There were 22 men and 37 women, with an average age of  $M = 22.81$  ( $SD = 6.10$ ). Approximately 68% of participants were aged between 18 and 28.91. Participants who identified as English made up 87% of the sample, with the remainder as Greek, Northern Irish, Romanian, Scottish, Albanian, Cypriot, or Mixed nationality. Ethnicity of participants

was predominantly Caucasian (88.1%), with 8.6% mixed race and the remainder of Middle Eastern descent. With regard to religion, participants were classified as atheist/agnostic/none (55.2%), Christian (41.4%), Muslim (1.7%) and Greek Orthodox (1.7%). A large proportion of participants categorised themselves as heterosexual (82.8%), with minorities stating that they were homosexual (3.4%), bisexual (8.6%) or that they prefer not to answer (5.1%). In all, 82.8% had had some form of sexual relations with a partner, and were either single (53.4%), in a relationship (39.7%), married (5.2%) with one stating that they were 'on a break'. Lastly, 45.6% had been a victim of sexual harassment, 5.9% of rape, 7.4% had experienced child sexual abuse and 36.8% had not experienced any of the above. On this question, 4.4% of people answered either 'prefer not to answer' or 'other'.

### Descriptive Analyses

The ILCQ was designed to measure involvement in LC. It consisted of eight initial questions concerned with demographic factors, as stated above. There were then a further 29 items, each measured on a Likert scale, and the numerical value of each response was totalled to give an involvement in LC score for each participant. Descriptive analysis showed that out of a possible maximum of 145, average LC score was fairly low ( $M = 58.42$ ), with 68% of participants scoring between 36.74 and 80.10 ( $SD = 21.68$ ).

The ASAS was included to measure individual acceptance of sexual assault. Each statement was measured on a Likert scale and an overall level of sexual assault acceptance was calculated by the sum of the numerical values given. Out of a possible maximum of 125, mean acceptance score was low ( $M = 46.37$ ), with 68% of participants scoring between 34.33

and 58.41 (SD = 12.04). Descriptive statistics for both LC score and Acceptance score are displayed in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of LC and Acceptance Scores

	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Maximum</b>	<b>Minimum</b>
<b>LC Score</b>	59	58.42	21.68	109	23
<b>Acceptance Score</b>	59	46.37	12.04	75	27

### Correlational Analysis

As research question one is concerned with determining a possible relationship between involvement in LC and individual acceptance of sexual assault, it was appropriate to analyse these two measures in terms of their covariant association with one another. Thus, a correlational analysis was carried out.

### *Testing for normality*

As  $n > 50$  (Coolican, 2009), Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality was carried out on both sets of data to test for a normal distribution of scores.

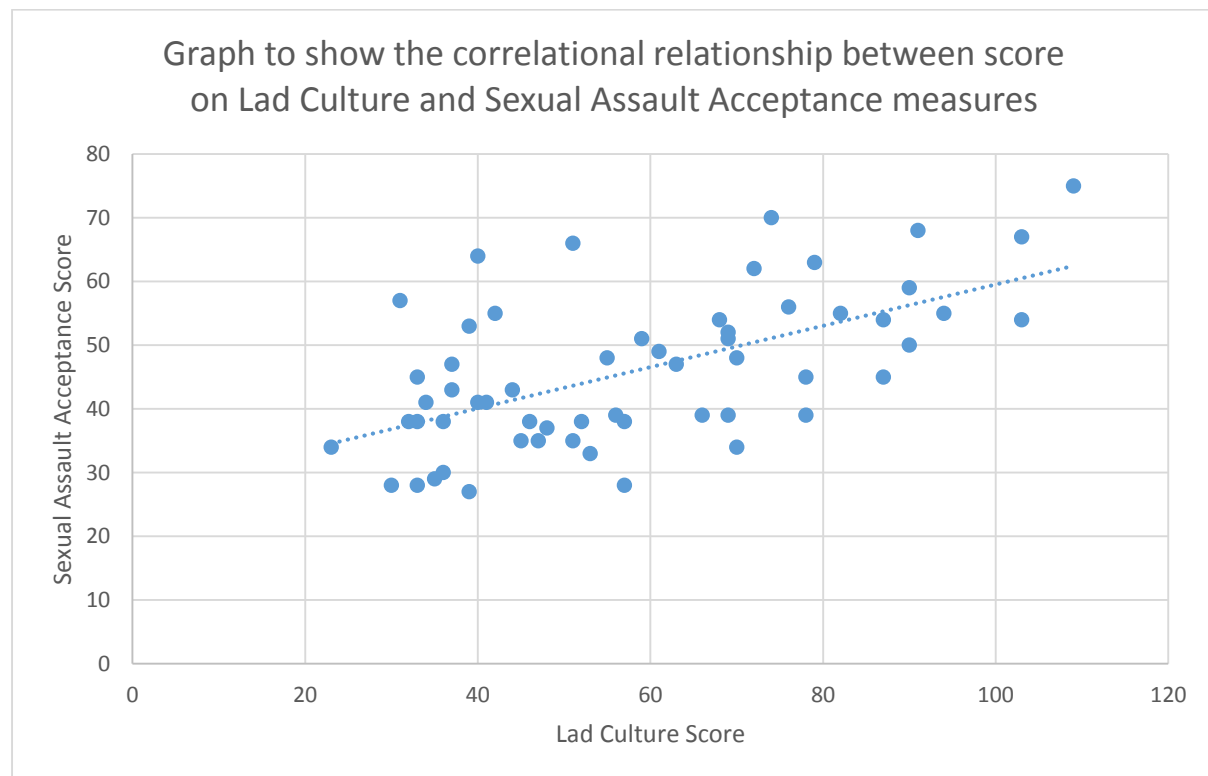
The test found that data for the LC measure was normally distributed, as  $D(59) = 0.15$  when  $p > 0.05$ . However, scores for Sexual Assault Acceptance was non-normally distributed as  $D(59) = 0.04$  when  $p > 0.05$ . As well as this, Likert scale data is a discreet measure in which intervals between each element cannot be proven as equidistant to one another (Giles, 2002),



thus a Pearson's test of correlation was rejected and the non-parametric equivalent was chosen to analyse the relationship between data sets.

#### *Spearman's Rho test and results*

A Spearman's Rho test of correlation was selected as the data was non-normally distributed, was measured on an ordinal level and the research was concerned with exploring a relationship between the two sets (Coolican, 2009). A Graph to show the relationship between the data sets is as follows:



As demonstrated by the graph, a Spearman's Rho test found a significant positive correlation between LC score and Sexual Assault Acceptance score ( $R = .559$ ,  $df=58$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), when  $p<0.05$ . As such, results indicate that an individual's level of involvement in LC is positively

correlated to the extent to which he or she will see sexual assault as somehow acceptable. This is a key finding which will frame the remainder of the thesis.

### Further testing

As LC is under-researched, further quantitative tests were conducted on the demographic information provided by participants at the beginning of the questionnaire. It was of particular interest to determine if there were any differences in gender for involvement in LC, as well as whether sexual orientation, relationship status, or previous sexual experience also observed any differences. Age, religion, ethnicity and national identity were considered, however, due to a small sample size, there was not enough diversity in these categories to produce a sufficiently representative result.

### *The effect of gender on LC*

Participants completing the questionnaire were asked to state their gender, a choice between Male or Female. Due to previous research discussed in the literature review and the inherent nature of LC as a male phenomenon (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015), it was hypothesised that men would have significantly higher LC scores than women. Descriptive statistics for both genders are represented in the following table:

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Genders

<b>Gender</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<b>Male</b>	22	66.23	18.70	33	103

<b>Female</b>	37	53.78	22.23	23	109
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Mean LC score was higher for men than for women ( $m=66.23 > m=53.78$ ), which would support the hypothesis. Interestingly, men varied from the mean score on a lesser scale than women ( $sd=18.70 < sd=22.23$ ) with a female participant in fact having the highest score across both genders ( $max=109$ ).

In order to test for an effect of gender on involvement in LC, a test of difference was performed. Both levels of the variable were tested for normal distribution using a Shapiro-Wilk test of normality ( $n < 50$ ). Data for men were normally distributed ( $W=0.98$ ,  $df=22$ ,  $p=0.816$ ), whilst data for women were non-normally distributed ( $W=0.90$ ,  $df=37$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The data was therefore assumed as non-parametric; thus the use of a t-test was rejected and a Mann-Whitney U test of difference was utilised.

The Mann-Whitney U test indicated that LC score was significantly higher for men ( $Mdn=68.5$ ) than for women ( $Mdn=47$ ); as  $U(59)=256$ ,  $p=0.018$ . Therefore, the hypothesis that men would have significantly higher LC scores than women was accepted.

#### *The effect of relationship status*

Participants were also asked to state their relationship status. As previous research has suggested that men often wish to support women on issues of sexism (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003), it was of interest to investigate whether proximity to close romantic relationships would alter involvement in LC. Due to previous research suggesting that peer influence had more of an effect on sexism and abuse than personal

attitudes (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010), it was hypothesised that there would be no effect of relationship status on LC scores.

Three categories of relationship status were identified – single, in a relationship (IAR) and married. A Shapiro-Wilk test of normality was carried out on each variable ( $n < 50$ ). Data for the ‘single’ variable was found to be normally distributed ( $W=0.94$ ,  $df=33$ ,  $p=0.05$ ), as was data for those IAR ( $W=0.97$ ,  $df=23$ ,  $p=0.633$ ). However, data in the ‘married’ condition was not normally distributed ( $W=0.75$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Therefore, all data was assumed non-normal and an ANOVA test rejected, instead a Kruskal-Wallis test of variance was used to test for a difference within and between levels of relationship status.

A Kruskal-Wallis test indicated that there was no significant effect of relationship status on LC Score,  $H(59)=3.1$ ,  $p=0.21$ ; with a mean rank score of 30.4 for singles, 31.6 for those IAR and 13.17 for married. Therefore, the hypothesis that there would be no effect of relationship status on LC score was accepted.

#### *The effect of sexual orientation*

Participants were also asked to state their sexual orientation. Similar to the effect of relationship status and due to previous literature on peer norms, it was hypothesised that there would be no effect of sexual orientation on LC scores. Sexual orientation carried four options: Heterosexual, Homosexual, Bisexual and ‘Prefer not to answer’. A Shapiro-Wilk test of normality was performed on each category, as the number of participants in each was less than fifty (Coolican, 2009). The Heterosexual variable was found to be normally distributed ( $W=0.95$ ,  $df=49$ ,  $p=0.05$ ), as were the Bisexual ( $W=0.93$ ,  $df=5$ ,  $p=0.056$ ) and ‘Prefer not to answer’ categories ( $W=0.86$ ,  $df=3$ ,  $p=0.274$ ). However, the Homosexual group was not

normally distributed, as there were only 2 participants. Therefore, all data was treated as non-normal and a Kruskal-Wallis test of variance was utilised.

The Kruskal-Wallis test revealed there to be no significant effect of sexual orientation on LC score as  $H(59)=2.14$ ,  $p=0.543$ , when  $p \leq 0.05$ . Therefore, the hypothesis that there would be no effect of sexual orientation on LC score was accepted.

#### *The effect of previous sexual relations*

The questionnaire also asked participants whether or not they had ever had sexual relations with a partner. Again, there was hypothesised to be no effect of previous sexual relationships on LC score, due to a predominant influence in LC being peer norms as opposed to individual experience with regard to sexual relationships (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995).

There were two options for the present item, either 'Yes' or 'No'. Both were tested for normality using a Shapiro-Wilk test ( $n < 50$ ). Both conditions were found to be normally distributed ( $W=0.95$ ,  $df=49$ ,  $p=0.056$ ;  $W=0.91$ ,  $df=10$ ,  $0.273$ ). Therefore, all data was assumed as normally distributed. A 2 sample t-test was chosen, as the present research was concerned with testing for a difference in LC conditions between the two groups, and measures were independent from each other (Giles, 2002). There was significant difference in LC scores between participants who had had previous sexual relations and those who had not, as  $t(59)=-0.74$  and  $p=0.464$ , when  $p \leq 0.05$ . Therefore, the hypothesis that previous sexual relations would have no effect on LC scores was accepted.

## Results of Qualitative Analysis

Research question numbers two and three were as follows:

2. How is LC experienced by university students?
3. How does LC affect university students?

As these objectives were concerned with the experience and effect of LC, it was necessary to approach them using a qualitative methodology. Therefore, a focus group consisting of two student women and three student men was conducted and the data were analysed using Thematic Analysis. Three main themes from the focus groups were:

1. The accepted existence of LC
2. A hierarchal phenomenon existing only in groups
3. 'We're not lads'

### Accepted existence of LC

The first theme described how participants were acutely aware that LC existed within their university. They noted that LC is an accepted standard of student life. Participants viewed it as a phenomenon that had always existed within wider society, but through media endorsement had been given a label and associated with university. Although they felt that this had exacerbated the issues of sexism and aggressive behaviour amongst students, they viewed behaviours within LC as acceptable to a degree.

*'Just what happens'*

The first sub-theme acknowledged the way in which participants accepted that LC 'just exists', as something that is apparent within their university and the wider population, and that there is little to be done about it. Evidence of this lies throughout the data, in quotes such as:

*'that's never okay but that's what some people do isn't it' (pp 15, line 499)*

But is also evident in the fact that a female participant does not challenge the culture but rather has learned to:

*'spot a group of lads a mile off, so you're like...just stay away' (pg 9, line 291)*

Another female participant considers it as:

*'one of those things that happens within people's halls...people's houses...and then, I don't know if you could control it' (pg 13, line 423)*

These quotes suggest that participants recognise LC as integrated into university life in such a way that it is pointless to do anything other than accept its existence. It seems that the men accepted that there are 'lads' within their university community and that this is to be expected, whereas the women believed it to be so common that it was something to be avoided rather than challenged. Overall, whilst critical of the culture, participants expressed the notion that LC 'just is'.

*Phenomenon that has always existed*

Within the theme of acceptance, participants also highlighted that they believed LC is a phenomenon that has always underpinned the social context of university, but had only recently been labelled and highlighted. There was the sense that it is not exclusive to university and has existed historically throughout a wider society. For example:

*‘...you know builders, like cheeky builders and stuff like that like wolf whistling down the street at you, that’s never not been a thing’ (pg 10, line 317)*

Participants believed LC to be a historical problem within society in general and one that has been accepted for years without a specific title. There was also the idea that these underlying attitudes had been very recently labelled and related to university, therefore emphasised because of this:

*‘you’re with a group of friends and going out or going to uni...it just hadn’t been labelled, it hadn’t been heightened like you said, now it just comes across as an acceptance like this is what you should do as a lad...but then it’s always been there’ (pg 10, line 324)*

This extract provides a summary of the subtheme in that participants established LC as a modern label for an otherwise old and accepted issue; one that had been heightened due to designation and association with university.



### *Created and reinforced by media*

This subtheme implied that the media both creates aspects of LC, as well as reinforces the practices and behaviours within it. Participants stated that media representation of LC offers a set of accepted behaviour and rules, or what it means to be a 'lad'. For example, a male participant said:

*'it's not just Geordie Shore but there's loads of programmes like that...combine that with social media, you can follow them...I think its labelled it as this lad culture now and this is like, this is what lads should do on a night out' (pg 9, line 301)*

This quote demonstrates the way in which television programmes and social media sites deliver guidelines on how to become a 'lad'. Participants discussed how these popular social media sites also accentuated the culture; giving it widespread appeal:

*'like Lad Bible and UniLad, even though it's funny and what they post is funny, why would it be called that if it wasn't about lad culture and encouraging it and embracing it...and making people aware of it' (pg 9, line 298).*

This quote, from a female participant, demonstrates that LC is propagated in such a way that it is admired and often humorous; promoting the underlying attitudes of LC and normalising them within the student population.

### *Combination of several existing and accepted problem factors*

Another subtheme was the notion of LC as a phenomenon that changes with the social context in which it exists, but built upon problematic factors that are already accepted within society. The fluid nature of the culture is captured in the following quote:

*'in terms of the difference, obviously if you're going out at night, obviously it's trying to pull girls but during the day it's just, it can be anything from I don't know...just trying to make yourself look good by taking the piss out of other people. Culture can be different depending on what the situation is' (pg 2, line 55)*

This suggests that LC manifests in a way that is dependent on the situational context; that 'lads' take cues from their environment to establish behaviours that are already accepted within that situation. The participant struggled to identify any solid components within the culture apart from drawing on behaviours already accepted within university, which may also be an indication that the current understanding of LC is somewhat unclear. This idea is reiterated through the following quote:

*'it depends what you define as lad culture doesn't it...cause there's nothing really saying what it is and there's so many different things that have already existed...like you could say ...aw it's just alcohol that's the problem...but now someone might say aw it's cause it's a group of lads' (pg 17, line 577)*

This implies that LC is a combination of problem factors, with several antecedents and influences. Participants ultimately identified it as a *'broad spectrum of stuff' (pg 17, line 584)*

revealing LC as an amalgamation of a variety of social problems already accepted at university. The fact that each participant identified alcohol as an influencing factor may also hint at its capacity as a catalyst to the behaviour within LC.

#### *Okay 'to an extent'*

Within the acceptance theme, there was also the notion that the behaviours within LC were acceptable but only 'to an extent'. This is not only demonstrated by the use of the phrase 'to an extent' as an afterthought to several statements within the transcript; but also through phrases such as:

*'like you might say that alcohol and stuff is part of the culture, or like taking the piss out of people because it's funny is part of the culture...but we do that, as a...as a laugh, but we all...like we wouldn't do it to the extent if someone said like, you're hurting my feelings, d'you know what I mean?'* (pg 4, line 127)

The participant justifies his involvement by implying that the behaviours typical of LC can be humorous as long as no-one is perceived to be hurt by them. There was also the idea that the laddish behaviour witnessed in the culture can be part of harmless masculine fun:

*'guys just wanting to have a laugh...like mess around and stuff...but then it can be harmless'* (pg 17, line 584).

This indicates a belief that the majority of those who are part of LC merely wish to have fun; that the attitudes within the culture are typically harmless and may in fact be taken too

seriously. Ultimately, the notion that LC is innocuous 'to an extent' would suggest that it has been accepted as a normal part of student life.

#### *A hierarchal phenomenon existing only in groups*

The second main theme was that LC existed solely within groups. Participants postulated that the culture was observable in hierarchically arranged groups that consisted of an 'alpha male' and subordinate members who were impressionable and less mindful of their actions. However, it was not witnessed on an individual level. This hierarchy was constantly being competed via the use of alcohol, dares, banter, and the objectification of women. These groups were imperious to both individual personalities and the confines of gender, in that the LC collective mentality overruled any other effects on behaviour.

#### *Alpha male and followers in a hierarchy*

Agreed between the participants was the idea of LC as existing within a hierarchy, with groups of 'lads' arranged by means of a leader and subordinates. Students within the focus group readily identified the leader as an 'alpha male' and used this reference on several occasions, for example:

*'depends on the individual...could get people that wanna show off and wanna be alpha male..or people that have just joined uni and wanna join a group or make friends' (pg 12, line 386)*

The use of the 'alpha male' terminology implies LC groups as somewhat visceral in nature; that they are arranged in and function similar to hunting packs within animal species. The quote also suggests that these groups consist of one leader who truly subscribes to the behaviours and attitudes demonstrated within LC, whilst the remainder are impressionable individuals who do not believe in these actions but advocate them to remain accepted by the group, for example:

*'it's definitely a mixture of influencers and impressionables as well...they're like...as much as the impressionables are gonna get taken away with the idea, there's always one dickhead who actually thinks it's a really good idea...like that's just how he is' (pg 5, line 151)*

In this way, participants suggested that subordinate members would imitate misogynistic behaviour and harassment to a point, but it was the 'alpha males' who would be the perpetrators of serious incidents.

#### *Group collective that overrides the individual*

This subtheme describes the mind-set of the collective group as overriding the personality and beliefs of the individual. Working in a hierarchal way the group would follow an example set by the leader, contradictory to the way that they would act if they were alone and with disregard to personal values. One participant described this phenomena as:

*'you'll find that each person individually won't be like that unless they're with the whole group of friends that's in their sports, society, or whatever it may be' (pg 2, line 44).*

This describes how individual beliefs and personalities would be overlooked in favour of the group ideology and also implies that due to this, LC can only exist on a group level. Another participant described the influence of the leader on the group and the way that this influence authorised the followers to become almost mindless and unquestioning to their behaviour:

*'Dare you to do this, dare you to do that, dare you to drink or whatever, and the influencees will do it just to be part of this lad group' (pg 8, line 244).*

Thus, participants assumed that those within the group merely follow instruction, disregarding personal intentions and attitudes and becoming subordinate to the group collective. In this way, there seemed to be an element of understanding and even pardoning of group members through the acknowledgement that the group leader is responsible for initiating problematic behaviour.

#### *Group competition to be a 'lad'*

Participants put forward the impression that groups of 'lads' were in constant competition to prove themselves to one another and to establish their place within the hierarchy. To this end, LC could then only exist within the group due to competition being a social activity. Often cited as examples of the competitive nature were university rugby teams or other unnamed sports societies, as described in the following quote:

*'when sports teams come together it seems to be, aw, let's see how many people we can pull tonight, it's not like...it's not like you're friends with them' (pg 3, line 99)*

This extract denotes the way that ‘lads’ establish their place within the group through competition. Thus, LC was a particular problem in sports teams and societies due to their inherently competitive nature. It was suggested that groups within LC do not form ‘real’ friendships; instead they are concerned with proving themselves to the group in order to remain associated with them. According to participants, competition could be seen through the use of alcohol:

*‘who can drink the most, who can be sick first, it’s a whole process’ (pg 3, line 69)*

But also through either the harassment of women as sexual objects:

*‘I bet half of the time it’s nothing to do with, whether they find that person attractive or whether they want to get with that person...[] ...it’s just cause they’re with their mates and want to make an impression on them, rather than the person who’s arse they’re slapping’ (pg 9, line 278)*

These two quotes describe methods by which ‘lads’ prove themselves to the rest of their group, either through the consumption of alcohol or at the expense of women. As follows, it was the group collective notion that ‘lads’ held these competitive processes above both themselves and others, maintaining the hierarchy at all costs.

#### *Driven by group acceptance*

The final subtheme defined the need for acceptance as the motivating factor for the behaviour within LC. There was the notion that individuals who participate in these groups are reluctant

to demonstrate the aforementioned behaviour, but do so in order to be accepted. Participants postulated that this seemed important amongst sports teams, but posed the greatest difficulty amongst first year students:

*'they'll make an effort to some extent to join in on it...cause I reckon you'll get a lot of people who are quiet who are coming from...like college, to uni...and they'll want to identify with groups if they haven't had friends in the past or something' (page 14, line 485).*

This quote denotes the way in which individual students will perform behaviour consistent with LC groups in order to 'fit in' and impress, to make friends in the otherwise intimidating first year, to the extent that they shun personal beliefs in order to be accepted. Participants noted that a consequence of failing to conform to these behaviours was to be excluded from the group, as discussed in the following extract:

*'especially if it's your first year and it's like...coming down to try and impress and be a part of the group. If you don't do as they say, if you're not part of the group it's like...you're out' (pg 14, line 467)*

In this way, it was agreed that once a student is involved within a LC group there is immense pressure to uphold their behaviours as failure to do so resulted in being shunned and left without the support of the group.



### ‘We’re not lads’

The final main theme was primarily centred on male participants, although some subthemes were also found in the data from women. This theme was apparent when participants conveyed their detachment from the culture and claimed that they were not ‘lads’. To do this, they mocked the behaviours within LC and supported a contradictory version of ‘man’, whilst justifying their own ‘laddish’ conduct to defend their reputation. They differentiated between the two in an ‘us versus them’ narrative, using examples of women’s involvement to eliminate any assumptions of their participation based solely on their gender.

### *Promoting ‘anti-masculinity’*

Within this theme was the finding that participants promoted ‘anti-masculinity’, where they used examples of what it means to be a ‘lad’ and ridiculed these as a way of proving that they were not involved in the practice. For example:

*‘like, we play drinking games and stuff like that...but no one like, wants to say, aw I’ve drank like absolutely shit loads mate, I’m proper hard like’ (pg 4, line 133)*

In this quote, the male participant identifies an accepted form of displaying masculinity within LC (drinking excessively) and goes against this notion by mocking this practice. The use of physical comparison to do so demonstrates their deriding of traditional masculinities. However, this could also be seen as competitive in itself, as it is challenging in nature. Nonetheless, this spurning of the extreme masculinity of LC may be part of a mechanism to prove that they are not a part of the culture.

### *Justifying laddish behaviour*

A large part of the focus group narrative consisted of male participants justifying aspects of their own behaviour that may be perceived as part of LC. For example, they often ended their descriptions of the culture with a postscript to confirm that their own behaviour was not consistent with it, such as:

*'but for example, if you used me as an example, my circle of friends we don't really have that intention we just want to have a laugh and you know that's...no one influences each other'*  
(pg 4, line 123)

This is an example of an attempt to defend behaviour and substantiate that they are not part of the culture, by acknowledging the laddish 'banter' within the peer group but arguing that the intentions are different to real 'lads'. Within this subtheme, there was also the justification of any incidences in which their peer group may have involved themselves in LC. For example, when discussing a friend who often gets into fights on nights out, one participant said:

*'theres been occasions where some lads started on one of my mates and X just went and like head-butted him. But that sort of works both ways doesn't it, its X showing his masculinity but then at the same time the other people are starting on people for no reason with his group of mates so that's why he's doing it'* (pg 6, line 200)

This provides an example of the way that participants provided background and gave reason to behaviour consistent with LC; arguing that they are not to blame for the incidents and that it is the real ‘lads’ who are at fault.

### *Us vs them*

In this subtheme, the focus group placed themselves in an ‘us versus them’ stance concerning those involved in LC. Participants consistently differentiated between their own peer groups and ‘lads’, evaluating differences between the two as a method of demonstrating their detachment from LC. The two female participants did this by segregating the ‘other’ women who participated in the culture:

*‘some girls are obviously like...you know...not I don’t know...do you feel like they’re doing it to get attention’ (pg 11, line 348)*

By choosing to describe the women involved in the culture as ‘*some girls*’ and postulating that ‘*they’re doing it to get attention*’; it is suggested that they are distancing themselves from this minority and that they disapprove of the way they act. Male participants often made reference to this in a similar way:

*‘lads will kind of...I don’t know...if you’re part of that culture no matter what group you’re in...you’ll respect another lad for doing that...like that’s what they think’ (pg 11, line 368)*

They make a point of classifying those involved in the culture ‘lads’ and short postscripts make clear the need to dissociate with the laddish way of thinking. The men used this

mentality to establish that they were on the same 'side' as the female participants on issues of sexual harassment. Take, for instance, the following passage; in which participants were discussing the capacity for the women involved in LC to harass men:

*'T: I think it's more focused on lads because...I don't know...*

*B: Because when girls do it it's not considered to be ...an issue' (pg 11, lines 356 & 357)*

The hesitancy in discussing what they perceive as a delicate issue in the presence of women may suggest that they are reluctant to offend them. Thus, offering themselves in a manner where they agree and sympathise with the women in the group and are also averse to the behaviours of 'lads' implies that they are concerned with imparting their stance as anti-LC.

#### *Use of ladette examples*

Another way in which participants conveyed their absence from LC was the use of examples involving women; in order to communicate that LC is not male-specific and to somewhat relay focus onto the fact that women can also be a part of the culture, as opposed to being repressed by it.

For example, when discussing a female friend being involved in LC, one participant stated:

*'but that's what she was, she was the one who instigated it...a lot of them instigated like...like aw why aren't you drinking that you pussy...like they're essentially doing the same thing' (pg 10, line 337)*

The description of some student women as having the same fundamental behaviour and principles as those within LC deflects the idea that it is a phenomena exclusive to men. This may be an attempt to defend themselves against the presumption that they will be involved based on gender; and describing a gender role-reversal in this way may be a method of presenting the possibility of victimisation of men. Therefore, this subtheme works towards the main theme of 'we're not lads' by presenting how men too can be persecuted by it.

## Discussion of findings

The current research was conducted in response to the lack of previous investigation into the phenomenon of LC, including whether it is related to the acceptance of sexual assault and the impact that it may be having on the student population. Three research questions were addressed:

1. Does a student's level of involvement in so called LC affect his/her acceptance of sexual assault?
2. How is LC experienced by university students?
3. How does LC affect university students?

A mixed methods approach was employed to address these three questions. Quantitative methodology was utilised with the purpose of empirically testing the relationship between involvement in LC and the acceptance of sexual assault. These findings then guided the topics that were further investigated within a focus group, after which the transcribed data was analysed using thematic analysis in order to explore the impact of LC on the student population.

The following chapter discusses the findings of the study in terms of previous literature and their implications. The chapter also discusses any limitations of the study, followed by recommendations for future research.

## Accepted existence of LC and its effect on sexual assault acceptance

This over-arching theme described the way in which participants were acutely aware that a LC of some sort existed within their university and that they seemed to have accepted it as a part of student life. They viewed it as an amalgamation of several problem factors and as a phenomenon that had in fact always existed but had been finally given a name through the media, which both endorsed its practices and made them accessible and popular through television programmes and dedicated websites. Although the newfound recognition had exacerbated the issue in relation to sexism and aggressive behaviours amongst students, they viewed involvement in LC as being acceptable to an extent.

### ‘Just the done thing’

The subtheme that LC ‘just is’ indicates that there is something of a rape-supportive culture on campus, due to the way that it acknowledges links between LC and sexual assault and objectification, yet works to the prerogative of male student offenders by normalising this idea.

Certainly, participants indicated a belief that this behaviour was to be expected of groups of men, effectively overlooking the accountability of individual problematic behaviour. This corresponds to the view of Burt (1980) who argued that there is a societal belief that men have a genetic predisposition to uncontrollable sexual urges which permits their sexually aggressive actions. Previous research by Weiss (2009) observed a similar theme in which victims of sexual assault often disregarded their attack on the grounds that unwanted sexual content or coercion was omnipresent in society and therefore unimportant. Whilst the women

included in the focus group challenged this notion to an extent, they were still willing to accept LC as a normative phenomenon which would be impossible to restrain to any significant effect.

### Created and reinforced by the media

An additional subtheme was that LC was both created by, and supported through, the media. Again, this may infer that LC is part of a wider rape-culture, as previous research has implied that media representation of rape and assault cases perpetuate rape-supportive beliefs (Attenborough, 2014). Indeed, this subtheme supports the idea that influences of social media, television and particular websites are portraying ‘laddish’ behaviour as both acceptable and favoured amongst young men, often encouraging this behaviour, within university in particular.

This theme may also draw parallels with the Male Peer Support theory discussed within the literature review. As proposed by DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2013), it is often the nature of male peer groups to encourage one another in terms of their sexual relationships to women and mistreatment of them and the vast network of media platforms that are widely available in the modern world may be providing a universal basis on which to discuss and advise on such topics (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). This subtheme would then provide support to the notion that LC itself is the result of male-peer support as circulated on a mass scale by the media and accepted into popular culture.



## Belief that LC has always existed

Participants identified the culture as something they felt had always underpinned their social lives, but had remained unlabelled until recent years. This corresponds to Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987), in that LC may be relatable to the traditional Western archetype of man as heavy drinking, physically strong and sexually confident, which has been the historical ideal (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This would explain why participants felt that the culture had underpinned their social experience prior to interest surrounding LC, however, the stark differences between student behaviour and indeed university some twenty years ago and today, as suggested by Phipps and Young (2015a) would imply that this has not been the case.

However, the inherent nature of hegemonic masculinity as dynamic and contestable allows for its application across generations (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), meaning that the LC observed today may be the result of multiple challenges to traditional masculinities. As such, masculinity may have taken on a more extreme form in response to challenge from a modern world in which both gender equality is rising and homophobia is diminishing. Taken this way, this finding is then similar to research by Adams and Coltrane (2005) in which sons had differing constructions of masculinity to their fathers, and would suggest that contemporary university student's constructs of masculinity have developed over generations to become the extreme version seen in LC.

The quantitative findings of the research reflect this theme of 'acceptance'. A significant positive relationship was found between involvement in LC and the acceptance of sexual assault, suggesting that a student who is part of a LC will be more likely to accept myths

surrounding sexual assault. In the first instance, this responds to the first research aim, as it implies that there is a positive relationship between the two.

The observed relationship between LC and the acceptance of sexual assault may then be relatable to the theme of ‘acceptance’ found within the qualitative study. Much in the way that a rape-supportive culture works to normalise and excuse the instance of rape (Burt, 1980), the acceptance of LC at both the individual and media level would also normalise and excuse the behaviour within it as acceptable. As a higher level of rape-support within a culture is relatable to the acceptance of rape myths (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994), it is then plausible to infer that if students are accepting of LC as ubiquitous to university they are also tolerant to the sexual violation within it, resulting in the observed positive relationship between LC involvement and sexual assault acceptance.

In addition, the acceptance of LC as a factor underlying a historical masculine ideal may also illuminate this finding. Research discussed within the literature review suggested that a belief in more traditional masculinities produced higher acceptance of sexual assault (Ryan, 2004), and it is widely accepted that association with individuals who endorse these traditional beliefs also has similar results (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995). Thus, if LC is in fact a historical phenomenon in which the traditional masculinities that have underpinned society have become entrenched and amplified in university over many years, it would be sensible to assume that students’ acceptance of sexual assault would also become amplified due to long-standing social norms.

### A hierarchal phenomenon, existing only in groups

A second theme found in the focus group was that LC existed solely within groups. From the point of view of participants, the culture was never observable in individuals themselves aside from the fact of each group was hierarchically arranged into an ‘alpha male’ or ‘influencer’, and subordinate members who were perceived as impressionable and less mindful of their actions. In this way, the hierarchy was constantly being competed via the use of alcohol, dares, banter, and the sexual harassment and objectification of women. This theme also depicted these groups as imperious to both individual personalities and the confines of gender, in that the group collective and LC mentality overruled any other effects on behavioural outcome.

### Alpha male and followers in a hierarchy

This subtheme suggested that LC as groups of men, organised into a leader or ‘alpha male’ and their followers. This finding is in-keeping with Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity, in which groups of men organise themselves into a hierarchy (Connell, 2005), with those who embody the masculine ideal sitting atop the social structure. It also corresponds with the notion of masculinities as both created and supported by social institutions (Mosse, 1998), in this case within university and thus may imply why LC has become a problem within universities. The use of animalistic language such as ‘alpha male’, also echoes the research commissioned by the NUS in which those involved in LC were believed to have a ‘pack mentality’ (Phipps & Young, 2012).

Similarly, there was also the notion that LC groups were comprised of two different kinds of people: those who influence, and those who are impressionable to this influence. It postulated the 'followers' as insensible; ignoring their own personalities or morals in favour of the behaviour of the group. This corresponds with previously discussed research in which male students desired positive relationships with women regarding issues of sex, but were inhibited from doing so according to the norms within their group (Fabiano, Perkins, Linkenbach, Stark, 2003) and may be associated with the notion that a close relationship with chauvinistic members of the peer group is predictive of man to woman abuse (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995).

This theme also presented the notion of there being individual 'influencers', or a few men who hold genuinely chauvinistic and misogynistic attitudes and consider their behaviour acceptable. According to Feminist Routine Activities theory, this minority of individuals would be 'motivated offenders' (Schwartz & Pitts, 1995). That is, individuals who take advantage of the vulnerability of intoxicated women and the lack of opposition to do so from those below them in the group hierarchy (Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001). This finding then reflects research by Brown and Messman-Moore (2010), in which perceived group norms surrounding sexual assault prevented peers from intervening when a group member perpetrated such a crime. This lack of deterrence would allow them to carry out sexually motivated crimes towards women, and thus may explain why the present theme hypothesises that there are only a certain few people who actually subscribe to the beliefs presented within LC.

This theme also draws parallels with Male Peer Support theory (DeKeseredy, 1988), in that the group relies on informational peer support and the encouragement from the 'influencers'

within the group to treat women in a derogatory way. Indeed, participants acknowledged that they believed this was the case, with the theme also reflecting Modified Male Peer Support theory (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1993) in the way that the role of peer support put forward by participants was influenced by alcohol, support from an all-male group, a patriarchal attitude and an absence of deterrence. Thus, if there are a few motivated offenders within LC they would also use the opportunity to encourage others to do so.

### Competition to be a 'lad'

Participants also proposed the importance of so called 'lads' competing with one another, often at the expense of others and women in particular. Again, this competition is an acknowledged process in the construction of the masculine hierarchy, in which men compete with one another in order to establish their compliance to the masculine ideal as well as to ascertain the best possible place in the order of their peer group (Connell, 1987). The objectification of women as a competitive practice has been heavily evidenced, with studies by (Messner, 2002) and Grazian (2002) implying that male students often deprecate and aggressively pursue women as ways of performing their masculinity for others within their peer group.

However, the use of homophobia as a method of policing masculinities - as postulated by Connell's theory - is not reflected in this research, as participants did not reference any kind of homophobic 'banter' in their observations of the culture. Thus, it offers supports to the previous research which suggests that homophobia is no longer a viable method of policing masculinities (McCormack & Anderson, 2010; Anderson, 2011).

Therefore, it may in fact offer support to Inclusive Masculinity theory (Anderson, 2009). Previous research has shown that in response to high levels of homophobia, or the fear of being branded as homosexual as postulated by this theory, men will attempt to ascertain their place in the hierarchy through the sexual objectification of women and the expression of traditional masculine practices such as drinking (Plummer, 2001). In the current subtheme, it was acknowledged that competition within LC consisted of each of these factors to an excess with an absence of homophobia, thus Inclusive Masculinity theory would suggest that it is a phenomena that has transpired from high levels of homophobia, instead.

The use of alcohol as a method of competition was a key point raised by participants and one that corroborates a large body of existing literature suggesting alcohol as a main point of masculine demonstration (Bird, 1996; Anderson, 2009; Muir & Seitz, 2010; Dempster, 2011).

There may also be several links between the current theme and the findings of quantitative analysis. The study found that there was a significant effect of gender on LC score, more specifically, that men scored significantly higher than women on their involvement in LC. It was also found that the variables of relationship status, sexual orientation, whether they had been a victim of sexual crime, and previous sexual experience did not have any significant effect on LC score. This finding greatly contributes to the research area, as it advances understanding of LC.

The observed effect of gender on involvement in LC may then be associated with two of the subthemes found within the current study: one being that group of 'lads' are arranged into alpha males and followers, and the other that these groups are heavily competed. As previously postulated, the hierarchal arrangement of men into such groups is a concept within theory surrounding masculinities, where there are a set of practices that are embodied by men

to gain a social position, policed and exercised by the competition that occurs within them (Bird, 1996). These practices are integrated into all aspects of society and therefore ensures that femininity is subordinate to the patriarchy at all times and that the female gender is only constructed to compliment the masculinity of the period (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 2010). Therefore LC, as an apparent dominant masculinity which requires a male hierarchy and is policed by forms of male competition, would be significantly more evident in men than in women, thus elucidating the quantitative result.

Included in the subtheme of 'competition' was the use of alcohol and sex as methods of contest. Within Western constructs of gender, men are required to demonstrate their ability to drink and be sexually active (and even promiscuous) in order to illustrate their masculinity (Dempster, 2011), whereas women are traditionally disparaged for exhibiting similar behaviours (Day, Gough, & McFadden, 2004). The competitive elements within LC therefore would not be observed amongst women to the same degree as men, a point that has been evidenced by Connell's research (Connell, 1987). Thus, a result in which there is a significant difference between the genders in terms of involvement in LC would be expected.

In terms of the results of further testing, there was found to be no significant effect of relationship status or sexual orientation, and whether an individual had been a victim of a sexual crime or had engaged in sexual activity also did not affect level of participation in LC. These results may be explainable in relation to the subtheme that suggested that individual behaviours and beliefs as subsidiary to the group within LC. Much in the way that peer norms within a group act as instructions on how to act, speak and behave (Muir & Seitz, 2010), those who are involved in LC would adopt the beliefs and attitudes of the group when asked about it, effectively overriding the characteristics of an individual and producing such non-

significant results. This would draw parallels to research that has suggested that peer norms override individual beliefs when taking the decision to intervene in instances of sexual assault (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010) and may hold implications towards the extent to which the norms within LC infiltrate personal behaviours.

### ‘We’re not lads’

The final theme that developed through the social interactions of the group was that participants felt the need to convey that they were not lads and did not involve themselves in ‘laddish’ groups or practices. There was a concern with defending and justifying any personal behaviour that may be deemed laddish and participants also presented an ‘us vs them’ narrative, demonstrating this opposition by criticising the behaviours within LC using their own ‘anti-masculinity’. Examples of women’s involvement in the culture were used by male participants as vindication of the inherent ‘lad’ label, whilst women used these within the ‘us vs them’ scenarios. This theme also observed group exchanges as being dictated by a male willingness to appear supportive of women and their experience of the culture.

This finding is important for two main reasons: first, it reflects the group vs. individual manifestation of LC explored above (here, men in the focus group disavowed their own ‘laddishness’ yet reported their ‘laddish’ behaviours within their groups) and, second, it illustrates the complexity of LC and individuals’ understanding of it in their own behaviours.



### Promotion of 'anti-laddish'

The first way that participants chose to convey that they were not 'lads' was by openly opposing the masculinities that are often seen within LC. In this way, it then corresponds with previous research by Anderson (2011) in which an entire university sports team exhibited resistance towards the traditional masculinities expected of them. This team were candid in their adoption of an alternative form of masculinity, where expressive friendship and displays of emotion were valued over the deprecating banter and stoicism typical of laddishness (Anderson, 2011). Similarly, research has also shown that the most masculine of groups including fraternities and rugby teams within university often maintain very close emotional and physical relationships with one another (Anderson, 2008).

This effect may be due to a more inclusive version of masculinity, wherein a hegemonic version of masculinity such as LC is diminished according to declining homophobia and sexism, allowing for alternative masculinities to flourish (McCormack & Anderson, 2010). In the present study, participants actively disapproved of peer relationships in LC and discussed on several occasions the importance of gratifying friendships, rejecting the idea of upsetting others in the peer group. Therefore, it may be plausible to assume that the dominant influence of LC is perhaps lessening within university and allowing for these closer relations to become acceptable between men, demonstrating inclusive masculinities.

### Justifying laddish behaviour

An additional subtheme included the justification of any 'laddish' behaviour, in order to demonstrate a divergence from being a 'lad'. This was observed almost exclusively from

male participants. Previous research from Fabiano and Perkins et al (2003) investigated the attitudes of student men on issues of sexual aggression and found that a significant number coveted a positive relationship with women on these issues, remaining particularly concerned with the perceptions of female peers (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003). In terms of the present subtheme, the justification of their own behaviour could then be implied as a method by which to ensure their positive image as a 'non-lad' who does not condone behaviour within LC and to appease the perceived disapproval of the female participants within the focus group.

In the same research, perceived peer norms were found to influence attitudes towards man-to-woman relationships (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003). Additional studies also found that the perceived ethic of a peer group significantly influenced attitudes to masculinities and gender conventions (Humphrey & Kahn, 2000) and indeed there is a body of research to suggest that peer norms affect the way in which individuals speak about women (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) and relationships (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). As group norms exist to instruct people on how to speak and behave and change according to situation (Muir & Seitz, 2010) it may then arise that participants perceived the norm of the focus group to be opposed to LC, thus they justified their 'laddish' behaviour in order to remain agreeable with the group when speaking about a controversial subject. A similar study previously discussed in the literature review found that student athletes scored low on a survey measuring the acceptance of sexual violence and victim blaming, but when included in a focus group with team members, revealed significant rape-supportive attitudes (McMahon, 2007). This is the opposite finding to that of the current study, but may in fact also provide an example of the influence that perceived group norms can have on focus group data. However, the fact that all participants repeatedly opposed LC would suggest that they

were not doing so solely for the purpose of appeasing the group, rather, that they did not approve of ‘laddish’ behaviour and were concerned with demonstrating their position.

### Use of ladette examples

There was also the use of examples of the culture that involved women, as a method of demonstrating LC as unspecific to gender and therefore that not all men are involved. The two women participants did not report these findings, rather, when these issues were discussed they remained quiet or directly challenged the men. This subtheme was included in the overarching theme due to its use by the men as a justification of their divergence from LC and therefore may hold links to previously mentioned literature surrounding the rejection of traditional masculinity (Anderson, 2011) and peer norms (Muir & Seitz, 2010).

However, there was also the notion that the involvement of some women in LC exacerbated the behaviours within it and that the participation of these women encouraged the acceptance of it into university life. This may reveal potential links to theory surrounding cultural expectations of gender, in which women are censured for acting in a way that may be deemed masculine (Day, Gough, & McFadden, 2004). As in research by Day, Gough and McFadden (2004), identifying these women as aspirants of LC may be in itself a method of portraying them as ‘fakers’ of masculinity, rendering them subordinate to the men who also take part. The demonstration of women as often having involvement in LC also implies that the norms within it cannot be sexist or objectifying to women if they are also adopted by them. Again, this corresponds to cultural expectations of gender but also to the suggestion that men often seek to find justification for their behaviour (Harrington Cleveland, Koss, & Lyons, 1999), in this case suggesting that the involvement of women effectively cancels out the

discriminations against them, and in such a way that allows the behaviour and subordination of women to continue (George, Stoner, Norris, Lopez, & Lehman, 2000). Similar to Phipps (2015) suggestion that 'lads' use 'banter' as a pretext for sexism, in this case, advocates of LC may use female involvement as a pardon from their anti-women norms.

In addition, the women students who subscribe to the traditional masculinities of LC are being condemned for their participation in a way that suggests that they are making the sexism and misogyny seen with the culture acceptable, as they are accepting it themselves. Whilst the researcher accepts that the participants in the current study were not generalising this to all student women, it may be an example of the subtle victim-blaming and rape-supportive culture within university. Similar to research by McMahon (2007), where students recognised that sexual assault was not the fault of the victim but considered that they may have somehow put themselves in the way of harm, the belief that the participation of student women in LC assists the behaviour within it may also be an example of subtle victim blaming.

Whilst the 'we're not lads' theme is arguably tied to theory surrounding inclusive masculinity theory, it may also be argued that the theme emerged due to the effect of social desirability within the focus group. It is possible that if the current theme represents social desirability on a group level, then it will also have manifested in the survey and questionnaire data, especially when participants were asked about their attitudes towards the sensitive topic of sexual assault. In addition, as an earlier theme suggested, media coverage and spotlight has made students aware of LC and the concerns surrounding it. Despite being assured of anonymity, as LC has achieved notoriety participants may have chosen to give answers that are different to their actual behaviours and beliefs, so as to appear desirable regarding their

involvement in the culture. In that case, it would be plausible to suggest that the quantitative results taken from these measures could be lower than the true values.

Nonetheless, the highest score for involvement in LC was from a female participant. Considering the focus on young men and the fact the origins of the culture are purported to lie within issues of masculinity, this result was unexpected. It would seem that the 'ladette examples' subtheme, while used by participants to demonstrate a discomfort at the culture, may be indicative of a rise in the participation of women students. While it is acknowledged that this result may be an outlier, it is of the interests of the research area for future study to examine women's involvement in LC and the reasons behind this.

## Conclusion

British university students have become associated with a phenomenon termed ‘lad culture’; in which excessive drinking, sexist behaviour, homophobic and misogynous banter and promiscuity has become commonplace (Phipps & Young, ‘Lad culture’ in higher education: Agency in the Sexualization Debates, 2015). While it may only be embodied by a portion of students, research has suggested that it has infiltrated the social world of higher-education and is contributing towards the growing discomfort of women on campus (Phipps & Young, 2012). It has been theorised to exist throughout the student population, but in disproportionate measure within sports teams and societies (Dempster, 2009), and holds a synonymy with alcohol consumption (Jackson, Dempster, & Pollard, 2015). Previous research has linked each of the components of lad culture with the acceptance of sexual assault (Wegner, Abbey, Pierce, Pegram, & Woerner, 2015; Abbey, 2002) and it has also been associated with this as a whole concept within itself (National Union of Students, 2015), which may be due to its fundamental position within the social processes of masculinity (Phipps & Young, 2012) and rape culture (Bates, 2013) and the universalisation of these (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011).

Despite much media interest, there remains little research dedicated to investigating LC. The few studies that do exist have focussed on the possibility of LC as a response to the commercialisation of university (Phipps & Young, 2015a; Phipps & Young, 2015b), on the perspectives of university staff (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015), and on the experiences of young women and the detrimental effect of LC on their lives through sexism and misogyny. The most cited studies on LC are commissioned by the NUS (Phipps & Young, 2012; Stanton, 2015). Throughout these studies, there is the inferred relationship between LC and

sexual assault. However, no empirical investigation has explored a link between the two or why this link may occur, in particular, if LC is affecting students' acceptance of sexual assault. Therefore, it was the aim of the present research to do so.

A mixed methodology was utilised. Firstly, a quantitative method was adopted in order to establish whether an empirical relationship existed between level of involvement in LC and the extent to which students accepted myths surrounding sexual assault. In addition, demographic information obtained from a questionnaire was also empirically explored, in order to expand the pool of knowledge surrounding the body of students most involved in LC. The subsequent qualitative stage of the research adopted a focus group which included both male and female students, in order to expand on previous literature which focussed only on women, whilst gaining a more in depth understanding of LC as it is witnessed, interpreted, experienced, and understood by students.

A significant link between involvement in LC and sexual assault acceptance was discovered; wherein the more involved an individual in the behaviours and beliefs purported to underpin LC, the higher they tended to score on a measure of sexual assault acceptance. Correspondingly, qualitative data suggested a theme in which students had accepted LC as an integral part of university life that remained inescapable on campus. Taken together, it was argued that the integration of LC into university life has become so that students are becoming more accepting of the sexism, alcoholism and a culture of harassment and in turn, are also more accepting of sexual assault. This corresponds with previous literature surrounding the notion of a culture of rape support within university (Burgess, 2007) as well as the acceptance of male aggression as inherent in the male gender (Abbey, 1991), and

ultimately suggests that the increase in popularity and acceptance of LC may be leading to an increase in the acceptance of sexual assault at university.

In a second major theme students purported LC to exist within hierarchal groups, competed through the use of alcohol and sexual objectification and harassment of women. These processes are heavily featured within masculinity theory (Muir & Seitz, 2010); as such, it was argued that LC may be a demonstration of hegemonic masculinity. This theme may also explain the second major empirical finding, in which men were significantly more likely to take part in LC than women; as it is seemingly based on heteronormative processes and masculinity which is not characteristic of the female gender (Bird, 1996). In addition, the research found that relationship status, sexual orientation or previous sexual experience did not have any bearing on participants' level of involvement, putting forward the notion of LC as a group process in which behaviour is reflective of peer norms as opposed to individual attitudes, and corresponding to previous research suggesting that it is peer norms that affect behaviour towards women (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010).

Despite these findings, the present study also found that male students were concerned with demonstrating their distance from LC; acknowledging their capacity for involvement but ultimately defending their position. Whilst the discussion addressed the way in which this may pertain to social desirability within a mixed-gender group, especially as previous research has suggested that men want to appear amenable to women when discussing sexual assault (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003), it may also be argued that this theme emerged because masculinity in university may be moving towards a more inclusive version (Anderson, 2009), in which the traditional masculinity as seen within LC is rejected by some and may no longer be dominant. Moreover, in this theme, both male and female participants used examples of women who subscribed to LC, positing that they



exacerbated the behaviour of 'lads'. This may be another hint towards victim blaming in a rape-supportive culture within university.

To summarise, the principal finding of the present study was a significant positive relationship between LC and the acceptance of sexual assault amongst students, perhaps brought about due to its acceptance as a part of student life. In addition, findings suggest that LC is concentrated predominantly amongst men, existing within groups as opposed to the individual. It is focused on the social aspects of university, particularly nightlife, where alcohol consumption and the sexual harassment of women are used as a grounds for competition. Despite their acceptance of LC as an inevitable part of university, findings suggest that student men are beginning to recognise the dangers of it and thus, are striving to rebel against it.

### Implications of the research

This thesis has contributed to the sparse research area surrounding LC, as it suggests that it is a recognised problem amongst students, as exhibited by students themselves. Findings suggested that LC is underpinned by masculinities and traditional gender stereotypes; operating within a culture of rape support at university, whilst being maintained by peer-to-peer support. The research has therefore been important in establishing the potential theoretical background and processes underlying LC, paving the way for future research to further explore the way that LC is constructed and maintained and thus, how it can be tackled.

The finding that involvement in LC is positively correlated to the extent of sexual assault acceptance is prominent as it pertains to the detrimental effects that LC is having in terms of the safety of women students, in that the student body is becoming more accommodating of

their mistreatment. It implies that intervention is necessary before the problem worsens. Perhaps the research would therefore contribute to the ongoing campaigns that the NUS is leading against LC, in that results could inform the policies and interventions that they are putting in place around the country by providing additional weight to the argument, offering a better understanding of LC, and by specifying the exact effects that need to be addressed.

Not only this, but it suggests the need for educational programmes at universities themselves, to highlight the dangers of participating in and bearing witness to LC. The research implies a need for the improvement of zero tolerance policies laid out by Student Unions in order to counteract the acceptance of LC, and makes clear that an improvement in the relationship between universities and their students is necessary in order to encourage the reporting of problem behaviour and to make clear that LC is not accepted at their institution.

### Limitations and future research

Aside from limitations pertaining to validity and reliability measures used, which are discussed within the methodology chapter of this thesis, there were also additional limitations that were made apparent subsequent to investigation. They are presented as follows, with additional comment on how these may be addressed with recommendations for future research.

It is acknowledged that during the quantitative phase of research, sample size was somewhat modest. As the focus group consisted of volunteers from the initial pool of those who had completed the quantitative measures, the second sample was therefore also limited, with only five participants. Despite several attempts to obtain an increased number of participants, the number of those who actually completed the measures was poor in relation to initial

expectations. This may have been due to the sensitive nature of the topic or perhaps due to the developing awareness of LC as phenomenon with distinctly negative connotations (Phipps & Young, 2012). Participants were informed that all their data would be anonymous, however, may have been deterred by social desirability bias pertaining to their extent of involvement in LC or by a reluctance to discuss beliefs surrounding sexual assault.

While the small sample size may hinder the generalisation of results, it must be noted that the investigation of LC and sexual assault is underdeveloped. Thus, findings of the present study are relevant as an early exploration of the effects of LC and offer a foundation for future research to build upon. It is recommended that the study be replicated with a bigger sample and with a more diverse representation of the student population, in order to see if the effect still occurs and to what extent. This would offer support to the current findings and would act as a basis on which to begin exploring the exact mechanisms that are affecting the acceptance of sexual assault amongst students.

Future research should take the opportunity to conduct many more focus groups, in order to discover whether the findings from the present group are recurrent across the population. This would allow researchers to identify key issues within LC, discovering any important themes that may have been missed. As well as this, conducting focus groups that are composed of single-gender participants, in addition to mixed-gender groups, would elucidate whether LC is discussed differently between genders and what effect this has on discussion of assault within the culture – building on the current finding that men are concerned with opposing LC in front of their female peers.

The present research was also disadvantaged due to its constraint to a single university. Were future research to include a larger sample of students from several universities, a wider effect may be discovered, in support of the present findings. Furthermore, discovering the key problems within LC across British students would then allow for the further development of intervention programmes to tackle it. The present research could also be replicated within other universities within a single case-study approach, which would allow the exploration of the extent of LC within that particular institution. LC - as a changeable construct - may manifest differently within different student cultures, thus doing so would offer the opportunity for intervention programmes tailored to that particular university.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Participant recruitment email

Dear student,

My name is Hayley Craig and I would like to invite you to take part in an innovative study concerning 'lad culture' in Universities, for my MRes project.

This 'lad culture' represents the use of sexist and homophobic banter, sexual objectification, heavy alcohol consumption, the participation in societies which promote these characteristics, and a general 'laddish' group mentality.

Some attributes of the culture have been linked to a higher incidence of personal and group acceptance of sexual harassment and assault, when it occurs. It is therefore the aim of the research to investigate whether overall involvement in 'lad culture' affects acceptance of sexual assault.

You have been asked if you would like to participate because you are a University student between the ages of 18 – 25, which is the main age range in which lad culture is most apparent. It is your decision whether or not you take part, and if you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

If you agree to be a participant all that you would have to do is complete two measures; a survey and a questionnaire, which should take no longer than fifteen minutes. Your answers to these would be kept completely confidential, as would any personal information you provide. After the completion of these you may also be invited to take part in a small focus group, however, this is voluntary and you are not obligated to do so.

I would greatly appreciate your participation in this research. I am also happy to answer any questions you may have regarding the research or the topic, so please do not hesitate to ask.

Thank you,

Hayley Craig

[hayley.craig@hud.ac.uk](mailto:hayley.craig@hud.ac.uk)



## Appendix 2: Information sheet for participants (quantitative)

### INFORMATION SHEET

Welcome to the study - please answer all questions truthfully. You will not be asked for your name and any data you submit is completely anonymous.

You are being invited to take part in this study. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

#### **What is the study about?**

The purpose of this study is to explore whether an individual's involvement in a 'lad culture' affects the way in which s/he views sexual assault and related behaviours. Research has suggested that a 'lad culture' has developed significantly over the last few years, primarily among young people and within British Universities in particular. This culture represents the use of sexist and homophobic banter, sexual objectification, heavy alcohol consumption, the participation in societies which promote these characteristics, and a general 'laddish' group mentality. You may have noticed the growing popularity of controversial websites such as 'UniLad' and 'the Lad bible'; which some have suggested endorse these behaviours and have contributed to the 'lad culture' phenomenon.

Attributes of 'lad culture', such as alcohol use and society membership, have been linked to a higher incidence of personal and group acceptance of sexual harassment and assault, when it

occurs. As a 'lad culture' is purported to be a combination of these factors, it is therefore the aim of this study to investigate whether overall involvement in 'lad culture' consequentially affects acceptance of sexual assault.

### **Why I have been approached?**

You have been asked to participate because you are a University student, which is the main place in which lad culture is most apparent.

### **Do I have to take part?**

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you. However, it is required that if you wish to do so, you withdraw your information before the data analysis stage of the study which commences on the 20th February 2016.

### **What will I need to do?**

If you agree to take part in the research you will be invited to complete a survey. After completion you may be invited to take part in a small focus group to discuss the subject, which will last approximately half an hour. You will be contacted with more information on this after completion of the above measures, however, if you would like to put yourself forward, please leave your name and contact email on the last page of the scales. This will not affect your anonymity as they will not be disclosed in any part of the research.

### **Will my identity be disclosed?**

All information disclosed within both measures will be kept confidential, except where legal obligations would necessitate disclosure by the researchers to appropriate personnel.

**What will happen to the information?**

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

**Who can I contact for further information?**

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Hayley Craig

u1172450@hud.ac.uk

Or my supervisors:

Grainne McMahon

g.mcmahon@hud.ac.uk

Maria Ioannou

m.ioannou@hud.ac.uk

**Does involvement in a ‘lad culture’ affect British students’ acceptance of sexual assault?**

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**INFORMATION SHEET**

You are being invited to take part in this study. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

**What is the study about?**

The purpose of this study is to explore whether an individual’s involvement in a ‘lad culture’ affects the way in which s/he views sexual assault and related behaviours. Research has suggested that a ‘lad culture’ has developed significantly over the last few years, primarily among young people and within British Universities in particular. This culture represents the use of sexist and homophobic banter, sexual objectification, heavy alcohol consumption, the participation in societies which promote these characteristics, and a general ‘laddish’ group mentality. You may have noticed the growing popularity of controversial websites such as ‘UniLad’ and ‘the Lad bible’; which some have suggested endorse these behaviours and have contributed to the ‘lad culture’ phenomenon.

Attributes of ‘lad culture’, such as alcohol use and society membership, have been linked to a higher incidence of personal acceptance of sexual harassment and assault, when it occurs. As

a 'lad culture' is purported to be a combination of these factors, it is therefore the aim of this study to investigate whether overall involvement in 'lad culture' consequentially affects acceptance of sexually aggressive behaviour.

### **Why I have been approached?**

You have been asked to participate because you are a University student between the ages of 18 – 25, which is the main age range in which lad culture is most apparent.

### **Do I have to take part?**

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you. However, it is required that if you wish to do so, you withdraw your information before the data analysis stage of the study which commences on the 20<sup>th</sup> February 2016.

### **What will I need to do?**

If you have agreed to take part in the research you will participate in a focus group with around four other students. In this group, you will be encouraged to discuss and debate your opinion around the topic of 'lad culture'. The group will last around 30 minutes, and will be voice recorded.

### **Will my identity be disclosed?**

All information disclosed within the interview will be kept confidential, except where legal obligations would necessitate disclosure by the researchers to appropriate personnel.

**What will happen to the information?**

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

**Who can I contact for further information?**

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Hayley Craig

u1172450@hud.ac.uk

Or my supervisors:

Grainne McMahon

g.mcmahon@hud.ac.uk

Maria Ioannou

m.ioannou@hud.ac.uk

## Appendix 4: Consent form

### CONSENT FORM

#### **Does involvement in a ‘lad culture’ affect British students’ acceptance of sexual assault?**

It is important that you read, understand and are able to select each of the following boxes on this consent form before you complete this questionnaire. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact the researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research ☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw my data from the research at any time ☐  
up until 20<sup>th</sup> February 2016 without giving a reason for doing so

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions ☐  
and that all raw data will be destroyed five years after the research is complete

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s will ☐  
have access to the information provided

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the ☐  
report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will  
be included in any report

I give permission for my data/words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym) ☐

I understand that my data will contribute to results that will be presented within a written thesis, and that this thesis will be published ☐

I am satisfied that I understand the information and give my consent to take part in this project ☐



## Appendix 5: Debrief sheet

### **DEBRIEF**

Thank you for your participation.

This research was an investigation into 'lad culture' in University and its relationship to sexual assault. It is understood that some of the items in both this survey and the previous questionnaire are of a sensitive nature, as sexual assault and harassment are extremely affective issues. If you have been affected in any way by any of the questions, if you would like support or would like further information on the offence, please visit:

Rape Crisis England and Wales: <http://rapecrisis.org.uk/>

Victim Support: <https://www.victimsupport.org.uk/>

The University of Huddersfield Wellbeing Service is also available to students attending the University, and is highly recommended if you feel you need help in dealing with any issues raised during the course of your participation in this research. The Wellbeing Service is free and offers drop-in sessions every weekday from 11am, and are also contactable for an appointment via: [studentwellbeing@hud.ac.uk](mailto:studentwellbeing@hud.ac.uk), 01484 472675.

Finally, if you wish to be informed of the results of the research, or to withdraw your data, please email:

Hayley Craig at

[u1172450@hud.ac.uk](mailto:u1172450@hud.ac.uk)

## Appendix 6: School research and ethics form (SREP)

### THE UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD

#### School of Human and Health Sciences – School Research Ethics Panel

#### OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

Please complete and return via email to:

**Kirsty Thomson SREP Administrator: [hhs\\_srep@hud.ac.uk](mailto:hhs_srep@hud.ac.uk)**

Name of applicant: Hayley Craig

Title of study: Sexual assault and students: Does involvement in a 'lad culture' affect British students' acceptance of sexual assault?

Department: Human and Health Sciences

Date sent:

Issue	Please provide sufficient detail for SREP to assess strategies used to address ethical issues in the research proposal
Researcher(s) details	Hayley Craig, u1172450, MRes student
Supervisor details	Grainne McMahon, Maria Ioannou
Aim / objectives	<p>This research will explore whether participation in a so-called 'lad culture' at University has an effect on the acceptance of sexual assault among students.</p> <p>'Lad culture' has been touted as a term for the combination of participation in heavy alcohol use, sexist and homophobic banter, and the belonging to a sports or society which may promote these values. This culture, which may be a representation of a newly developed dominant masculinity among young adults, has reportedly progressed at an alarming rate.</p>

	<p>The aforementioned factors within the concept, such as alcohol consumption, have been heavily researched in terms of their individual relationships to sexual assault and acceptance of assault myths. However, this new notion of their accumulation in a 'lad culture' has yet to be explored in the same vein, as well as to whether a 'lad culture' really does exist among British students.</p> <p>Therefore, through the study of undergraduate students and their overall involvement in a 'lad culture'; the aim of this research is to examine if a 'lad culture' exists or not and if participation in such a culture has an effect on the acceptance of sexual assault. The research questions are as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Does a 'lad culture' exist amongst British students?</li> <li>2. Does a student's level of involvement in 'lad culture' effect their acceptance of sexual assault?</li> </ol>
Brief overview of research methodology	<p>The study will explore the extent to which a 'lad culture' exists in a sample of students in a British University (the University of Huddersfield) and whether an individual's involvement in such a culture is correlated to his/her level acceptance of sexual assault.</p> <p>The research will use a mixed methodology. Firstly, a questionnaire has been constructed as a method of data collection by which to gauge participant's participation in aspects of 'lad culture'. Participants will then complete a scale, which will be used to measure acceptance of sexual assault. This scale has been developed from the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Rape scale (AMMRS) (Pauna and Pleszewski, 2012), which was originally created to measure rape acceptance amongst university students. It was decided that the questions placed too much focus on rape where the present study is more concerned with sexual assault, and so items were modified or added where appropriate. The new scale has been evaluated for validity by other researchers at the University, and amended accordingly.</p> <p>Participants will be students aged 18-25 attending University of Huddersfield, and will be asked for their voluntary participation via email. This quantitative measure will provide an empirical insight into whether a relationship exists between 'lad culture' and acceptance of sexual assault between students.</p> <p>Subsequent to the quantitative data collection, approximately three focus groups including five participants each will take place; one female group, one male, and one mixed gender. These groups will concentrate on the subject of their experience of lad culture of its potential impact. This qualitative element of the research will provide an in-depth comprehension of students' views about the phenomena, and how they feel it may impact their lives.</p>

Study Start & End Date	Start Date: 1 <sup>st</sup> April 2015 End Date: 30 <sup>th</sup> March 2016
Permissions for study	Have discussed access to participants in Behavioural and Social Sciences with supervisors, permission has not yet been sought.
Access to participants	When ethical approval has been granted by the university, both the questionnaire and survey will be forwarded via email to students aged between 18-25 who are attending the University. They will be asked for the voluntary completion of the measures.
Confidentiality	Prior to completing any measures, participants will be fully informed of the nature and aims of the study and how the findings will be used. Participants will also be made aware that they will have anonymity, that their data will remain fully confidential and that no personal information be released at any point. The audio recording equipment used in the focus groups will be handled only by the researcher and as such any recorded data will not be accessible to any other person, and furthermore will be destroyed five years after the research is complete. Participants will also be asked for their permission to record before the focus groups begin.
Anonymity	Participants will have full anonymity throughout every part of the study, and any quotes used or persons referred to in said quotes will be done so under pseudonyms. This will protect their identity to anyone who reads the resulting thesis. Participants will also be informed that they have the right to withdraw at any time up until the analysis stage commencing 20 <sup>th</sup> December 2015, and both the researchers and supervisor's details will be offered if this should be the case.
Data Storage	All data will be securely stored on the researcher's laptop, including both data from the quantitative measures and audio tracks from recordings of the focus groups. This data will not be available to anyone other than the researcher during the analysis period. Five years after the research is completed all data will be destroyed.
Psychological support for participants	The researcher understands that the topic of the study is of a very delicate nature, and she will conduct the research according to the ethical guidelines set down by the British Psychological Society. This is in order to protect participants from distress and harm by fully informing them of the nature of the research prior to their participation; as well as being informed that they can withdraw themselves as a participant and their data at any time, if they should wish to do so. If psychological support is needed, participants will be referred to the University's Wellbeing service, as well as being provided with the contact details of Rape Crisis England and Wales, and Victim Support.
Researcher safety / support  (attach complete University Risk Analysis and Management form)	
Identify any potential conflicts of interest	N/A

<b>Please supply copies of all relevant supporting documentation electronically. If this is not available electronically, please provide explanation and supply hard copy</b>	
Information sheet	Attached
Consent form	Attached
Letters	N/A
Questionnaire	Attached – Survey also attached
Interview guide	Indicative focus group topics - attached
Dissemination of results	The results will be presented in an MRes thesis. It is intended that the results will contribute towards informing Universities of the seriousness of sexual assault on campus, whilst also providing vital information on whether a 'lad culture' is something that should be taken very seriously within higher education in terms of its relation to assault. Results may then offer a basis on which to develop preventative and informative schemes to be implemented on campus. Results may also be presented in journal papers or conference presentations in the future.
Other issues	N/A
Where application is to be made to NHS Research Ethics Committee / External Agencies	N/A
All documentation has been read by supervisor (where applicable)	Please confirm. This proposal will not be considered unless the supervisor has submitted a report confirming that (s)he has read all documents and supports their submission to SREP

**All documentation must be submitted to the SREP administrator. All proposals will be reviewed by two members of SREP.**

**If you have any queries relating to the completion of this form or any other queries relating to SREP's consideration of this proposal, please contact the SREP administrator (Kirsty Thomson) in the first instance – [hhs\\_srep@hud.ac.uk](mailto:hhs_srep@hud.ac.uk)**

## Appendix 7: Involvement in lad culture questionnaire (ILCQ)

Gender

Male ☐

Female ☐

Age .....

Ethnicity (e.g. English, Polish, Russian)

.....

Race (e.g. Caucasian, African-American)

.....

Religion (e.g. Christian, Jewish, Buddhist)

.....

Sexual Orientation

Heterosexual ☐

Homosexual ☐

Bisexual ☐

Prefer not to answer ☐

## Relationship Status

.....

Have you ever had sexual relations with a partner?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Prefer not to answer ☐

Have you ever been a victim of sexual assault?

Child sexual abuse ☐

Incest ☐

Rape ☐

Sexual harassment(unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours) ☐

Incest ☐

Rape ☐

I have not been a victim of any of the above ☐

Prefer not to answer ☐

Other (Please state)

.....

3. On average, how many nights a week do you go out?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

4. On an average night out, how many units of alcohol do you consume? (2 units = 1 average strength pint of lager)

0 – 4                      4-8                      8-12                      12-16                      16+

5. I take part in group drinking games:

*Never                      Rarely                      Once in a while                      Sometimes                      Almost always*

6. I get so drunk that I cannot remember chunks of the night before:

*Never                      Rarely                      Once in a while                      Sometimes                      Almost always*

7. I am pressured into drinking more than I wanted to:

*Never                      Rarely                      Once in a while                      Sometimes                      Almost always*



8. I use drinking settings as a way to make friends:

*Strongly disagree*      *Somewhat disagree*      *Undecided*      *Somewhat agree*      *Strongly Agree*

9. I measure the success of a night out according to how drunk I get:

*Strongly disagree*      *Somewhat disagree*      *Undecided*      *Somewhat agree*      *Strongly Agree*

10. I do things I regret when I am drunk:

*Never*      *Rarely*      *Once in a while*      *Sometimes*      *Almost always*

11. I feel I am regarded more highly among my peers if I drink a lot:

*Strongly disagree*      *Somewhat disagree*      *Undecided*      *Somewhat agree*      *Strongly Agree*

12. I feel inadequate when others can drink more than me:

*Strongly disagree*      *Somewhat disagree*      *Undecided*      *Somewhat agree*      *Strongly Agree*

13. I am a member of a sports team or society:

*Yes*

*No*

If yes, please state which .....

IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED YES TO QUESTION 11, PLEASE ANSWER ALL  
QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION:

14. I am involved in my sports team/society:

*Not at all*

*Not really*

*Undecided*

*Somewhat*

*Very much*

15. I socialise with my sports team/society:

*Never*

*Rarely*

*Once in a while*

*Sometimes*

*Almost always*

16. I take part in sports/society 'rites' (such as initiations, shamings, bets, court, etc.)

*Never*

*Rarely*

*Once in a while*

*Sometimes*

*Almost always*

17. The main social activity of my sports team/society is drinking together:

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

18. I would say that my sports team/society holds a high status on my University campus:

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

19. There are benefits of belonging to my sports team/society:

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

Please state any benefits

.....

SECTION END

20. I take part in sexist banter (either initiating it, or engaging in it with friends):

*Never      Rarely      Once in a while      Sometimes      Almost always*

21. I make sexist jokes for the benefit of others:

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

22. I think sexist banter is funny:

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

23. I use the word 'bitch' or 'slut' to describe a girl (even affectionately):

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

24. Women over exaggerate sexism on campus:

*Strongly disagree*                      *Somewhat disagree*                      *Undecided*                      *Somewhat agree*                      *Strongly Agree*

25. I watch porn:

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

26. I watch hardcore porn:

*Never*                      *Rarely*                      *Once in a while*                      *Sometimes*                      *Almost always*

27. I visit websites like UniLad and the LAD Bible:

*Never                  Rarely                  Once in a while                  Sometimes                  Almost always*

28. I meet up with people for casual sex:

*Never                  Rarely                  Once in a while                  Sometimes                  Almost always*

29. I spend a lot of time making sure that I look good:

*Strongly disagree                  Somewhat disagree                  Undecided                  Somewhat agree                  Strongly Agree*

30. I would class my close group of friends as 'lads':

*Strongly disagree                  Somewhat disagree                  Undecided                  Somewhat agree                  Strongly Agree*

31. Sexual relationships at University are 'practice':

*Strongly disagree                  Somewhat disagree                  Undecided                  Somewhat agree                  Strongly Agree*

## Appendix 8: Acceptance of sexual assault scale (ASAS)

1. When a woman agrees to go to a man's flat after they have just met at a club, this means that she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

2. Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

3. A woman that dresses in provocative clothing does so because she wants to receive sexual attention and advances from men.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

4. A woman who chooses to walk in a 'dark alley' alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

5. Even if a woman gets voluntarily drunk and is then assaulted, she should not be held responsible.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

6. A man should not persist with his sexual advances if a woman states that she is not interested.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

7. If a man wants to increase his chances of having sexual relations with a woman, it is okay for him to buy her drinks until she is intoxicated and more likely to do so.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

8. Groping is a fairly innocent way of letting a woman know that a man finds her attractive.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

9. When a man is under the influence of alcohol or drugs he should not be held fully accountable for unwanted sexual acts, because he may not have realised what he was doing.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

10. If a woman has slept with a few people in the same society or friendship group, she is advertising her willingness to sleep with other members too.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

11. It is okay to go along with sexist banter if it is within my friend group, even if I don't really agree with it.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

12. Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being 'sexual harassment'.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

13. It is not okay for a man to touch a woman in any way, unless she has actually voiced her consent.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

14. Women who have a reputation for being 'easy' are more likely to declare that they have been sexually assaulted.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

15. Women are often afraid to admit when they want to do something sexual, and therefore take some persuasion to do so.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

16. A man persistently telling a woman how sexually attractive she is, even after she states she is not interested, is okay because there is no physical contact.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

17. Rape can happen to anyone.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

18. When you are in a group of friends who are out 'on the pull', the most important thing is to make sure you succeed in doing this no matter how inappropriate or forceful your tactics are.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

19. If a woman leads a man on by teasing and flirting with them but then refuses sex, she should take some responsibility if he becomes aggressive or tries to push himself on her.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

20. If a female student sleeps with a lot of guys, then she is probably easy and will sleep with anyone.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

21. A physically fit woman could fight off a sexual assault if she really wanted to.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

22. Whilst at University it is an accepted part of the culture that a man should try and sleep with as many women as possible.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

23. Belonging to a well-known sports team or society at University ensures that a man will have more sex with women.



*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

24. During sexual contact, if a woman changes her mind but the man persists, it cannot be considered assault as she initially said yes.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

25. A man is more likely to be respected in a society if he shows that he can ‘pull’ lots of women.

*Strongly disagree      Somewhat disagree      Undecided      Somewhat agree      Strongly Agree*

Thank you for your participation. As mentioned in the information at the start of the survey, there will be a number of small focus groups taking place to discuss Lad Culture, of which you are invited to take part. These groups will take place in February 2016. If you are interested in voicing your opinion on the subject and would like to take part in one of these groups, please give your name and email contact in the boxes below. Please be assured that giving these details will in no way effect the anonymity of the data you submitted in the survey.

Name  
.....

Email  
.....

If you do not wish to take part, you may leave the form blank and end the survey by clicking ‘Submit’

## Appendix 9: ASAS Peer review rating sheet

### Sexual Assault and Students: Does Involvement in a Developing ‘Lad Culture’ Affect British Students’ Acceptance of Sexually Aggressive Behaviour?

In 2012, the National Union of Students (2012) published a piece of research in which they observed the development of an extreme masculinised culture in British universities, particularly in societies and sports teams. They termed this a ‘lad culture’; a pack mentality shared by groups of male students and defined by a pressure to consume excessive amounts of alcohol, the use of extremely sexist and homophobic ‘banter’, objectification of women, and adoption of overtly aggressive mannerisms in order to be ‘one of the lads’. While those interviewed in the NUS research were highly aware of the fast development of the phenomena, research has yet to investigate its effects on those involved and on the wider University population. However, there is evidence to show that the separate aspects of the culture are linkable to sexual assault. As such, the present study aims to investigate whether involvement in ‘lad culture’ as a whole concept, affects an individual’s acceptance of sexual assault.

In order to assess the level of acceptance, several rape myth acceptance scales were researched for their appropriateness to the study, with Pauna and Plewzewski’s (2012) ‘Acceptance of Modern Myths About Rape Scale’ (AMMRS) selected as the most apposite measure due to its modernity and application to students and university. However, the scale focuses mostly on incidences of rape and thus rape acceptance; whereas the present research has a particular concern with the acceptance of forms of sexual aggression and harassment.

Therefore, I have elected to develop a new scale based on the AMMRS; using some of its existing items, revisions of others, and the addition of several new questions specific to the lad culture debate.

As with its predecessor this new tool will be answered on a Likert scale, with points as follows:

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat disagree
5. Strongly disagree

Scores will then be calculated to give an indication of each participant's acceptance of sexual assault.

The scale is novel and has yet to be piloted, so I would be very grateful if you would please take the time to rate how suitable it is in terms of my study aim. Below is a table which outlines the original Pauna & Plewzewski (2012) AMMRS and my newly developed scale. Questions that are highlighted in red are new, and those in blue have a revised wording from the AMMRS with the purpose of modifying them for sexual aggression rather than rape. It would be greatly appreciated if you could rate the highlighted items from 1-5 on their suitability in measuring acceptance of sexual aggression, as well leaving any corresponding feedback in the comments column. Thank you.

No.	Pauna & Plezewski AMMRS (2012)	H Craig New Scale (2015)	Rating (1-5)	Comments
1	When a woman accepts to go to the apartment of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to have sex with him.	When a woman accepts to go to the flat of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him.		
2	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.		
3	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing is just asking to be sexually harassed (unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours).	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing does so because she wants to receive sexual attention and advances from men.		
4	A woman that chose to walk in a "dark alley" alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.	A woman who chooses to walk in a 'dark alley' alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.		
5	Even if a woman drinks and uses drugs in a public place she should not be held responsible for getting raped.	Even if a woman gets willingly drunk and is then assaulted, she should not be held responsible.		
6	A man should not persist when trying to persuade a woman to have sex with him if she refuses it.	A man should not persist with his advances if a woman states that she is not interested.		

7	Women sometimes use rape as a weapon to harm ex-boyfriends or ex-husbands when the relationship failed.	If a man wants to increase his chances of having sexual relations with a woman, it is okay for him to buy her drinks until she is intoxicated and more likely to do so.		
8	Rapists are not easy to spot on the street because they don't just "look like rapists".	Groping is a fairly innocent way of letting a woman know that a man finds her attractive.		
9	When a man was under the influence of alcohol or other drugs he cannot be held fully accountable for having raped a woman.	When a man is under the influence of alcohol or drugs he should not be held fully accountable for unwanted sexual acts, because he may not have realised what he was doing.		
10	Women tend to under-report (or hide) sexual harassment and rape.	If a woman has slept with a few people in the same society or friendship group, she is advertising her willingness to sleep with other members too.		
11	Most rapes are committed by strangers, unrelated to the victim.	It is okay to go along with derogatory sexist banter if it is within my friend group, even if I don't really agree with it.		
12	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being "sexual harassment".	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being 'sexual harassment'.		
13	Rapists are psychologically unstable men.	It is not okay for a man to touch a woman in any way, unless she has actually voiced her		

		consent.		
14	Women that get raped are not more promiscuous than other women.	Women who have a reputation for being 'easy' are more likely to declare that they have been sexually assaulted.		
15	Women don't often want to have sex so they don't initiate it; that is why men need to persuade them a little bit in the beginning.	Women are often afraid to admit when they want to do something sexual, and therefore take some persuasion to do so.		
16	Most rapes are committed in dark alleys, fields, or other secluded areas where the victim is taken by force.	A man persistently telling a woman how sexually attractive she is, even after she states she is not interested, is okay because there is no physical contact.		
17	Even if a woman lubricates while a man is penetrating her against her will, this cannot be considered as proof of consent.	Rape can happen to anyone; regardless of race, age, gender, sexual orientation, or clothing.		
18	Women don't have any conscious or unconscious desire to get raped.	If a friend is 'on the pull' then no one else in the group should question their methods of doing so.		
19	When a woman flirts with a man at a party or at a club; this means that she eventually wants to have sex with him.	If a woman leads a man on by flirting with them at a party or club, she should take some responsibility if he becomes aggressive or tries to push himself on her when she refuses sex.		

20	In the courtroom, a woman rarely uses sexual assault or rape as weapons against her ex-husband to win custody of her children.	If a female student sleeps with a lot of guys, then she is probably easy and will sleep with anyone.		
21	A physically fit woman could fight off a rapist if she really wanted to.	A physically fit woman could fight off a sexual assault if she really wanted to.		
22	Women are never raped by their boyfriends or husbands.	Whilst at University a man should try and sleep with as many women as possible.		
23	Rape victims often exaggerate how much the "rape" impacted their lives.	Belonging to a well-known society at University guarantees a man to a choice of women.		
24	During sex, if a woman "changes her mind" this cannot be considered "rape" because she initially said "yes".	During sexual contact, if a woman changes her mind but the man persists, it cannot be considered assault as she initially said yes.		
25	If a woman said "NO" or physically fought back during the sexual act, this should be classified as "rape".	A man is more likely to be respected in a society if he shows that he can 'pull' lots of women.		

## Appendix 10: Completed ASAS peer review rating sheets

No.	Pauna & Plezewski AMMRS (2012)	H Craig New Scale (2015)	Rating (1-5)	Comments
1	When a woman accepts to go to the apartment of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to have sex with him.	When a woman accepts to go to the flat of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him.		
2	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.		
3	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing is just asking to be sexually harassed (unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours).	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing does so because she wants to receive sexual attention and advances from men.		
4	A woman that chose to walk in a "dark alley" alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.	A woman who chooses to walk in a 'dark alley' alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.		
5	Even if a woman drinks and uses drugs in a public place she should not be held responsible for getting raped.	Even if a woman gets willingly drunk and is then assaulted, she should not be held responsible.	5	



6	A man should not persist when trying to persuade a woman to have sex with him if she refuses it.	A man should not persist with his advances if a woman states that she is not interested.	4	The term 'advances' might be a bit ambiguous here. You might want to consider either using the term 'sexual advances' or otherwise clarifying what exactly is meant here...
7	Women sometimes use rape as a weapon to harm ex-boyfriends or ex-husbands when the relationship failed.	If a man wants to increase his chances of having sexual relations with a woman, it is okay for him to buy her drinks until she is intoxicated and more likely to do so.	5	
8	Rapists are not easy to spot on the street because they don't just "look like rapists".	Groping is a fairly innocent way of letting a woman know that a man finds her attractive.	5	
9	When a man was under the influence of alcohol or other drugs he cannot be held fully accountable for having raped a woman.	When a man is under the influence of alcohol or drugs he should not be held fully accountable for unwanted sexual acts, because he may not have realised what he was doing.	5	
10	Women tend to under-report (or hide) sexual harassment and rape.	If a woman has slept with a few people in the same society or friendship group, she is advertising her willingness to sleep with other members too.	5	
11	Most rapes are committed by strangers, unrelated to the victim.	It is okay to go along with derogatory sexist banter if it is within my friend group, even if I don't really agree with it.	5	
12	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being "sexual harassment".	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being 'sexual		

		harassment?.		
13	Rapists are psychologically unstable men.	It is not okay for a man to touch a woman in any way, unless she has actually voiced her consent.	5	
14	Women that get raped are not more promiscuous than other women.	Women who have a reputation for being 'easy' are more likely to declare that they have been sexually assaulted.	5	
15	Women don't often want to have sex so they don't initiate it; that is why men need to persuade them a little bit in the beginning.	Women are often afraid to admit when they want to do something sexual, and therefore take some persuasion to do so.	5	
16	Most rapes are committed in dark alleys, fields, or other secluded areas where the victim is taken by force.	A man persistently telling a woman how sexually attractive she is, even after she states she is not interested, is okay because there is no physical contact.	5	
17	Even if a woman lubricates while a man is penetrating her against her will, this cannot be considered as proof of consent.	Rape can happen to anyone; regardless of race, age, gender, sexual orientation, or clothing.	4	This is very general...
18	Women don't have any conscious or unconscious desire to get raped.	If a friend is 'on the pull' then no one else in the group should question their methods of doing so.	2	I'm not really sure what you're seeking to find out here?
19	When a woman flirts with a man at a party or at a club; this means that she eventually wants	If a woman leads a man on by flirting with them at a party or club, she should take some	5	

	to have sex with him.	responsibility if he becomes aggressive or tries to push himself on her when she refuses sex.		
20	In the courtroom, a woman rarely uses sexual assault or rape as weapons against her ex-husband to win custody of her children.	If a female student sleeps with a lot of guys, then she is probably easy and will sleep with anyone.	5	
21	A physically fit woman could fight off a rapist if she really wanted to.	A physically fit woman could fight off a sexual assault if she really wanted to.		
22	Women are never raped by their boyfriends or husbands.	Whilst at University a man should try and sleep with as many women as possible.	5	
23	Rape victims often exaggerate how much the "rape" impacted their lives.	Belonging to a well-known society at University guarantees a man to a choice of women.	4	The phrasing of this particular statement is a bit awkward – you might want to consider revising?
24	During sex, if a woman "changes her mind" this cannot be considered "rape" because she initially said "yes".	During sexual contact, if a woman changes her mind but the man persists, it cannot be considered assault as she initially said yes.	5	
25	If a woman said "NO" or physically fought back during the sexual act, this should be classified as "rape".	A man is more likely to be respected in a society if he shows that he can 'pull' lots of women.	5	

No.	Pauna & Plezewski AMMRS (2012)	H Craig New Scale (2015)	Rating (1-5)	Comments
1	When a woman accepts to go to the apartment of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to have sex with him.	When a woman accepts to go to the flat of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him.	5	
2	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	5	
3	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing is just asking to be sexually harassed (unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours).	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing does so because she wants to receive sexual attention and advances from men.	5	
4	A woman that chose to walk in a "dark alley" alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.	A woman who chooses to walk in a 'dark alley' alone at night and gets sexually assaulted should have known better.	5	
5	Even if a woman drinks and uses drugs in a public place she should not be held responsible for getting raped.	Even if a woman gets willingly drunk and is then assaulted, she should not be held responsible.	5	Minor point – You could perhaps change the word willingly for voluntarily to match terminology used in the sexual offences act, around consent – may help comparisons you make later down the line.
6	A man should not persist when trying to persuade a woman to have sex with him if she	A man should not persist with his advances if a woman states that she is not interested.	5	

	refuses it.			
7	Women sometimes use rape as a weapon to harm ex-boyfriends or ex-husbands when the relationship failed.	If a man wants to increase his chances of having sexual relations with a woman, it is okay for him to buy her drinks until she is intoxicated and more likely to do so.	5	
8	Rapists are not easy to spot on the street because they don't just "look like rapists".	Groping is a fairly innocent way of letting a woman know that a man finds her attractive.	5	Very good item!
9	When a man was under the influence of alcohol or other drugs he cannot be held fully accountable for having raped a woman.	When a man is under the influence of alcohol or drugs he should not be held fully accountable for unwanted sexual acts, because he may not have realised what he was doing.	5	
10	Women tend to under-report (or hide) sexual harassment and rape.	If a woman has slept with a few people in the same society or friendship group, she is advertising her willingness to sleep with other members too.	4	This item is good and highly relevant however does it need this much detail in comparison to the original item designed for rape?
11	Most rapes are committed by strangers, unrelated to the victim.	It is okay to go along with derogatory sexist banter if it is within my friend group, even if I don't really agree with it.	4	Maybe remove / change the word derogatory as this may cause people to answer socially desirably.
12	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being "sexual harassment".	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being 'sexual harassment'.	5	

13	Rapists are psychologically unstable men.	It is not okay for a man to touch a woman in any way, unless she has actually voiced her consent.	5	
14	Women that get raped are not more promiscuous than other women.	Women who have a reputation for being 'easy' are more likely to declare that they have been sexually assaulted.	5	
15	Women don't often want to have sex so they don't initiate it; that is why men need to persuade them a little bit in the beginning.	Women are often afraid to admit when they want to do something sexual, and therefore take some persuasion to do so.	5	Very good item
16	Most rapes are committed in dark alleys, fields, or other secluded areas where the victim is taken by force.	A man persistently telling a woman how sexually attractive she is, even after she states she is not interested, is okay because there is no physical contact.	5	
17	Even if a woman lubricates while a man is penetrating her against her will, this cannot be considered as proof of consent.	Rape can happen to anyone; regardless of race, age, gender, sexual orientation, or clothing.	3	I see the idea behind this item and think it's important however I think most people would accept anybody can be raped regardless of their biased beliefs (we know this from evidence around the real rape stereotype). I think the frequency is the important aspect here, e.g. do people think most rapes can happen to anybody or do most rapes happen because the women provoked it in some way.
18	Women don't have any conscious or unconscious desire to get raped.	If a friend is 'on the pull' then no one else in the group should question their methods of doing so.	4	Would something like this be less obvious in getting a genuine answer?

				“When a group of lads are on the pull, the most important thing is making sure you get a girl no matter how inappropriate or forceful your tactics to do this are”
19	When a woman flirts with a man at a party or at a club; this means that she eventually wants to have sex with him.	If a woman leads a man on by flirting with them at a party or club, she should take some responsibility if he becomes aggressive or tries to push himself on her when she refuses sex.	5	Very good item!
20	In the courtroom, a woman rarely uses sexual assault or rape as weapons against her ex-husband to win custody of her children.	If a female student sleeps with a lot of guys, then she is probably easy and will sleep with anyone.	5	
21	A physically fit woman could fight off a rapist if she really wanted to.	A physically fit woman could fight off a sexual assault if she really wanted to.	5	
22	Women are never raped by their boyfriends or husbands.	Whilst at University a man should try and sleep with as many women as possible.	5	Could perhaps extent this further by saying:  “Whilst at University it’s an accepted part of the culture that lads should try and sleep with as many women as possible.”
23	Rape victims often exaggerate how much the "rape" impacted their lives.	Belonging to a well-known society at University guarantees a man to a choice of women.	4	Could you also make this statement more explicit to get at the attitudes:  “It’s common knowledge that Belonging to a well-known sports society at University guarantees a man gets more women.”
24	During sex, if a woman "changes her mind" this cannot be considered "rape" because she	During sexual contact, if a woman changes her mind but the man persists, it cannot be	5	

	initially said "yes".	considered assault as she initially said yes.		
25	If a woman said "NO" or physically fought back during the sexual act, this should be classified as "rape".	A man is more likely to be respected in a society if he shows that he can 'pull' lots of women.	5	

No.	Pauna & Plezewski AMMRS (2012)	H Craig New Scale (2015)	Rating (1-5)	Comments
1	When a woman accepts to go to the apartment of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to have sex with him.	When a woman accepts to go to the flat of a man she just met at a club, this means that she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him.	4	Consider the wording of this question, it could be clearer: "When a woman agrees to go to a man's flat after they have just met in a club this means she agrees to some kind of sexual activity with him" etc.
2	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	Even if a woman starts kissing a man passionately and petting occurs, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him.	3	Again maybe consider if 'petting' is a common enough term used by your audience for them to be able to relate this to their own experience: "Even if a woman starts passionately kissing and touching a man, it does not mean that she has agreed to have sex with him" etc.
3	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing is just asking to be sexually harassed (unwanted sexual advances, requests for sexual favours).	A woman that dresses in provocative clothing does so because she wants to receive sexual attention and advances from men.	5	A useful question and it is good to see how you have adapted this to your own purpose.
4	A woman that chose to walk in a "dark alley" alone at night and gets sexually assaulted	A woman who chooses to walk in a 'dark alley' alone at night and gets sexually	5	Good question.



	should have known better.	assaulted should have known better.		
5	Even if a woman drinks and uses drugs in a public place she should not be held responsible for getting raped.	Even if a woman gets willingly drunk and is then assaulted, she should not be held responsible.	4	If this is meant to measure a lack of victim blaming (unless I have missed the point of this question) is the term “willingly drunk” appropriate? Maybe it could read “even if a woman is drunk when she is assaulted”?
6	A man should not persist when trying to persuade a woman to have sex with him if she refuses it.	A man should not persist with his advances if a woman states that she is not interested.	5	Good wording here and will allow you to investigate ideas about consent.
7	Women sometimes use rape as a weapon to harm ex-boyfriends or ex-husbands when the relationship failed.	If a man wants to increase his chances of having sexual relations with a woman, it is okay for him to buy her drinks until she is intoxicated and more likely to do so.	5	I think this is a very good question which should (hopefully!) help you capture how prevalent this idea of ‘no means yes’ is in lad culture.
8	Rapists are not easy to spot on the street because they don't just "look like rapists".	Groping is a fairly innocent way of letting a woman know that a man finds her attractive.	5	See above. This question will also hopefully allow for you to investigate how certain types of assault, for example groping, are seen as less serious than others.
9	When a man was under the influence of alcohol or other drugs he cannot be held fully accountable for having raped a woman.	When a man is under the influence of alcohol or drugs he should not be held fully accountable for unwanted sexual acts, because he may not have realised what he was doing.	5	Again this question should provide some interesting results around the nature of accountability in your sample.
10	Women tend to under-report (or hide) sexual harassment and rape.	If a woman has slept with a few people in the same society or friendship group, she is advertising her willingness to sleep with	5	Very topic specific which is good and will help you focus on your target population.

		other members too.		
11	Most rapes are committed by strangers, unrelated to the victim.	It is okay to go along with derogatory sexist banter if it is within my friend group, even if I don't really agree with it.	4	This is a good question to ask, but be mindful of alienating your participants- by referring to 'derogatory' sexist banter this may make them feel a certain element of guilt/shame (particularly if they don't agree with it) and this may affect their participation (although it may not but just something to consider!).
12	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being "sexual harassment".	Women often misinterpret men's innocent, playful gestures as being 'sexual harassment'.	5	Very useful for measuring how your sample views sexual harassment, this fits well with your earlier questions and could potentially build an interesting picture about young people's views about consent and how acceptable some forms of sexual assault are.
13	Rapists are psychologically unstable men.	It is not okay for a man to touch a woman in any way, unless she has actually voiced her consent.	5	Very clear and leaves no ambiguity.
14	Women that get raped are not more promiscuous than other women.	Women who have a reputation for being 'easy' are more likely to declare that they have been sexually assaulted.	5	A very good question and it is good to see that you have been direct about this topic; it will be interesting to see the results of this question.
15	Women don't often want to have sex so they don't initiate it; that is why men need to persuade them a little bit in the beginning.	Women are often afraid to admit when they want to do something sexual, and therefore take some persuasion to do so.	5	Good question.
16	Most rapes are committed in dark alleys, fields, or other secluded areas where the victim is taken by force.	A man persistently telling a woman how sexually attractive she is, even after she states she is not interested, is okay because		Very good question.

		there is no physical contact.		
17	Even if a woman lubricates while a man is penetrating her against her will, this cannot be considered as proof of consent.	Rape can happen to anyone; regardless of race, age, gender, sexual orientation, or clothing.		Good question.
18	Women don't have any conscious or unconscious desire to get raped.	If a friend is 'on the pull' then no one else in the group should question their methods of doing so.		A very interesting question and one that will tap into this idea of 'lad culture', also it will be interesting to see how your participants view their responsibilities regarding friends' behaviour.
19	When a woman flirts with a man at a party or at a club; this means that she eventually wants to have sex with him.	If a woman leads a man on by flirting with them at a party or club, she should take some responsibility if he becomes aggressive or tries to push himself on her when she refuses sex.		Good question, very clearly stated.
20	In the courtroom, a woman rarely uses sexual assault or rape as weapons against her ex-husband to win custody of her children.	If a female student sleeps with a lot of guys, then she is probably easy and will sleep with anyone.		Very interesting and relevant to your target audience.
21	A physically fit woman could fight off a rapist if she really wanted to.	A physically fit woman could fight off a sexual assault if she really wanted to.		A good question to keep, especially if asking students who may engage in sports and so may also associate with women who do so as well, and so may be considered 'fit'.
22	Women are never raped by their boyfriends or husbands.	Whilst at University a man should try and sleep with as many women as possible.		Interesting and topic specific.
23	Rape victims often exaggerate how much the	Belonging to a well-known society at		See above.

	"rape" impacted their lives.	University guarantees a man to a choice of women.		
24	During sex, if a woman "changes her mind" this cannot be considered "rape" because she initially said "yes".	During sexual contact, if a woman changes her mind but the man persists, it cannot be considered assault as she initially said yes.		Very topical given the changes in ideas about consent recently.
25	If a woman said "NO" or physically fought back during the sexual act, this should be classified as "rape".	A man is more likely to be respected in a society if he shows that he can 'pull' lots of women.		Very interesting and will hopefully allow you to tap into ideas about university students and how they view their own masculinity.

## Appendix 11: Indicative interview schedule

- What does the phrase ‘lad culture’ mean to you? –
  - Characteristics
  - Describe a ‘lad’
  - Main culprits of LC (sports/societies?)
- Do you think LC exists at this university?
  - Why?
  - In what ways?
- How does it have an impact?
  - Relationship to alcohol
- LC suggests a male phenomenon, what are your views on this?
  - Do girls participate? Why?
- Do you participate in LC?
- Have you been in/witnessed a situation where LC was apparent?
- Research suggests a link to assault, have you witnessed this?
  - Why do you think there’s a link?
  - Why do you think some ‘lads’ think it’s acceptable?
  - Do you think LC has increased assault, or has it just made women more aware?
- Have you seen LC in the media?
  - How is it portrayed?
- What do you think should be done about LC at university, if anything?

## Appendix 12: Focus group transcript with coding

(where participant names are abbreviated pseudonyms and the researcher is 'R')

*identifying leader?*

1 R: So erm, what does the phrase lad culture mean to you? Anyone wanna start?

2 T: Come on

3 B: Don't all jump at once like

*reluctance to define collective leader*

4 R: Do you want me to start?

5 B: Why don't you describe it to us and then we'll say what we think of it

*group process identifying leader*

6 R: So, there's been bits of research that say that there's a lad culture in uni so it's

7 erm... proper, you know what I mean, like by, proper lads, who drink a lot, sleep

8 with a lot of girls, don't really have much respect for women. Erm... for some

9 reason they often seem to be in societies and sports teams, and just the general

10 feel of like this. like laddish culture around uni.

11 T: Yeh Yeh

*must have seen it/affected by it*

12 R: So do you think that sort of culture exists in Huddersfield uni?

*Definite existence*

13 All participants: Yes

*often witnessed*

14 K: Yes, massively

*Group lads as bellends' accepted/normal*

15 B: Cause you always get bellends when you're out don't you

*club setting degrading*

16 K: I think you just can't walk around Tokyo on a Wednesday night without being

*grabbed' LC as impersonal*

17 grabbed, like, by a random guy that has no idea what his name is, what your

*has lads' should act*

18 name is. and what your surname is. and that's basically his idea of lad culture and

19 that's how it's portrayed to women

*accepted as bad for women*

20 R: Would you say there's a lot of lads like that then?

*Disagreement*

21 T: Well no *defence?*

22 P: Definitely *Honesty?*

*LC as hidden not something to shout about*

23 C: Hmm... I don't think necessarily a lot... a lot that would show it... yeh.. a

*LC as groups 'always group' so they are with group = group > individual*

24 lot, but like until, I think more than would necessarily shout about it

*girl offering compromise not something to show*

25 P: it depends what they, who they are with their groups *min ashamed of it? stigma?*

*changing personalities*

26 All participants: Yeh

*Stigma of LC Hidden/underlying*

27 T: always in groups, always in groups *Always in groups*

*spots/socs.*

28 B: it always seems to be like, the rugby team or like, the football team *spots teams*

29 C: Yeh yeh

30 K: Yeh

*contradiction*

31 C: that's why they call it culture cause you're not gonna get a random kid on his

*'not random kid on his own' group > individual 'acting'*

32 own going around acting like that. *Group > individual How to act*

acknowledgment  
contradiction

33 K: mmm, yeh

34 T: Yeh

question to group

lad vs part of lads  
'one of'

35 P: would you describe him as a lad or part of lads

36 B: Like one of the lads

37 B: that's what it is though, to be like one of the lads

One of the lads,  
not individual

38 R: Erm so, the societies thing and sports teams, like why do you think that they

39 always seem to be part of it?

competition

40 C: it's like competition

'all together' as one

41 T: cause they're all together as one

compete to be  
'man'

42 C: Yeh, they compete together in sport and they wanna compete against each  
43 other in terms of women

each individual as  
good person UNTIL group

44 T: you'll find that each person individually won't be like that unless they're with  
45 the whole group of friends that's in their sports, society, or whatever it may be

46 B: Yeh

Society, not the person

47 P: Yeh, it's the society

alpha male

48 T: it's like trying to be the alpha male isn't it

49 R: What about the impact of the, is it the nightlife or, erm, do you see it during  
50 the day as well?

'depends, on  
groups  
alcohol as catalyst

51 B: Well it depends doesn't it, if they're in the group during the day, obviously  
52 alcohol makes everything 10 times worst anyway

53 P: Yeh

54 C: Yeh

night out = pulling  
day = bawdy, belching  
people  
LC as situation dependent

55 T: in terms of the difference, obviously if you're going out at night, obviously it's  
56 trying to pull girls but during the day it's just, it can be anything from, I don't  
57 know... just trying to make yourself look good by taking the piss out of other  
people. Culture can be different depending on what the situation is

59 C: Yeh

always exists

60 P: Yeh it still exists

discreet/  
subliminal

less obvious during day  
BUT still there  
'going on' using  
stereotypes

61 C: yeh it still happens during the day it would be less obvious, say like, at a society  
62 event, like there's a rugby match and there's cheerleaders or something. It's still  
63 going on between the guys, they're not necessarily like, shoving it in the girls  
64 faces as they would on a night out.

LC as ongoing thing,  
always there + contested

65 T: Yeh

'showing' it at girls

competition to be  
'man'

group, not the  
person  
one 'alpha' male

depends on the  
group  
alcohol exacerbates

LC depends on  
the situation

LC always present  
in some way  
Degrees of LC



66 R: So do you think that alcohol... do you think that it's definitely a part of the lad  
67 culture then?

68 All participants: Yeh

69 K: yeh massively, the reason why it happens I feel like it starts with who can drink  
70 the most, who can be sick first, like it's a whole process. Like the first one sick  
71 get's like... veh... and then that would then continue like all night

72 R: So it's called culture which suggests that it's sort of a male phenomena, so  
73 what's your view on that? Is it just male?

74 T: ermmmm

75 P: hmmm

76 B: There's more of an acceptance of it now

77 T: Yeh i'd agree with that

78 B: you get some girls doing it as well on a night out don't you - like aw let's see  
79 how many lads we can pull tonight

80 P: yeh but they're not all from Geordie shore are they?

81 B: Not all of them no (laughs)

82 R: Well how does it differ then, how does it differ between if girls do participate  
83 how do you think it differs between those and the lads?

84 K: I feel that's a whole different topic in itself in like, I don't know, like, I feel like  
85 women

86 B: I think it's about identifying with, with groups isn't it, so sometimes if you get  
87 both sports teams going together, and then the girls will probably participate in  
88 the same types of things, just to sort of jump on the bandwagon

89 K: hmmm

90 T: yeh... i think it's more important from a lad's point of view to be like that. I  
91 think you know, they want to show off, they want to make sure that they are the  
92 alpha male, I don't think it's as competitive like that when it comes to girls I don't  
93 know. I just think when it comes to nightlife and things like that and the lads get  
94 together it's just more of a done thing, I don't know. I think they see more  
95 accepted of it. — Men accepting more — not us.

96 B: although that's not really the case for my group really, like when we go out,  
97 you like, you go out to have a laugh with your mates

98 T: yeh you just want to have a laugh

99 B: but when you, I don't know, when sports teams come together it seems to be,  
100 aw, lets see how many people we can pull tonight, it's not like... it's not like your  
101 friends with them...

102 difference between friends + groups

103 difference between friends/groups in LC

104 us vs them

105 sports + LC

106 difference between friends/groups in LC

107 we = group

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group tactics  
it's the people  
'associate' - not friends  
showing off

friends vs competition

competition  
not the person  
acquaintances

'be on top'  
'runt' of litter  
bottom person

thinking time

the lad culture  
long term thing  
not new  
emphasised - transformation  
depends on group  
us vs them  
reassuring 'we're not  
like that' comparisons  
BUT

why we're not lads  
we do lad stuff BUT  
NOT LADS  
bury UNTIL hurting  
feelings - so  
not LC?

us v them  
going against  
the mechs  
agreement for defence

102 T: It's tactics...

103 B: it's just like the people with you associate with and you want to show off to

104 T: Yeh, i agree with that, I don't think they're actually, you'll find that they're  
105 probably friends outside of uni once they're finished... I just think, very  
106 competitive

107 K: Yeh, and they just egg each other one and like...

108 P: Yeh... and they'd be more acquaintances rather than friends (surely)

109 T: Yeh

110 P: and that's why it happens cause everyone wants to be top like you said...  
111 cause no one wants to be runt of the litter do they

112 T: that's spot on yeh (laughs)

113 R: in any way, would you say that you participated in any part of the lad culture?

114 T: Like what?

115 R: erm, so, obviously you've all drink like, what sets you, what sort of sets you  
116 apart do you know what I mean? Like everyone plays drinking games, or I  
117 presume a lot do...

118 B: I think a lot of things with the lad culture, is that, it's something that's always  
119 been there, but it's like, I don't know, it's been sort of, what's the word...

120 influenced a lot more and sort of emphasised a lot more because of  
121 influenced by media

121 T: yeh i think, it does depend on the group, and (the people that you're with,  
122 like when it comes to sports societies and things it's all based around  
123 competitions, being the alpha male. But for example, if you used me as an  
124 example, my circle of friends we don't really have that intention we just want to  
125 have a laugh and you know that's... no one influences each other. I think it's  
126 influenced a lot by others

127 B: Yeh... like you might say that alcohol and stuff is part of the lad culture, or like  
128 taking the piss out of people because it's funny is part of the lad culture... but I  
129 do that, as a ... as a laugh, but we all... like we wouldn't do it to the extent if  
130 someone said like, you're hurting my feelings, d'you know what I mean?

131 T: Yeh

132 R: Yeh

133 B: like, we play drinking games and stuff like that.... but no one like, wants to say,  
134 aw I've drank like absolutely shit loads mate, I'm proper hard like...

135 T: Yeh you're right...

136 B: We just play drinking games to get drunk quicker haha

people you associate  
with

friends vs LC/  
sports/socs.

real friends vs  
sports/soc groups

acquaintances

being on top vs  
bottom

LC not a new thing  
emphasised + influenced  
by media

depends on group  
competition/influences  
reiterating they're  
not lads

why not lads  
LC to an extent

mocking LC as  
example of not  
involved.

137 R: Does that mean then that... would you say that then... in lad culture... the  
 138 people who sort of are... getting involved with it the most are.... people who are  
 139 really impressionable... or people who are really influenced?

example - identifying  
 clear definition  
 go out + go home -  
 'rules of LC'  
 perhaps LC not clear  
 cut? using media  
 examples  
 bunch of sheep  
 group - one person  
 as leader

140 K: I think shows like Geordie shore really <sup>don't help problems</sup> ~~help~~, but the whole lad culture  
 141 thing I think that... it's a perfect example of what lad culture... like what they do...  
 142 they go out, what they do when they go out, what they do when they go home. is  
 143 exactly what my version of lad culture is

LC in media/  
 pushed by media  
 version or 'rules'  
 of LC

144 T: yeh, yeh exactly  
 145 B: it's what they <sup>aspire?</sup> ~~aspire~~ to isn't it... it's just a bunch of sheep really. It's like... you  
 146 get a couple of people in a group.. and if one person goes and does something,  
 147 then that sets the standard you know what I mean... they all want to be the  
 148 same... follow suit

leader + followers

influences  
 impressionable  
 people  
 one person who influences  
 + behaves - awful  
 person?  
 stems?  
 lead 'lad'

149 C: It's definitely a mixture of influences and impressionable as well... they're  
 150 like... as much as the impressionable are gonna get taken away in the idea,  
 151 there's always one dick head who actually thinks it's a really good idea... like  
 152 that's just how he is... <sup>one dominant, actually believes behaviour</sup>  
 153 T: yeh that's how it stems <sup>hierarchy?</sup>

influences  
 impressionable  
 members  
 one dominant, bad  
 person.

154 B: yeh that's normally the lead person isn't it then you get all the little sheep  
 155 All participants: Yeh <sup>physical</sup>

leader + followers.

trickles down  
 look up to them

156 T: what starts an impression is someone to look up to that person and then it all  
 157 starts... it all trickles down from there

trickles down  
 from 1 person.

158 R: so like the alpha male thing then?

examples from  
 media

159 C: you've got your Gary, then you've got your Scotty T, then you've got James  
 160 (laughs)

makes it  
 media ~~easy~~  
 accessible

works their way up  
 rugby - sports

161 B: I reckon that normally, like, stems from... I think it sort of works its way up... so  
 162 you'll probably get people in like final year, who've been on the rugby team all  
 163 that time

LC members  
 'work way up'

164 C: yeh massively

freshers.  
 aspire - has to get  
 there  
 think they're  
 a. male  
 prove competition

165 K: yeh, yeh  
 166 B: and then you get freshers coming in and they'll aspire to be like the third year  
 167 rugby captain or whatever.  
 168 T: so you'll get people that think they're already the alpha male so they'll wanna  
 169 prove to everyone else that they are... and then it's competition

'alpha male' as  
 opinion.  
 proving self.

regular occurrence  
non stop

170 R: Erm so... have you ever been in a situation or witnessed a situation where....  
171 that you think has been a bit of lad culture... and if you can think off the top of  
172 your head, like a night out or something where you've thought like... aw why are  
173 those lads being dicks that kind of thing

174 B: Yeh it's like... well there's been loads of times

175 P: Yeh non stop

176 T: Yeh

177 B: Yeh like when I was em, playing laser quest

178 T: yeh that's still relevant though like they might've thought they were the alpha  
179 males with the laser guns

180 B: Yeh (laughs)

181 B: Basically I went to play laser quest... they all got to the top of the tower or  
182 sumit... and they were all like being.. proper loud and there was one lad who  
183 thought he was the master of laser quest... shooting us all cause we were all shit  
184 at it (laughs)... apart from [redacted] who was doing rolly pollys in his vest... but like  
185 they were all... they were all quiet generally weren't they, but then you got him  
186 sort of shouting on... and then they were all doing exactly the same thing, like  
187 going 'weyyyy fuckin [redacted] s mint at laserquest' (laughs)

188 R: my next question was how did that impact you but like... (laughs)

189 T: What was the point of that again?

190 B: I don't know (laughs)

191 R: the point was have you ever been in a situation where lad culture was obvious

192 B: It was lad culture I suppose but in a different context to going on a night out

193 R: How about on a night out...

194 C: yeh...

195 T: normally that's just lads getting in fights isn't it

196 B: Yeh

197 T: I don't know....

198 B: for example if you've been out with a couple of my female mates, and then...  
199 and some of them... you'll get some lads trying to chat one up and they'll be like  
200 no fuck off... or there's been occasions where some lads started on one of my  
201 mates and [redacted] just went and like headbutted him. But that sort of works both  
202 ways doesn't it, it's [redacted] showing his masculinity but then at the same time the  
203 other people are starting on people for no reason with his group of mates so  
204 that's why he's doing it

they thought they were  
they 'proper loud  
thought he was the  
master  
then you got him  
they copied

LC regular occurrence  
everywhere  
male competition  
in process  
anti-masculine  
people copying

It was LC  
reluctance?

looking for reason?  
some of them  
some lads  
But that works both ways  
other people for no reason  
that's why he's doing  
it - justification

'some' lads  
justifying macho,  
LC behaviour,



but he's being protective NOT masculine  
 245 P: but that's more cause he's being protective more than masculine i suppose...  
 challenging from fem. it's on both sides  
 246 C: but hes doing the exact same thing... cause it's lad culture on both sides cause  
 247 they're both looking for an argument  
 well no - why not a lad  
 248 B: well no cause [redacted] never really starts it.. well.. most of the time  
 249 K: well if he's headbutted someone he's kind of got involved  
 justifying - if someone starts - moral's?  
 250 B: well yeh but if someone starts on your mates you don't just stand there and  
 251 watch do you... and say mate you just sort it out yourself...  
 recognition of groups lads + processes  
 252 T: it all just comes with groups of lads..  
 253 K: Yeh  
 254 T: its just like... it all comes with groups of lads... there doesn't have to be any  
 255 animosity but there like... we're better than you... kind of... without actually  
 256 thinking it like that, that's how you kind of see it when you're out and you have a  
 257 few drinks... but we don't really... but I mean that's what other people would do  
 BUT we don't - we're not part of it - only others  
 258 B: we don't go out to get in a fight but...  
 we don't just let it happen - why LC is justifiable - NOT lads  
 259 T: yeh well if people start on us then you don't just let it happen so it's just...  
 260 yeh... I don't know  
 261 C: I've been out in camel in Huddersfield once and...  
 262 T: beautiful place...  
 groups of 'boys' they spotted their ideas the whole group were laughing singling out someone  
 263 C: yeh lovely (laughs) i remember there being this group of boys and i think i must  
 264 have overheard them or something.. like they spotted basically the like... biggest  
 265 girl in the club... and... one of their ideas was that someone should go and get  
 266 with her like. for a laugh... so this boy went over and. all the others. the whole  
 267 other group of boys were just laughing like it was hilarious that anyone would  
 268 even talk to her... I don't know what the boy was saying to her... I went crazy...  
 269 cause it's obviously like. they were singling out someone they were  
 270 T: Yeh  
 that's what they do  
 271 P: that's what they do isn't it  
 just a massive joke  
 272 C: like based on how they looked... for them it was just a massive joke  
 273 All participant: Yeh  
 274 R: do you think that's another part of the culture then.. like obviously there's the  
 275 lads who go awww yeh she's proper fit and that... but do you think it works the  
 276 opposite way, like taking the mick and making women feel a bit...  
 277 C: yeh it's definitely degradation as well  
 degradation  
 278 T: being the alpha male doesn't actually mean being the alpha male, just means  
 279 what are you willing to do to be part of our group  
 280 what are you willing to do to be part of group

not the same?

females not depending

defending LC behaviour.

'just comes with lads'

acknowledging masc. processes

defending 'we're not lads'

hurting mentality

degrading women

just what happens

willingness to be in group

prove yourself

240 C: yeh it's like prove yourself

241 K: yeh

242 R: SO like at the expensive of whoever else?

243 All participant: Yeh...

'Dare you'  
'influences' people  
led - just to be  
part of this lad group

244 T: Dare you to do this, dare you to do that, dare you to drink or whatever, and the influencers will do it just to be part of this lad group

proving  
yourself

members are  
influenced,  
mindless

246 R: (laughs) right erm... going back to sort of that point we were saying about  
247 where they were taking the mick out of that girl and... whatever club... erm... so  
248 there's obviously part of my research is... linking lad culture to sexual assault.. do  
249 you think part of it is... all these lads egging each other on to see how far they  
250 can get with a girl or something like that?

251 T: Can be

you'd hope  
forcing

252 C: you'd hope it wouldn't lead to the point where... you're actually forcing  
253 someone to do what they... they don't want to do...

254 R: Yeh

people as forced  
'influences'  
not as responsible

proven  
'I'm alpha male'  
you shouldn't have  
acceptance

255 C: Cause it should be for the... kind of... like... like prowess or whatever.. aw im  
256 alpha male now like, you shouldn't have to prove yourself to the extent that  
257 someone else has actually being hurt like physically or mentally

they do things  
but not by themselves

258 B: I think that's the problem though, cause they do things that they wouldn't do  
259 when they're by themselves though

260 All participants: Yeh

LC 'proof' to  
expense of others

LC as support?  
back up/less  
guilt

261 R: Well have you ever witnessed like... any girls getting sort of assaulted or  
262 anything like that? Erm... by any of these kind of people... or not?

waiting

263 T: ermmm...

always see  
on a night out  
I've seen

264 B: You always see lads on a night out like, going up and... I've seen people like  
265 slapping people's arses and stuff like that.

266 T: it's usually in maccy d's afterwards

ydling, bantier?

267 P: Yeh it actually is (laughs)

268 All participants: Yeh

269 R: So why d'you think lad's do it, why do they want sort of like... I guess... harass  
270 and assault women?

ego - obviously  
prove themselves  
getting attention

271 K: i think it's an ego thing for them to try and obviously like... prove to themselves  
272 that they capable and they're... and if they're not getting the attention that they  
273 want, from that person like.. aww yeh just smack her arse cause that's obviously

always witness  
it

LC to improve ego  
proving themselves  
attention

'make her'   
 274 gonna make her wanna come home with me when really she's not gonna wanna   
 275 do that, she's gonna wanna punch you in the face   
 276 T: it's showing off as well   
 277 C: yeh it is   
 278 B: to be honest i bet half of the time it's nothing to do with, whether they find   
 279 that person attractive or whether they want to get with that person...   
 280 T: no it isn't...   
 281 B: it's just cause they're with their mates and want to make an impression on   
 282 them, rather than the person who's arse they're slapping   
 283 All participants: yeh   
 284 R: so do you sort of think like, the lad culture thing... has raised the incidents of   
 285 assault, or do you think it's just made, maybe made women more aware of lads...   
 286 if that makes sense? So say you're out in a club and... you're now more aware of   
 287 the laddish culture   
 288 C: I think it may be both in equal measure   
 289 T: Yeh   
 290 C: guys are obviously egging each other on more, but then in the same way... we   
 291 like.. you'd know, you can spot a group of like lad lads a mile off, so you're like...   
 292 just stay away...   
 293 R: Yeh   
 294 B: I think the influence of like... social media, and the internet has made everyone   
 295 more aware of it, but then it's sort of made... made the people who want to be   
 296 part of it, even worse.   
 297 All participants: Yeh   
 298 K: like lad bible and unilad, even though its funny and what they post is funny..   
 299 why would it be called that if it wasn't about lad culture and encouraging it and   
 300 embracing it... and making people aware of it...   
 301 T: ye hi think like Geordie shore like we mentioned before... it's not Geordie   
 302 shore but there's loads of programs like that... [combine] that with social media,   
 303 you can follow them.. i think its like labelled it as this lad culture now and this is   
 304 like, this is what lads should do on a night out... obviously it's not the case but...   
 305 C: yeh   
 306 R: do you think lad culture existed before all the media stuff or do you think it's a   
 307 new thing?   
 308 B: Yeh it's just been accentuated   
 309 T: yeh it just hadn't been labelled

LC members 'forcing' women showing off   
 women as tool for 'proving' lads   
 to make a impression of friends   
 media has enhanced + made aware   
 media both created + made ppl aware   
 avoidance rather than dealing with problem of LC   
 media part of LC people choose to be in LC   
 LC can be funny media encouraging it   
 LC widely available 'combination' to folks   
 'culture newly labelled' what lads should do   
 'we is bad we is not part of it'   
 LC always existed   
 LC as old ground-awareness

'make her'   
 hostile protective showing off   
 i bet agreement   
 so attractive means having a day   
 it's just cause make an impression   
 obviously justifying? accepting? 'spit'   
 influence made people aware who want to be part of it   
 LC media as funny BUT questioning? embracing it   
 'we' mentioned follows them labelled as LC now what they should do   
 BUT we don't as afterthought   
 widely available



giving it a name  
exposure

310 C: yeh it didn't have a name and didn't have the exposure it did

media catapulted  
- did w/ mags,  
now websites

311 P: well yeh you still got the lads mags throughout the 90's but what media's done  
312 is it's catapulted it into the masses... like it did with the magazines and now  
313 they've petered off and now you've got all the websites and stuff like this

media exposure  
= LC explosion

associated w/ uni  
everything to do w/

314 B: it's been more... it's more associated with uni now hasn't it. everything's to do  
315 with uni now

Uni being 'blamed'

uni getting blame?

316 All participants: yeh

'cheeky' builders  
never not been a thing  
grown men - at some  
point messing around  
being laddish

317 K: i feel like... like erm... you know like construction sites and like... you know  
318 builders, like cheeky builders and stuff like that like wolf whistling down the  
319 street at you, that's not never not been a thing. But i feel like they're all grown  
320 men so at some point in their lives when they were teens they were probably  
321 messing around being laddish

never not been a thing  
- acceptance of  
'cheeky'  
messing around

always existed  
you're young w/ a group  
of friends  
just comes across as  
acceptance

322 C: yeh and being the kind of lads there are now

'just being lads'

everyone's accepted it  
societies

323 T: yeh it's always existed.. i mean you know.. if you're a young guy you're 18 or  
324 whatever and you're with a group of friends and going out or going to uni.. it just  
325 hasn't been labelled, it hasn't been heightened like you said [redacted], now it just  
326 comes across as an acceptance like this is what you should do as a lad... it's  
327 always been there

LC always been  
there

328 B: but i think women have accepted it as well that's the problem, especially when  
329 you get societies coming together

'accepted'

330 T: Yeh

'laddettes' as  
problem

331 C: Yeh

women challenge -  
if not acceptance  
g.n example - laddette

332 C: I don't think that's an acceptance of it though...

333 B: I don't know i think when i used to go out with the girls and this one used  
334 to be one of the lads...

instigated it  
mocking?

335 R: is there not a difference between being friends with one of the lads and being  
336 involved in ld culture dyou know what i mean

337 B: yeh but that's what she was, she was the one who instigated it... a lot of them  
338 instigated like.. like aw whyaren't you drinking that you pussy... like they're  
339 essentially doing th same thing

not okay for  
women in  
LC

340 R: so whv do you think they're like... whv are they more involved now then... like  
341 women?

watching  
fun  
find unlad funny  
girls ID with them  
as well

342 T: hmm difficult one...

343 B: I don't know maybe they've been like... you say like you find a lot of the stuff  
344 on unlad and stuff... like funnv... so maybe they're just identifying with it as well

345 T: Yeh

just want to be  
accepted

346 P: they could just wanna be accepted by that group as well as their own

acceptance into  
group

347 T: Yeh *not all*

348 C: Do you feel like their doing it to pull as well lie... some girls are obviously like... *us vs them for girls*

349 you know.. not, i don't know... do you feel like their doing it to get attention or *girls different reasons*

350 like

351 P,T,B: yeh *get it across they agree*

352 B: yeh they had like charts on their wall of how many people they got with and *males agreeing as defence*

353 stuff like that

354 T: Yeh it definitely exists... *defence of males*

355 B: So it's the same principle really *not wanting to offend girls*

356 T: I think it's more focused on lads because.... I don't know... *'not an issue' for females*

357 B: Because when girls do it it's not considered to be... an issue

358 T: Yeh that's it

359 C: yeh but has there ever been an incident where there's been a girl who's been *m vs f. experience*

360 outwardly degrading to a man...

361 B: well i've been out and i've had my arse slapped before..

362 T: yeh... (laughs) *considered to be?*

363 B: no but do you know what i mean, cause if a lad did that... it'd be considered to be *women overreact*

364 be... you know

365 C,R: ye hi know what you mean *so do women?*

366 B: but when a girl does it it's a laugh... but i didn't immediately think oh my god *turning situation around*

367 ive just been sexually assaulted

368 T: thing is... lads will kind of... i don't know.. if you're part of that lad culture no *choice to be in*

369 matter what group you're in... you'll respect another lad for doing that... like *he*

370 that's what they think *'lads' no morals*

371 C,K: yeh... *morals are wrong*

372 T: Like if a girl did that...like from your pont of view... if you saw another girl *trying to see*

373 doing the same thing you wouldn't respect her because it's the opposite... *girl P.O.V*

374 C: yeh like im not gonna run over and high five her im gonna be like wtf *group ID > gender*

375 B: then again that;s why i think it completely depends on the group and o the *not okay for girls*

376 individual... whether that's male or female...

377 All participants: yeh

378 R: so linking back to the harassment assault thing... does that mean it's more...

379 do you think more people join.. or get involved in lad culture cause they want to



350 do that kind of thing and it means you cant get away with it? Is that the kind of  
 281 people who....

382 B: nah i don't think its cause they wanna do it... it's cause maybe they find it hard  
 353 to part of another group or maybe...

384 T: yeh exactly, depends on the individual... could get people that wanna show off  
 285 and wanna be alpha male... or people that have just joined uni and wanna join a  
 386 group or make friends it depends on the individual

387 B it's the easiest way in isn't it... if you see someone doing something... and if  
 388 they're egging other people on to do it... and saying aw you can be part of this if  
 389 you do this... that's the easiest way of joining a group rather than doing your own  
 390 thing and being independent and... finding a group of mates that accept that...  
 391 it's easier just to be a sheep I suppose isn't it

342 T.C: yeh...

393 R: so on the topic of serious sexual assault do you think there is a link between  
 394 lad culture or do you think it's more just like the slapping people's arses and that  
 395 kind of thing...

396 T: yeh I think... go on

397 K: i think it'd be really hard to prove that because i feel like the person who is like  
 398 assaulting has to be like a bit of a crazy person

399 C: it has to be a certain kind of person anyway like...

400 K: yeh...

401 C: like if there was a violent person who happened to be in a society whos being  
 402 egged on by all the lads... like it might happen... but that's depend on the person

403 K, T: ye hi agree

404 C: like one of the impressions that's just joined and they just wanna be  
 405 accepted and stuff... I don't think.. like you would hope that they wouldn't be  
 406 pushed to the point where they were like physically hurting someone cause they  
 407 don't wanna do that → excuse?

408 B: i think the thing is as well though.. is that if they're at a point where they're  
 409 gonna sexual assault someone to a serious extent... they'll probably be by  
 410 themselves and at that point they wouldn't be by themselves so....

411 All participants: yeh

412 T: that's the individual coming out...

413 R: so is it people abusing positions of power in their group of friends then.. so  
 414 like, you were saying before about the third year rugby team or whatever for  
 415 example... sort of like... knowing the odd sort of individual who knows they can  
 416 get away with it will try and get to that point... when they've got that power, so  
 417 they can sort o do they want and know it'll be accepted

LC members not  
bad people

alpha males +  
group members.

members mindless  
'sheep' - no identity

hard to 'prove'  
LC + assault

certain individuals  
assault

just want to be  
accepted  
pushed to do things

sexual assault on  
a spectrum?  
self ID vs group ID

the individual coming  
out

418 B,T: yeh

exercising power  
phaking people  
agreement

419 B: it's exercising power isn't it... it's just people making people do what they want

power trip  
individuals

420 T: yeh that's what it's all about... that's what it's all about

421 R: do you think anything needs to be done about lad culture at Huddersfield or

422 do you think there should be anything done about it?

could actually  
one of those things  
that happens  
happens everywhere  
just down to that group

423 K: i don't think you could actually do anything to stop it... like it's one of those  
424 things that happens within people's halls.. people's houses... and then... i don't  
425 know you could control it cause i suppose it's just down to that group of friends...

just a thing  
that happens  
not controllable  
down to group of  
'friends'

426 R: what i was gonna say... what about on nights out.. do you remember that case  
427 in Tokyos where someone... a girl was sexually assaulted in the toilet when loads  
428 of people were around...

429 All: yeh

430 R: so... what do you... what about the nightlife is instigating the lad culture if that  
431 makes sense?

didn't help

432 C: multisex toilets probably didn't help....

need to keep separate

433 All - yeh

just stupid

434 B: yeh that's just stupid really isn't it

multisex just stupid -  
rape culture?  
accepted?

435 R: what about events like carnage then?

carnage = promotion

436 B: well yeh that promotes it doesn't it

sexes together =  
inevitable

437 All - yeh (laughs)

nightlife promotion

438 R: is that a proper lad culture?

girls example - get in  
on it  
rocking? lets dress up

439 B: but that's the thing the girls get in on that as well... do you know what i  
440 mean... doctors and nurses.. aw lets dress up as slutty nurses? You know what i  
441 mean

problem when girls  
are involved

442 R: do you think it's an age gap then... do you think when you get older, you kind  
443 of realise that its not OK or do you think it's sort of... progressed over the years?

people don't realise  
when you're part of  
a group  
'lads' building  
it depends  
another group, later in  
life - LC not  
alcohol = bad

444 T: i don't think people realise... I think it's because the group separates...  
445 errmm... its when you're part of that group

LC ~~doesn't~~ only exists in  
groups

446 C: like what [redacted] said before about construction sites... and lads on building sites  
447 and stuff.. it's the same... it just depends... there could be another group form  
448 later in life like at work that's all male.. and it's sort of like, it won't be as bad and  
449 alcohol fuelled but if you have that culture installed in you from uni you can carry  
450 it on I guess... instilled in me

people don't realise  
LC only exists in  
groups

LC throughout time  
+ situation  
all male groups

break off from groups  
first years.

451 B: i think people break off from their groups I guess.. like first year it'll become  
452 really important... but I think that's where societies come into it.. cause societies

first years biggest  
sheep.



them groups - societies as reason  
 they're not really friends  
 reinforcing  
 don't grow out of it  
 in socs.  
 'that phase'  
 453 keeps them groups together even if they're not really friends, it's sort of there to keep reinforcing that culture  
 455 K: yeh and they grow up together, rather than grow up.. like out of it... you're still in that society for 4 or 3 years... you don't actually grow out of that phase of..  
 457 trying to pull as many girls in one night as you physically can...  
 458 All - veh  
 459 B: yeh cause we weren't in any sports societies... we were just in the business society which wasn't even really a society.... and we just like... we became friends  
 461... we didn't become friends because of that society, we were friends before  
 462 that... whereas I think people in other societies .. they'll become friends just  
 463 because of the fact that they're in that society and thats the only thing in common that theyve got... and probably most of the time when they're out and stuff it's probably the only thing they can talk about or have a laugh about... is groping people or how many people they've pulled on that night...  
 464 T: yeh hi think a lot of people have like... especially if it's you first year and it's like... coming down trying to impress and be part of a group. If you don't do as they say, if you're not a part of tha t group it's like.. you're out..  
 468 B: yeh...  
 471 T: it's like fear as well of not settling into a group  
 472 B: yeh exactly like being one of the lads  
 473 T: i think people will probably feel forced by it all  
 474 R: so would you say it's like a hierarchy  
 475 B: yeh course it is yeh...  
 476 T: yeh it can be  
 477 P: it's like the American... like what you see on American pie and stuff isn't it  
 478 T, C: yeh (laughs)  
 479 C: it's funny cause... like in sports societies and stuff.. what if there's just one kid who's just really, really likes rugby and is really good at rugby and has enough of a backbone to be like.. hmm im not doing that, like is he gonna be shunned or....  
 481 B: probably  
 482 T: it depends... probably  
 483 B: or a lot of the time they'll probably get influenced just to be pulled in on it won't they... theyll make an effort to some extent to join in on it... cause I reckon you'll get a lot of people who are quiet who are coming from... like college, to uni... and they'll want to identify with groups if they haven't had friends in the past or something....  
 489 C: so it's quite hard isn't it  
 'quite hard'

societies reinforce LC  
 accepted 'phase' of laddishness

justifying distance from LC  
 friends vs LC  
 us vs them  
 members small-minded

first years  
 influence + impress

fear of rejection  
 forced by LC

manifest different ways

members have 'no backbone'

influenced + pulled in

identify with group for friends

hard for people

not who they are BUT group

490 B: and it might not be who they are but they might join it just to be part of a group

491 group

492 P: and if they say no they're just gonna get shredded by it...

493 P: its like when I joined a house second year.. I didn't know anyone and like... I had to settle into the group so I had to make the effort at predrinks and stuff I suppose so it's difficult....

495 suppose so it's difficult....

496 R: erm going back to the point about alcohol... a lot of the literature suggests that... lads think it's ok to sort of... lots of alcohol if he wants to sleep with her...

497 that... lads think it's ok to sort of... lots of alcohol if he wants to sleep with her...

498 what are your thoughts on that?

499 P: yeh that;s never ok but thats what some people do isn't it

500 C: that's disgusting

501 T: yeh that's not OK

502 R: is that something you witness a lot?

503 P: well yeh a little bit

504 T: Yeh

505 B: well yeh that;s the main... well lads buy girls drinks... aw i'll buy you a drink i'll buy you a drink.. and they think that's an instant ticket don't they

506 buy you a drink.. and they think that's an instant ticket don't they

507 P: yeh they think they're in...

508 K: I think if some of these lads have to put the draft in like to buy girls 5 drinks on a night out.. they're like can't be arsed with that i'll just give someone else a drink

509 a night out.. they're like can't be arsed with that i'll just give someone else a drink

510 that's already drunk enough

511 T, P: yeh...

512 K: i think especially at uni like... you know everyone's drunk

513 T: yeh

514 B: that reminds me of a girl who's always absolutely smashed and getting with lads... and I always think... she's always absolutely hammered... why would lads want to get with someone when they're at that point... if you see a girl that's absolutely smashed... getting with a lad who's relatively.. well not sober but a little bit drunk...

515 lads... and I always think... she's always absolutely hammered... why would lads want to get with someone when they're at that point... if you see a girl that's absolutely smashed... getting with a lad who's relatively.. well not sober but a little bit drunk...

516 want to get with someone when they're at that point... if you see a girl that's absolutely smashed... getting with a lad who's relatively.. well not sober but a little bit drunk...

517 absolutely smashed... getting with a lad who's relatively.. well not sober but a little bit drunk...

518 little bit drunk...

519 R: isn't that a bit shocking on his part?

520 B: yeh that's what I'm saying... like you think why... surely any normal person would not want to get with someone who's that drunk... and then you realise aw, he's with a bunch of lads and he's literally just doing it just to boost his status...

521 would not want to get with someone who's that drunk... and then you realise aw, he's with a bunch of lads and he's literally just doing it just to boost his status...

522 R: why do you think erm... well it's obviously quite... not a high proportion but there's obviously quite a few lads out there who do think it's OK to erm.. give a

523 R: why do you think erm... well it's obviously quite... not a high proportion but there's obviously quite a few lads out there who do think it's OK to erm.. give a

524 there's obviously quite a few lads out there who do think it's OK to erm.. give a

not who they are BUT group

no = ridicule

'joined' a house

alone < had to settle

effort to be in group

effort to change to be in group

personality not the same in LC

ridicule vs gang along with that

effort to change to be in group

personal? LC vs Individual = group vs alone?

erm going back to the point about alcohol... a lot of the literature suggests that... lads think it's ok to sort of... lots of alcohol if he wants to sleep with her...

what are your thoughts on that?

yeh that;s never ok but thats what some people do isn't it

that's disgusting

yeh that's not OK

reiterating

is that something you witness a lot?

well yeh a little bit

Yeh

well yeh that;s the main... well lads buy girls drinks... aw i'll buy you a drink i'll buy you a drink.. and they think that's an instant ticket don't they

yeh they think they're in...

I think if some of these lads have to put the draft in like to buy girls 5 drinks on a night out.. they're like can't be arsed with that i'll just give someone else a drink

that's already drunk enough

T, P: yeh...

i think especially at uni like... you know everyone's drunk

yeh

that reminds me of a girl who's always absolutely smashed and getting with lads... and I always think... she's always absolutely hammered... why would lads want to get with someone when they're at that point... if you see a girl that's absolutely smashed... getting with a lad who's relatively.. well not sober but a little bit drunk...

lads looking for quick result

girls as replaceable

about quick, easy sex

drunk enough to sleep with

especially at uni everyone's drunk

uni = drunkenness

maybe why at uni??

girl example? - not of male doing it

absolutely smashed

'she's' hammered

why would lads w/ her at that point 'relatively'

bad for girls to get hammered

girls as pawns / usable

normal person would not

aw - bunch of lads

just boost of status

all about why lad would want to not have girl might not normal vs 'lad'

status boost



S25 girl drinks to sleep with her like, why dyou think that is? Why do you think there  
 S26 is quite a few that think it's alright?

S27 P: hmm...what do vou mean?

S28 R: there's lads who think it's OK just to get with really intoxicated girls, why do  
 S29 you think that they think it's alright?

S30 B: because they're with their mates.. that's generally the reason.. from my  
 S31 perspective... there's no other reason why you'd want to get with someone  
 S32 who's that drunk... like if they're absolutely smashed... you'd be thinking what a  
 S33 mess anyway they should just be put to bed... do you know what I mean though

S34 C: I don't know why anyone would think it would be acceptable but yeh.. other  
 S35 than in a group where you've got so many people saying like... oh yeh go on just  
 S36 like... take her home whatever...

S37 P: yeh... *girl no choice*

S38 C: you're not gonna think that it's acceptable unless you've got like other  
 S39 pressures... pressures? *pressures of group make it acceptable*

S40 All: yeh

S41 R: so do you think it's linked to self esteem? Like aw she wouldn't like.. maybe  
 S42 she wouldn't get with me if I was... you know...

S43 K: massively yeh... *self-esteem*

S44 T: definitely... *self-esteem issues*

S45 K: I think boys obviously don't have the ego and the onfidence that they like to  
 S46 think they have... so they have to seek that attention from a girl that actually  
 S47 doesn't know her own name... won't remember yours... but he obviously still  
 S48 feels really great about himself cause he's still pulled.. and so he'll still be a lad  
 S49 C: yeh.... *self-esteem any method to be LC*

S50 B: i hope you're not talking about males from a general perspective here....  
 S51 R: it's like how much of the population do you think is involved in lad culture  
 S52 then? *making sure*

S53 B: to an extent i think the whole population is involved in lad culture but... it  
 S54 depends what you're talking about....

S55 T: certain groups and certain people can influence others and it really just does  
 S56 depend on what...

S57 B: it's like you said lad cultures always been there to an extent it's just... *defending 'normal' males*

S58 T: like from my point of view, my groups extent of lad culture is just having a  
 S59 laugh between ourselves as a group you know whether that just being... i don't  
 S60 know.. taking the mick of out of each other or just generally having a laugh.. but  
 S61 obviously like it depends... *LC okay to an extent*

S62

*group dictates outcome drunk girls as 'messes'*

*girl has little choice*

*pressures of group make it acceptable*

*self-esteem*

*self-esteem issues*

*'lads' overconfident*

*LC feeds self-esteem*

*defending 'normal' males*

*LC okay to an extent*

*certain people + certain groups*

*always existed + accepted*

*defending own group everyone involved 'to an extent'*

*whole pop. to an extent - justification but depends*

*certain groups/people*

*always existed*

*my P.O.V*

*'our' group*

*extent*

*different extents of LC*

*just a laugh-taking the mick*

*so LC depends*

S62 B: Yeh I agree... *not harmful*  
 'general banter' S63 P: Yeh generally it's just like general banter isn't it *not harmful 'to an extent'*  
 'general' drink games S64 B: yeh there'll be like erm.. we'll do general drinking games... ring of fire and dare  
 BUT not for purpose of LC S65 games and stuff.. but that's like.. it's not for the purpose of... things that you're *depending on participation*  
 S66 talking about in lad culture.. it's for the purpose of.. we want to have a laugh on a *members of LC have agenda*  
 S67 night out *what is the purpose??*  
 S68 R: so sort of to the effect of... there's not really a lad culture but it's more about  
 S69 people themselves or? *fem rights vs masculinity?*  
 S70 B: i think the same difference is talking about erm... feminism and radical *female example as 'not just male'*  
 S71 feminism for example... like you'll get one part of it... but then you'll get a more *LC or spectrum/continuum of seriousness*  
 S72 extreme part of it that goes like 20 steps further do you know what I mean?  
 S73 P: maybe just seems exaggerated beause the stories you hear about lads on *exaggerated by media*  
 S74 nights out... like on last night and stuff... like you'll hear about aw somebody got *us vs them - 'not like them'*  
 S75 leathered.. somebody did this... like when you compared to when there's like a  
 S76 1000 lads out, it's a drop in the ocean isn't it... *not concrete - changeable*  
 S77 B: wel it just depends what you define as lad culture doesn't it... cause there's  
 S78 nothing really saying what it is and there's so many different things that have  
 S79 already existed.... like you could say... aw it's just alcohol that's the problem... but  
 S80 now someone might say aw it's cause it's a group of lads... *several concepts = LC problem*  
 S81 All: yeh....  
 S82 R: so would anyone like to add anything on the general view to lad culture?  
 S83 T: i think it's a just a group of individuals... *LC = group*  
 S84 C: i think lad culture is a really broad spectrum of stuff... like guys wanting to have *LC or broad spectrum*  
 S85 a laugh.. like mess around and stuff... but then, it can be harmless.. but then to *'harmless' vs harmful*  
 S86 the other end of the spectrum it is like, harmful *accepted 'ladiness'*  
 S87 K: yeh...  
 S88 B: ye hi think it's exactly what youve just said...  
 S89 C: yeh i think it just depends... *depends on several factors*  
 S90 B: yeh it's everything isn't it... it's everything that's always been there like... *always existed*  
 S91 alcoholism to an extent... sexism to an extent... *combination of things*  
 S92 T: yeh... *but TO AN EXTENT is okay*  
 S93 C: yeh just like amalgamated into one thing that ties everyone together... just *LC as 'rules'*  
 S94 seem to think.. that like that's what they should do during...  
 S95 K: like all morals go out of the window *morally inept*  
 S96 T: i think its a group of individuals coming together as one group and looking for  
 S97 acceptance like... we can't be naive to think that if we didn't meet our groups and  
 S98 were in a different group of friends you don't know... *LC = group to be accepted*  
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you don't know how  
you're going to act

599 P: yeh you don't know how you're going to act...

we're not that kind  
of group or indiv  
BUT influenced by  
ones. - easy for  
morals to go

600 E: even though we're not that kind of people and that kind of individual but if  
601 we're influenced by the wrong group or wrong individuals you just don't know...  
602 like you said the morals just go out of the window...

alcohol as  
exacerbating

603 P: yeh alcohol as well.. like if I was with a group of lads and I met you lot with a  
604 group of lads and someone pushed into one of our mates all hell could break  
605 loose... that's just how it is..

606 R: ok thanks for participating are there any other questions from anyone?

607 All: no

always possible

we're not like  
that'  
certain 'people'

### Appendix 13: Table of themes

Major Theme	Subthemes
The accepted existence of LC	<p>Underlying phenomenon that has always existed</p> <p>Definite existence of LC</p> <p>‘Just what happens’</p> <p>Created and reinforced by the media</p> <p>Combination of several existing, accepted problem factors</p> <p>Okay ‘to an extent’</p>
A hierarchal phenomenon existing only in groups	<p>Alpha male and followers in a hierarchy</p> <p>Group overrides the individual</p> <p>Group collective behaviour</p> <p>Competition to be a ‘lad’</p> <p>Driven by acceptance</p> <p>Influence and impressionables</p>
‘We’re not lads’	<p>Promoting ‘anti-masculinity’</p> <p>Justifying/defending ‘laddish’ behaviour</p> <p>‘Us vs Them’</p> <p>Use of ‘ladette’ involvement</p> <p>Male participant reluctance to offend women</p>



## Appendix 14: Data output for correlational analysis of ILCQ and ASAS scores

Correlations			LCSCORE	ACCSCORE
Spearman's rho	LCSCORE	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.559**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	59	59
	ACCSCORE	Correlation Coefficient	.559**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	59	59

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

## Appendix 15: Data output for the effect of gender on LC

Ranks				
	Gender	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
LCScore	M	22	36.86	811.00
	F	37	25.92	959.00
	Total	59		

Test Statistics <sup>a</sup>	
	LCScore
Mann-Whitney U	256.000
Wilcoxon W	959.000
Z	-2.368
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.018

a. Grouping Variable: Gender

## Appendix 16: Data output for the effect of relationship status on LC

Ranks			
	RelStatus	N	Mean Rank
LCScore	Single	33	30.42
	IAR	23	31.59
	Married	3	13.17
	Total	59	

Test Statistics <sup>a,b</sup>	
	LCScore
Chi-Square	3.100
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.212

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable:

RelStatus

## Appendix 17: Data outputs for the effect of sexual orientation on LC

Ranks			
	Orientation	N	Mean Rank
LCScore	Hetero	49	30.98
	Homosexual	2	16.50
	Bisexual	5	30.90
	PNA	3	21.50
	Total	59	

Test Statistics <sup>a,b</sup>	
	LCScore
Chi-Square	2.145
df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.543

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable:

Orientation

## Appendix 18: Data outputs for the effect of previous sexual relations on LC

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality								
		of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval	
									of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
LCScore	Equal variances assumed	.034	.854	.737	57	.464	5.56735	7.55288	-9.55703	20.69173
	Equal variances not assumed			.777	13.662	.450	5.56735	7.16641	-9.83876	20.97346

## Appendix 19: Data outputs for Cronbach's Alpha on Questionnaire subscales

### Alcohol Subscale

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.804	.821	10

Item-Total Statistics					
	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
q12	16.6667	36.524	.234	.252	.808
q13	15.8667	28.838	.736	.789	.755
q14	15.0667	29.924	.482	.731	.790
q15	16.0667	32.067	.404	.443	.797
q16	15.8000	34.743	.148	.489	.834
q17	15.7333	27.781	.734	.735	.752
q18	16.3333	29.952	.794	.783	.754
q19	16.1333	33.695	.651	.705	.780
q20	16.2000	31.886	.660	.763	.772
q21	16.3333	35.238	.245	.480	.810

### Attitudes to women and sex subscale

**Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.891	10

**Item-Total Statistics**

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
q29	17.80	47.886	.713	.874
q30	17.93	52.781	.599	.882
q31	17.80	48.171	.825	.866
q32	17.73	52.924	.570	.884
q33	17.93	51.495	.693	.876
q34	17.40	52.829	.534	.887
q35	18.07	49.495	.799	.869
q36	17.67	50.667	.623	.881
q37	18.53	55.124	.517	.887
q40	17.93	53.781	.452	.893

### Sports and societies subscale

**Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.590	.569	6

**Item-Total Statistics**

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
q23	17.2500	12.214	.367	.984	.526
q24	17.5000	12.857	.516	.958	.486
q25	18.6250	8.268	.688	.996	.319
q26	17.6250	11.125	.373	.998	.526
q27	17.3750	18.839	-.319	.990	.727
q28	16.6250	13.982	.469	.992	.520

## Appendix 20: Data outputs for Cronbach's Alpha on ASAS

**Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.899	25

**Item-Total Statistics**

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
s1	40.47	154.838	.769	.887
s2	41.13	171.981	.780	.892
s3	40.33	165.381	.596	.892
s4	40.93	167.638	.591	.892
s5	40.73	166.781	.561	.893
s6	41.47	184.981	.000	.900
s7	41.00	189.429	-.244	.907
s8	41.20	178.314	.398	.897
s9	41.13	172.981	.528	.894
s10	40.93	169.352	.779	.890
s11	40.73	169.067	.429	.897
s12	40.27	161.924	.795	.887
s13	40.53	174.838	.237	.903
s14	40.07	159.781	.796	.887
s15	40.53	173.552	.381	.897
s16	40.40	165.829	.633	.891
s17	41.40	186.114	-.170	.901
s18	41.33	179.095	.407	.897
s19	41.07	168.210	.749	.890
s20	40.53	158.695	.729	.888
s21	40.67	164.095	.764	.889
s22	40.40	168.257	.544	.893
s23	40.27	162.352	.688	.890
s24	41.33	182.238	.276	.899
s25	40.33	184.238	-.032	.911