'*The Sex Lives of College Girls*'. A case study about sexual consent communication in teen shows

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ABSTRACT

Within debates about sexual violence one concept has increasingly moved to the fore - sexual consent. As consent is closely tied to power dynamics within heteronormative discourses, its negotiation depends on the people involved and how they communicate, define, and experience sexual consent. Moreover, previous research suggests that adolescents tend to get information about certain facets of sexuality from television. Hence, this case study aims to analyse how sexual consent communication is depicted in teen shows, in particular, in the show 'The Sex Lives Of College Girls' (HBO Max, 2021). In the scope of content analysis, this research applies a codebook by Jozkowski et al. (2016) to analyse 28 scenes of 10 episodes of the show. The most common consent and refusal communication cues were implicit verbal and explicit nonverbal cues.

Keywords: Consent communication, sexual behaviour, television shows, adolescents, content analysis, case study

Type of project: Research paper

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1. Introduction

No means no has recently been popular globally to voice the unwillingness to engage in sexual behaviours. What was introduced as an attempt to end sexual violence, has been mostly shifted to an affirmative approach. *Yes means yes* requires both parties to actively communicate their agreement (cf. Curtis and Burnett 2017). However, feminist theorists argue that consent may not even be suitable to differentiate between violent and nonviolent sex (cf. Pateman 1980).

Several scholars carried out studies to analyse the potential impact of "media portrayals of sexuality and sexual behavio[u]r on sexual socialization and participation in sexual activity" (cf. Jozkowski 2019, 754). With consent being "such a key issue in dealing with cases of sexual coercion" (Beres et al. 2004, 485), examining the messages about how to communicate consent or refusal that adolescents are being exposed to through the media has become important. Based on the understanding that adolescents consume media as a "mechanism to learn about sex and relationships" (Jozkowski 2019, 755), this study aims to analyse how sexual consent communication is depicted in the teen show *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*. In particular, specific cues to signal consent or refusal are "fundamentally important aspects of sexual encounters" (Jozkowski 2019, 755) and therefore will be the focus of this study.

The structure of this study will be as follows. In the literature review chapter, relevant conceptual understandings of consent, as well as findings from current empirical research, will be pointed out. Subsequently, the purpose of this study as well as its research questions will be summarised. A thorough overview of the research process will be provided by outlining the methodological approach which is based on the work of Jozkowski et al. (2016) who designed a detailed codebook to examine sexual consent communication in media. In the results chapter, the findings from the content analysis will be described and in the subsequent discussion section, sexual consent communication in teen shows as depicted in the current case will be critically reflected. Following, the significant outcomes that can be drawn from this study will be stated in a conclusion[1]. Lastly, an outline of the limitations of the current research and future research lines will complement this study.

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[1] Positioning as a researcher: this study adopts a feminist critical view analysing the subject matter from this viewpoint.

2. Literature Review

In the subsequent chapter a critical review of existing literature will reflect on the following issues: What is sexual consent, and how is it defined? How is consent negotiated between two people engaging in sexual relations? Hereafter, different conceptualisations of consent, as well as outcomes of current empirical research, will be reviewed.

2.1. Sex, Consent And Communication

Defining (sexual) consent is a complex undertaking considering that it "is an understudied and undertheorized concept" (Beres 2007, 93). Even in the literature on sexual consent, "there is no consensus on what it is, how it should be defined or how it is communicated" (ibid. 2007, 94). Even more, by using the term spontaneously and without properly defining it, multiple and disparate meanings are generated. However, within all of this, there is a "consensus that sexual consent represents some form of agreement to engage in sexual activity" (ibid. 2007, 97). The conditions to this agreement may diverge significantly, though (cf. ibid. 2007, 97). Moreover, the absence of sexual consent is generally the definition of sexual violence (cf. Beres 2007, 93; Jozkowski and Peterson 2013).

One common definition implicitly or explicitly used among scholars sees consent "as 'any yes', meaning that someone gives her/his consent to sex any time they express any agreement to have sex, regardless of the presence or absence of force, coercion or threats" (ibid. 2007, 97). Many scholars hereby differentiate between two types of consent such as full and partial consent, real and quasi consent, or valid and invalid consent (cf. ibid. 2007, 97). This however implies the assumption that "any agreement to have sex as a result of coercion (for example) is still consent" (ibid. 2007, 97f). Even with rules and exceptions, the concept of two types of consent is socially problematic and confusing.

Not all scholars support this conceptualisation though, some emphasise that consent "must be given free from direct coercion or force from the sexual partner" (ibid. 2007, 98). For instance, Hickman and Muehlenhard (1999) define sexual consent as "freely given verbal or nonverbal communication of a feeling of willingness to engage in sexual activity" (Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999, 259).

2.1.1. Feminist Theory And Heteronormative Discourses

From a feminist perspective, the idea of consent being 'freely given' seems appropriate, although "larger issues of social forces that impact the free communication of consent" (Beres 2007, 98) are not being addressed here. In the scope of sexual consent, feminist theory analyses how gender norms and social expectations shape and influence different consent behaviours of women and men, as well as the activities that are consented to. Beres (2007) argues that most definitions of sexual consent have a "gendered nature" (Beres 2007, 96). In patriarchal systems, the "belief that men ought to push for sexual intimacy and that women must set the limits" (Humphreys 2000, 13) dominates and thereby constructs men as the aggressive, dominant part requesting sex, even through coercion, and women as the opposed submissive counterpart granting sexual access. This is based on the idea that sexual consent is often viewed from a man's point of view (cf. Jozkowski 2011).

According to MacKinnon (1989), women are not able to give consent to men because they are not free subjects due to the power imbalance between women and men in patriarchal societies (cf. MacKinnon 1989). It rather can be understood as a power struggle between a man over a woman (cf. Okigbo Whittington 2011). However, some feminist theorists argue that both women and men have a sexual agency that they can dominate within sexual interactions. When women exercise their right to deny, for whatever reason, it is no misunderstanding between two people, as prevalent rape myths suggest, but it is a power struggle (cf. Beres 2010; Beres et al. 2014).

Nicola Gavey (2019) calls the reciprocal relationship between heteronormative sex and rape the "cultural scaffolding of rape" (Beres 2018, 703; cf. Gavey 2019). While sexual intercourse can be consensual, it is shaped by heteronormative societal expectations that "support and provide an underlying structure (scaffolding) that supports rape" (Beres 2018, 703). For instance, women might feel socially obligated to engage in sex but also responsible to maintain a normative frequency of intercourse and conforming to social norms (cf. Gavey 2019; Beres 2022). Moreover, male sex drive discourses dictate the men's position and frame their "desires as "natural" and insatiable" (Beres 2022, 140; cf. Gavey 2019).

2.1.2. Consent Communication And Socialisation Theories

Drawing from the aforementioned research, sexual consent is an agreement between at least two people willing to engage in sexual activity. How this agreement comes into effect depends on the people involved and how they communicate, define, and experience sexual consent. Consent communication is a fluent, ongoing process that gradually displays while simultaneously sending and receiving consent cues from their partners (cf. Beres, 2010; Humphreys, 2004; Jozkowski et al. 2016). More precisely, it is a contextual and interpersonal negotiation between two, or more, people. Beres (2010) depicted this process of communicating sexual consent as "active participation" (Beres 2010, 8).

To pinpoint sexual consent communication, previous research suggests two theoretical concepts, *sexual script theory* and *socialization theory* (cf. Beres et al. 2004). *Socialization theory* suggests that from birth on, "we acquire an individual identity (self-concept, attitudes, and dispositions) and the dominant values and beliefs of society are transmitted to individuals to maintain social continuity" (Humphreys 2000, 12). This means a lifelong socialisation process in which people are active participants in "not only shaped by but actively shaping the social world that they live in" (ibid. 2000, 12). In patriarchal systems, this means enforcing the roles of women as "limit-setters of relationships" (ibid. 2000, 14) responsible for granting sexual consent and men as seeking "sexual involvement at every opportunity" (ibid. 2000, 14) and more likely to be asking for consent (cf. ibid. 2000, 12f). *Sexual script theory (SST)* goes back to Gagnon and Simon (1973), understanding human sexual behaviours as both learnt and instinctive behaviours that are highly gendered social functions within broader cultural frameworks (cf. Gagnon and Simon 1973). In the scope of sexual consent, "when partners communicate consent to engage in a sexual encounter, their communication often follows a sexual script" (Jozkowski et al. 2014, 905).

Both theories explain the opposing roles that women and men play within sexual encounters with the different socialisation processes that women and men and women are exposed to in heteronormative contexts and that the individuals' consequent understanding of their role in sexual encounters influences their behaviours (cf. Gagnon and Simon 1973; Jozkowski and Peterson 2013).

2.1.3. Adolescents, Education, And The Media

According to Rhighi et al. (2021), "adolescence is a time of development when many youths are exploring their sexual identity and initiating romantic and sexual relationships" (Righi et al. 2021, NP8305). Moreover, there are different theories about how the aforementioned sexual scripts apply to sexual behaviours and how they are maintained by the media. Several scholars have "discussed the potential influence of media portrayals of sexuality and sexual behavio[u]r on sexual socialization and participation in sexual activity" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 754). Two theories aim at explaining behavioural learning via media: "c*ultivation theory (CT) and social cognitive theory (SCT)*" (ibid. 2019, 755). *CT* means that perceptions of reality are cultivated from exposure to media and *SCT* suggests that "people learn and imitate behaviours they observe in their social environment" (ibid. 2019, 755). As the media's role as a socialising agent has been discussed, the media may "particularly influence the sexual behavio[u]rs and attitudes of young people, who seek such media as a form of sexuality education" (ibid. 2019, 754). Moreover, due to "their popularity and ease of access, films and television shows may be used as models for understanding how to behave during sexual encounters with other people" (ibid. 2019, 754; cf. Buckingham and Bragg 2004).

Recently, sexual education, particularly sexual violence prevention, has been "undergoing a shift towards a consent-focused model" (Beres 2018, 702). Its focus is based on the question of "whether or not and how we should educate young people about sexual consent, what it is and how to communicate consent with sexual partners" (Beres 2018, 703). Jozkowski and Peterson (2013) suggest sexual violence prevention education address and challenge traditional gender roles and promotes consent that is based on "mutual expressions of desire and willingness" (ibid. 2013, 520). Beres (2018; 2022) emphasises that the aim of sexual violence prevention should not only be to prevent sexual violence that is legally enforceable but any sex that causes harm (cf. Beres 2018; 2022). Beres (2022) states:

> "The pathway to more ethical and engaged sex is not to tell young people they need to ask explicitly about willingness to have sex, it is to work with them to make their already existing skills in empathy and social cues more visible and to allow them to see how they translate to the sexual world." (Beres 2022, 150)

Lastly, *teen shows* fall into the genre of *teen film* which is usually circulating uncertainties and questions concerning adolescence such as (first) love, sexuality, social interactions with peers or elders, striving for self-expression, etc., and is often set in high school or college. However, the term *teen* in this sense means "a very elastic, bill-of-fare word; it refers not to biological age, but a type, a mode of behaviour, a way of being… The teen in teen movie means something more like youth" (Martin cited by Driscoll 2011, 2). Driscoll defines it as the "historical extension of, and limit on, a period of social dependence after puberty" (Driscoll 2011, 2) and hereby stresses the "contradiction between maturity and immaturity" (ibid.) to be significant for said genre (cf. Driscoll 2011).

2.2. Review Of Related Empirical Research

In recent years, with the rise of public attention in the course of endeavours toward ending sexual violence, the interest in studying and theorising sexual consent from an empirical perspective has increased (cf. Beres 2007). In the following section, the most dominant scholarship relevant to this study will be presented.

2.2.1. Sexual Consent Communication

Various studies aimed at defining the concept of sexual consent and, in this context, examining sexual consent communication in practice. Therefore, researchers have developed and validated different scales to measure how people communicate and perceive consent in different contexts (Beres et al. 2004; Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Jozkowski et al. 2014). By indicating on these scales whether a behaviour was perceived as consensual or not, results showed that participants utilised a range of consent and refusal codes which can be categorised into verbal, nonverbal, direct, indirect, and passive (cf. Beres et al. 2004; Beres 2022; Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Humphreys 2007; Jozkowski and Peterson 2013). Further research suggests that college students often communicate their consent to engaging in sexual activities by using nonverbal cues such as non-sexual touching and flirting (cf. Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Humphreys 2004). Moreover, it was even stated that giving no response or not resisting their sexual partner can mean to consent to sex (cf. Beres et al. 2004; Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999).

Jozkowski and Peterson (2013) conducted an open-ended survey of 185 college students about their conceptualisations of consent and related factors. The results implied a strong reinforcement of stereotypical gender roles concerning sexual behaviour and consent communication such as the man being the aggressive, insatiable part deluding the woman in obtaining consent and the woman being obedient and serving the man's sexual desires. Moreover, it was observed that men more often use nonverbal cues to communicate consent, while women rather use verbal cues (cf. Jozkowski and Peterson 2013). These gendered perceptions were reflected in a consequential inductive analysis of college students' sexual behaviour and consent communication which showed that students perceived a sexual double standard and that men regarded sexual activity as a conquest (cf. Jozkowski et al. 2017). Similar outcomes were achieved by Righi, Bogen, Kuo, and Orchowski (2021) who found strong adherence to traditional heterosexual scripts fueled by internalised expectations of sexual behaviour and ingrained gender roles in perceptions of sexual consent among high school students (cf. Righi et al. 2021).

Furthermore, consent communication varied on different factors such as gender (women use more verbal consent cues), relationship status (consent cues are more explicit in established relationships), and types of sexual behaviours (more consent explicit cues for penetrative sex) according to various scholars (cf. Beres 2022; Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Jozkowski and Peterson 2013; Marcantonio et al. 2018; Willis et al. 2019). These gendered understandings of sexual behaviours and, subsequently, also of sexual consent and the power dynamics within consent negotiation, however, were not only observed within heteronormative discourses (cf. Jozkowski et al. 2014). Beres et al. (2004) developed a scale to measure consent behaviours in same-sex relationships and detected that men who have sex with men reported signalising consent with non-verbal cues more often than women who have sex with women (cf. Beres et al. 2004, 483). In general, nonverbal consent communication was more frequent among both men and women than verbal cues which shows parallelism across sexual orientations (ibid. 2004, 483f). Moreover, building on the findings from studies with queer adults, Beres (2022) suggests the development of an "epistemology of consent" (Beres 2022, 150) which "includes a complex empathetic reading of sexual partners to create a mutual and connected experience" (ibid. 2022, 150). Based on the aim to "recognise the complexity of

consent communication" (ibid. 2022, 151), an epistemology of consent focuses on "what people show that they know about consent communication" (ibid. 2022, 151). This could lead to removing current education efforts that centre on explicit (verbal) communication and instead relying on broader contextual elements to build a "more nuanced understanding of sexual consent that recognises communicative complexity" (ibid. 2022, 151).

2.2.2. Sexual Consent In The Media

As previously stated, due to the major influence of sexual content in mainstream media on young people's sexual behaviours, the media's role as sexual socialiser has been deemed pivotal in regards to sexual consent communication, "a topic rarely addressed in sexuality/health education curricula in public schools" (Jozkowski et al. 2016, 1). Jozkowski, Canan, Rhoads, and Hunt (2016) aimed at conducting the first study to examine and document consent and refusal depictions in mainstream movies by coding consent and refusal cues, as well as several aspects of sexuality such as the use of protective methods (e.g., condoms, birth control pill) / sexual enhancement products (e.g. Viagra) / substances (e.g. alcohol, cocaine), sexual history, and relationship status to contextualise sexual consent communication in films. By developing a "unique set of analytic procedures for conducting such a specific content analysis" (ibid. 2016, 1), they provided a codebook that can be utilised as a guide for similar research goals.

Based on their previously mentioned methodological approach, Jozkowski, Marcantonio, Rhoads, Canan, Hunt, and Willis (2019) conducted a content analysis of sexual consent and refusal communication by examining 50 mainstream films from 2013. Their results show that the "most common consent and refusal communication cues were nonverbal or implicit" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 754) and that the "majority of scenes portrayed consent immediately before a sexual activity" (ibid. 2019, 754). Contradictory to the concept of affirmative consent "mainstream films appear to reinforce nonverbal and implicit consent cues" (ibid. 2019, 763). Hereby, Jozkowski et al. emphasise the "potential influence of media on consent and refusal communication" (ibid. 2019, 763) and suggest "assess the extent that these depictions influence people's actual consent communication to determine the best mechanisms for education" (ibid. 2019, 763).

In addition to mainstream films, young people stated to learn about sexuality from sexual media such as pornography and although most do not think this medium teaches them about sexual consent communication, previous research shows that viewers are indeed "able to evaluate pornography as consensual or not" (Willis et al. 2020, 52). Therefore, Willis, Canan, Jozkowski, and Bridges (2020) analysed sexual consent communication in best-selling pornography films in a study based on the codebook by Jozkowski et al. (2016). Their results suggest that "pornography provides various models of sexual consent communication" (Willis et al. 2020, 62) and, analogous to their previous study of mainstream films (Jozkowski et al. 2020), that "nonverbal consent cues were more frequent than verbal cues" (Willis et al. 2020, 52).

3. Purpose Statement And Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to analyse how sexual consent communication is depicted in the teen show *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*. As pointed out in the previous chapter, young people rely on television shows and movies when seeking information about certain facets of sexuality. Moreover, *cultivation theory (CT)* and *social cognitive theory (SCT)* suggest that the media have a major influence on adolescents and their sexual behaviours. Therefore, it is important to consider the media's role as a sexual socialiser, particularly in regards to sexual consent communication, a topic rarely addressed in formal sexual education.

However, in recent years, the significance of (sexual) consent has been increased in public discourse in regards to its "pivotal role in discussions and debates about sexual violence because the absence of sexual consent is most often the defining characteristic of sexual violence (sex without consent)" (Beres 2007, 93; cf. Jozkowski and Peterson 2013). Even in previous literature on sexual consent, there is no universal definition for sexual consent. For this study, consent to engage in sexual behaviour, or sexually-related activities, is defined as 'freely given consent' and is deemed as two individuals having an agreement on its implications. Several scholars have examined how sexual consent is being understood, communicated, and experienced, in practice as well as in the media. In the scope of empirical research, Jozkowski et al. (2016) have developed a thorough codebook to conduct a content analysis to examine sexual consent communication in movies. Due to the

media's aforementioned role as a sexual socialiser for adolescents, it is of utmost importance to examine how the target audience negotiates consent on screen. Moreover, the depiction of consent communication in (teen) shows has not been examined before.

Therefore, the research question(s) this study focuses on are the following:

RQ 1: How is sexual consent communication depicted in the teen show *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*?

RQ 2: Which consensual and refusal cues are employed in scenes depicting sexual activities?

RQ 3: In the case of no consent in sexual behaviours pictured in the show, what is the meaning of that?

4. Methodology

In the following chapter the methodological and analytical approach of this research will be pointed out in order to better comprehend the scope of the research. In particular, emphasis will be placed on the research techniques applied and how the sample was defined, collected and analysed. Ultimately, the limitations and ethical considerations will be outlined.

4.1. Methodological Approach

To approach the above-mentioned research questions, this study uses content analysis as a method. According to Krippendorff (2004), content analysis is defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff 2004, 18). This definition uniquely accentuates the term *texts*, which, in this sense, does not only include written material but any data such as images, signs, symbols, sounds etc. and therefore has made content analysis transdisciplinary applicable. To reach its goal, this research technique follows specialised procedures which involve unitizing (segmenting the data), sampling (determining an adequate size of data), and recording/coding (mapping textual units by applying stated rules; cf. Krippendorff 2004).

Although Krippendorff names the quantitative/qualitative distinction a "mistaken dichotomy" (Krippendorff 2004, 87) and states that "content analysts can adopt multiple contexts and pursue multiple research questions" (ibid. 2004, 89), other scholars emphasise quantitative content analysis as a descriptive research method to determine how datasets represent a phenomenon by statistically describing patterns and trends of said phenomenon (cf. Coe and Scacco 2017). According to Coe and Scacco (2017), it is hereby crucial to create and apply a coding scheme that implies certain categories associated with the research subject in order to be able to examine the frequency of manifest meanings in datasets (cf. ibid.). As the primary purpose of the current study is to assess explicit consensual and refusal cues and to generally examine the depiction of sexual consent communication in teen shows, quantitative content analysis procedures were deemed most appropriate to achieve this aim.

The general methodological approach of this study is based on the work of Jozkowski et al. (2016) who designed a detailed codebook to examine sexual consent communication in the course of content analysis. As outlined in section *2.2.2. Sexual consent in the media*, their unique set of analytic procedures is based on previous research and is following an inductive approach to assess whether a sexual behaviour was depicted as consensual or nonconsensual, as well as to evaluate other relevant determinants (cf. Jozkowski 2016, 1f). Central in their approach is the examination of a previously determined sample by coding sexual behaviours regarding specific categories outlined in the codebook. However, although the codebook has been utilised to analyse various kinds and different genres of movies, a research gap has been detected in regards to applying this method to the genre *of teen film*. Therefore, it will be necessary to adjust their codebook to better suit the purpose of the current study. The defined determinants of the sample, as well as the adaptations of the codebook, will be presented in section *4.2. Sample and data collection* and *4.3. Data analysis procedures*.

Moreover, this study follows a case study design. A *case study* is an approved method in the social sciences to conduct an inquiry. However, due to its methodological eclecticism, it can confuse researchers about method and structure, and therefore, it "should not be seen as a method in and of itself" (Thomas 2011,

512), but rather as "a design frame that may incorporate a number of methods" (ibid. 2011, 512). This case study is based on the following definition by Simons (2009): "Case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a "real-life" context" (Simons cited by Thomas 2011, 512). When planning the current study in the course of a case study design, it was deemed appropriate to select one specific teen show as a case, meaning as the subject of the inquiry, to provide the necessary framework for the analysis and validity of the results. The determinants which led to choosing *The Sex Lives of College Girls* (2021) as the case will be set out in the following section.

4.2. Sample And Data Collection

As mentioned, this research aims to analyse sexual consent communication in teen shows within the framework of a case study. Therefore, it was first and foremost crucial to select one specific teen show as the case. To provide the actuality of the topic, it was deemed appropriate to set the time frame of publication of the show to the past year, in particular the year 2021. Another criterion was that the show contains at least one season with at least six episodes to ensure the sufficiency of the sample. Additional determinants were that the show first aired in 2021 and the English language.

Through a keyword search on Google search engine using the keywords 'teen show 2021', the first five shows that met the above-mentioned criteria were outlined. In the following, those five shows were cross-referenced with the audience scores on the review-aggregation website for film and television *Rotten Tomatoes* to ensure the popularity of the show chosen. After a viewing of the first four episodes of the three shows with the highest rankings (Genera+ion, One Of Us Is Lying, and The Sex Lives of College Girls), the show *The Sex Lives of College Girls* has been selected for this case study. This is due to the explicitness of sexuality depicted in the show which was deemed pivotal for the reliability and quality of the results of the analysis. Following, an overview of the considered teen shows will be given.

Figure 1: Popular teen shows of the year 2021

Show title	Year, country, original network	No. of seasons, No. of episodes	Ranking on *Rotten Tomatoes*
Fate: The Winx Saga	2021 -, USA, Netflix	1 season, 6 episodes	75%
Genera+ion	2021 -, USA, HBO Max	1 season, 16 episodes	84%
Ginny & Georgia	2021 -, USA, Netflix	1 season, 10 episodes	69%
One of Us Is Lying	2021 -, USA, Peacock	1 season, 8 episodes	77%
The Sex Lives of College Girls	2021 -, USA, HBO Max	1 season, 10 episodes	76%

Therefore, the universe of the sample of this study is all ten episodes of the first season of *The Sex Lives of College Girls* created by Mindy Kaling and Justin Noble which aired between November 18, 2021, and December 09, 2021, on *HBO Max*. *The Sex Lives of College Girls* is a US-American teen comedy-drama television series created by Mindy Kaling and Justin Noble. The show centres around a core of four female 18-year-old college suitemates as they navigate their first semester at the fictional and prestigious Essex campus in Vermont through social activities, financial pressure, and academic stress. As the title might suggest, the show takes a strong, but not solely, focus on the sexual lives of Bela, Leighton, Kimberly, and Whitney, by tackling sexual attraction, behaviour and identity from a very diverse perspective, as well as by giving four young adults of various backgrounds representation in the media. In *Appendix 1* a list of all episodes is provided.

For this research, a purposive sampling strategy has been applied, meaning that certain criteria that are crucial to the study have to be determined to include or exclude the scenes in the sample (cf. Miyahara 2019, 55f). A scene is defined as a series of motion pictures presenting a continuous action in one location and time, ending when the setting or the characters that it portrays change. To be included in the sample, the scenes had to show at least one of the following sexual behaviours: kiss, intimate touching, oral sex / anal sex / vaginal-penile sex. In this context, only scenes that involved at least one of the four protagonists, namely Bela, Leighton, Kimberly or Whitney, in the sexual behaviour have been selected for the sample. Therefore, one scene in which two minor roles kiss each other, as well as another

scene in which one character shows someone a pornographic video have been excluded to ensure that the results of this study are conclusive (see episodes 1 and 5). This also applied to another scene in which one protagonist talks about having performed oral sex on six different characters and snippets of flashbacks display these acts (see episode 1). Hence, the scene depicting sexual behaviour in the retrospective has been excluded from the analysis. This step of sampling has been performed manually after the first screening of all episodes.

Hereinafter, a total of 28 scenes met these criteria and are defined as the sample of this study. There is at least one scene in each episode included in the sample: four scenes each in episodes 1, 3 and 4; each one scene in episodes 2, 5, 6, 9 and 10; 9 scenes in episode 7; and two scenes in episode 8. The scenes are between 0:03 and 01:55 minutes long. In *Appendix 2* a brief overview of the scenes with information regarding time frame, episode, and a short description will be given.

4.3. Data Analysis Procedures

As outlined in section *4.1. Methodological approach*, this study is based on the work of Jozkowski et al. (2016) who designed a detailed codebook to examine sexual consent communication in the course of content analysis. Their study was carried out in the course of a multistep, inductive process, involving extensive literature review, development of operational definitions of codes to analyse characters' consent communication cues, design of a refined coding manual and coding procedures, as well as a pilot study, and profound training of their research team in regards to the coding process. Their codebook has been utilised to analyse several genres of movies in various studies (cf. Jozkowski et al. 2016; 2019; 2020).

In the course of the current study, after having defined the sample, a pilot study was performed with the first two episodes, meaning scenes 1 to 5, to evaluate the feasibility of the codebook. Next, several refinements had to be made in regards to the units of analysis, definitions of such, and the response options. In the following, these adjustments will be outlined. Moreover, the refined codebook is provided in *Appendix 3*.

Character Demographics. For each scene, all characters involved were coded according to their *gender/gender identity, age,* and *race/ethnicity*. This socio-demographic information was recorded based on statements in the show's dialogues, or my perceptions of the character. In regards to *gender/gender identity,* the response options *trans woman,* and *trans man,* as well as *non-binary characters* were added. In regards to *age*, it was divided into young adults*: 18–24 years, and adults: 25–35 years*, as this was the age range for the characters involved in the scenes. The response options for *race/ethnicity* were only slightly modified according to currently common terms. Moreover, since the demographic information was collected for each character engaged in sexual behaviour, there were two codes recorded per unit of analysis.

Type of Sexual Behaviour. In contrast with 18 different sexual behaviours[2] in Jozkowski's codebook recording different sexual behaviours per scene, I summarised the response options to the following ones: *kissing, intimate touching, anal/oral sex / vaginal-penile sex*. Due to the small size of the sample, the distribution of behaviours in *receptive* and *performative*, as well as in *implied* and *depicted,* was deemed inconclusive and therefore the sexual behaviours were only coded when they were explicitly shown in the scene. Moreover, there are three more options to when there was no further sexual activity shown than the one(s) already coded when the scene ended but it was implied by contextual and situational factors, as well as when further sexual behaviours were refused or when the sexual activity was interrupted by something. Here is noted that in several scenes sexual behaviours were occurring simultaneously or consecutively, therefore within this category, all sexual behaviours per scene were collected, meaning that in some scenes several codes were recorded.

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[2]   The 18 different sexual behaviours according to Jozkowski et al. (2016) were the following: "passionate kissing; receptive intimate touching; performative intimate touching; receptive manual sex implied; receptive manual sex depicted; performative manual sex implied; performative manual sex depicted; receptive oral sex implied; receptive oral sex depicted; performative oral sex implied; performative oral sex depicted; vaginal–penile intercourse implied; vaginal–penile intercourse depicted; anal–penile intercourse implied; anal–penile intercourse depicted; other behavio[u]r of a sexual nature (e.g., flogging, caning, whipping); no behavio[u]r shown, but based on the contextual and situational factors, it is implied that sexual activity was going to happen; no sexual behavio[u]r occurred because a character had refused or because something interrupted characters from engaging in sexual behavio[u]r" (Jozkowski et al. 2016, 4).

Consent and Refusal Cues. The specific type of consent and refusal cue was documented. Here, all ten response options according to Jozkowski et al. (2016) were incurred. As the type(s) of sexual behaviour(s), several consent and refusal cues were occurring simultaneously or consecutively. Therefore, in this unit of analysis, all cues were documented per scene by even indicating the sequence or parallelism of the cues.

Consensual versus nonconsensual perception. Here, it was recorded whether or not the sexual behaviour was perceived as consensual or nonconsensual. All five response options were adapted by Jozkowski et al. (2016), however, due to conclusiveness, the consensual labelling was only recorded per scene, not per sexual behaviour.

Relationship Status. The relationship status of the two characters engaged in sexual activity was documented. The response options by Jozkowski et al. (2016) were adopted and summarised into the following seven codes: married, established romantic relationship, casual sexual relationship, history of romantic involvement (ex-partner), characters met before in a nonromantic context, characters just met, the relationship context is unknown, unclear, or uncertain.

Sexual History. It was recorded whether characters had previously had a sexual history. Two additional response options were added to separate between sexual behaviours that have occurred (kissing or sexual intercourse), as well as to indicate if characters have sexual history but what kind is unclear.

Substance Use. Here, it was coded whether any character had consumed alcohol or any other drugs before or during the sexual activity. If substance use was detected, the type of substance was recorded. The consumption was only indicated if it was specifically depicted or stated that a character had used a substance. In scenes where it was assumed that a character used a substance, but it was not witnessed, *unsure* was coded and the potential substance was indicated. All three response options by Jozkowski et al. (2016) were implemented.

Protection. It was recorded if birth control or STI protection were shown or mentioned being used. In the case of sexual behaviours by which it would not be possible to transmit STIs or for pregnancy to occur, not applicable was coded. According to Jozkowski et al. (2016), all six response options were incurred.

Initiator/Gatekeeper. It was documented which character acts as initiator and as gatekeeper, meaning who initiates and who allows permission for the sexual behaviours. The following four response options by Jozkowski et al. (2016) were implemented: initiator, gatekeeper, mutually initiated, and unsure who initiated.

Pre-communication of Interest in Sexual Behaviour. It was recorded whether a character had stated interest in engaging sexually with the other character before the activity. This merely refers to statements outside of the respective scene and to other characters than the one involved. Since the sample contains solely scenes with one protagonist per scene, the pre-communication of sexual interest in this study refers to the respective protagonist. All six response options by Jozkowski et al. (2016) were adopted.

Lastly, these units of analysis provide analyses on both the behaviour and the scene level. Behaviour level means that the "variable was associated with a sexual behaviour engaged in by characters or a characteristic about the character" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 758) and therefore includes sociodemographic information, type of sexual behaviour, and consent and refusal cues. The scene level includes contextual variables such as consensual labelling, relationship status, sexual history, substance use, protection, initiator/gatekeeper, pre communication of interest in sexual behaviour (cf. ibid.).

Additionally, it is to mention that all scenes have been coded manually. However, due to the "subjective nature of observational data" (Jozkowski et al. 2016, 13), it was necessary to assess the reliability of the codebook and, subsequently, the results. According to Jozkowski et al. (2016), "common practice for assessing reliability in content analyses is to compare a random sample of 10–20% of at least two coders' codes, aiming for agreement at least 70% of the time" (ibid. 2016, 13). Therefore, a second individual, who had watched the show before, was briefly introduced to the codebook and its variables. Four scenes of the sample, in particular scenes 3, 12, and 26, were randomly chosen to be coded by the second individual and then

compared with the first coding results. By documenting 56 codes in these four scenes, accordance of 89.29% was achieved (n = 50) and therefore reliability was ensured. In *Appendix 4* a comparison of the results of both coders and in *Appendix 5* a list of the sample code by the first coder is provided.

4.4. Ethical Considerations

As this study is content-based and no direct contact with human subjects is involved, ethical issues relating to the practices of setting up, conducting and disseminating a content analysis shall be disregarded traditionally.

However, in terms of giving appropriate credit to producers/directors/writers/actors, the show has been presented in section *4.2. Sample And Data Collection,* and in *Appendix 1* a list of all episodes is provided. Moreover, neither pictures nor extensive quotes from the show will be used for this content analysis.

5. Results

In the following, the main findings of this study will be presented by the methodological approach.

Behaviour-Level Variables

Gender/**Gender Identity.** In 28 scenes there were a total of 56 characters involved; 34 cis women (60.71%) and 22 cis men (39.29%); 0 trans women, 0 trans men, and 0 non-binary characters (n = 0); for none of the characters the gender was unclear (n = 0).

The majority of the 28 scenes included sexual behaviour occurring between a cis woman and a cis man (n = 22; 78.57%); only 6 scenes (21.43%) included sexual behaviour occurring between same-sex characters, which in all of the scenes it was between two cis women.

Age. Age distribution was as follows: 85.71% of the characters were identified as 18-25 years old (n = 48); only 14.29% were perceived as 25-35 years old (n = 8); for none of the characters the age range was unclear (n = 0).

The majority of the 28 scenes show sexual behaviour occurring between two characters within the same age range, namely the 'young adult' age range (n = 20; 71.43%); 8 scenes depicting sexual behaviour occurring between one character in the 'young adult' age range and one character in the 'adult' age range (n = 8; 28.57%).

Race/Ethnicity. In regards to race/ethnicity, 41 characters were perceived as *white* (73.21%), 8 as Black (14.29%) and 7 as AAIP (12.5%); there are no Latinx, no Native American and no multi/biracial characters within these scenes and the race/ethnicity was clear for all them (n = 0).

Half of the 28 scenes included sexual behaviour occurring between two *white* characters (n = 14; 50%); 7 scenes (25%) depict sexual behaviour occurring between a *white* and an AAIP character; 6 scenes (21.43%) show sexual behaviour occurring between a *white* and a Black character; 1 scene (3.57%) portrays sexual behaviour occurring between two Black characters.

Type Of Sexual Behaviour. Across the 28 scenes, there were a total of 53 sexual behaviours. The prevalence of each behaviour was as follows: 43,40% kissing (n = 23); 16.98% intimate touching and 16.98% anal/oral/vaginal-penile sex (n = 9; respectively); in 13.21% of the scenes there was no other behaviour than the one indicated shown, but based on the contextual and situational factors, it is implied that further sexual activity was going to happen (n = 7); in 5.66% there was no further sexual behaviour shown because something interrupted characters from engaging further (n = 3); in 3.77% there was no further sexual behaviour depicted because a character had refused (n = 2). Following, the prevalence of sexual behaviours will be presented visually (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Prevalence of sexual behaviours

Legend:
- Kissing
- Intimate touching
- Oral, anal, vaginal-penile sex
- No further sexual behavior was shown but it was implied
- No further sexual behaviour occurred because a character had refused
- No further sexual behaviour occurred because something interrupted characters
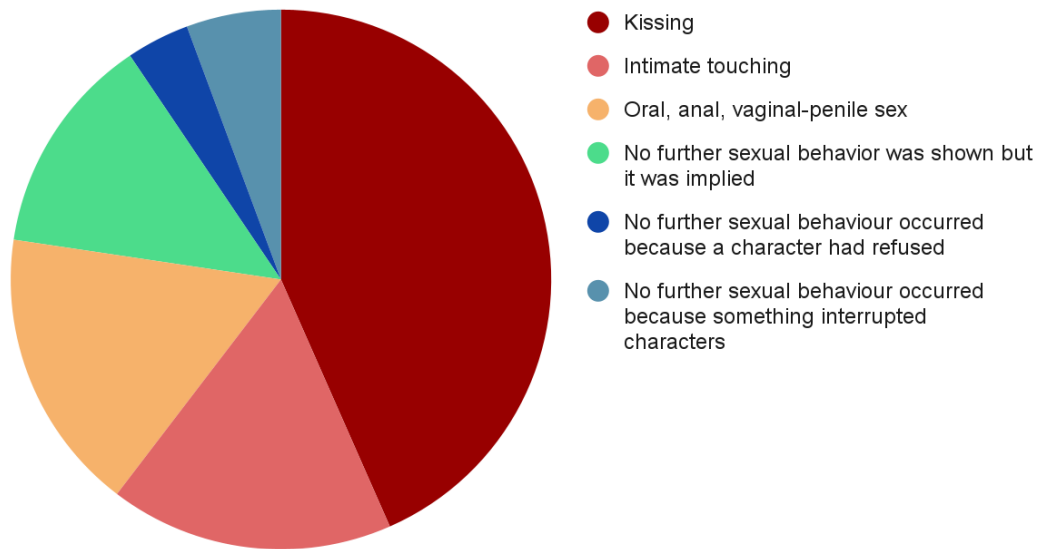
Here is to be noted that several sexual behaviours occurred simultaneously or consecutively in one scene. The most frequent combination of behaviours was as follows: 21.43% kissing, intimate touching and anal/oral/vaginal-penile sex (n = 6); 17.86% kissing and further sexual behaviour implied (n = 5); 7.14% kissing and no further behaviour because of interruption (n = 2); 7.14% kissing, intimate touching and further sexual behaviour implied (n = 2); 3.57% kissing and anal/oral/vaginal-penile sex (n = 1); 3.57% intimate touching and no further behaviour because of refusal (n = 1); 3.57% kissing, intimate touching and no further behaviour because of refusal (n = 1); 3.57% kissing, intimate touching and no further behaviour because of interruption (n = 1); Moreover, in 5 scenes there was only kissing depicted (17.86%) and in 4 scenes there was anal/oral/vaginal-penile sex without other sexual behaviours shown (14.29%).

Consent And Refusal Cues. In all 28 scenes, a total of 67 consent and refusal cues were shown, which means an average of 2.39 cues per scene. Among 67 cues, there were 51 consent cues (76.12%) and 6 refusal cues (8.96%); 11 scenes were coded as 'not applicable' since the characters had already been engaging in the sexual activity when the scene started (16.42%); there was no 'no response' signal in any of the scenes (n= 0).

In total, the majority of the consent cues were split equally between *implicit verbal* and *explicit nonverbal* cues (n= 17; 25.37%, respectively); 15 consent cues were *implicit nonverbal* ones (n = 15; 22.39%); the least used consent cues were *explicit verbal* cues (n = 2; 2.99%). When communicating refusal, the most common way was by utilising *explicit nonverbal* cues (n = 3; 4.48%); *explicit verbal, implicit verbal* and *implicit nonverbal* refusal cues were shown in equal prevalence (n = 1; 1.49%, respectively).

Analogous to sexual behaviours, consent and refusal cues also emerged simultaneously or consecutively in some scenes. In regards to simultaneous behaviours, the frequency of cues was as follows: 14.29% implicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues (n = 4); 14.29% implicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 4); 7.14% implicit verbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 2); 3.57% explicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues (n = 1); 3.57% explicit nonverbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 1).

In regards to sequences of cues, the frequency of cues was as follows: 3.57% implicit verbal refusal cues which are followed by implicit nonverbal cues (n = 1); 3.57% implicit nonverbal refusal cues which are followed by explicit verbal refusal cues plus explicit nonverbal refusal cues (n = 1); Moreover, there were several scenes which were coded as the behaviour has already started when the scene started and therefore the consent could not be evaluated from the beginning (code: not applicable), but further clues were shown throughout the sexual behaviour and were coded as follows: 10.71% not applicable followed by implicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues (n = 3); 3.57% not applicable followed by implicit verbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 1); 3.57% not applicable followed by explicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 1); 3.57% not applicable which is followed by implicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues plus implicit nonverbal cues (n = 1); lastly, there was one scene that was coded as not applicable followed by implicit verbal cues plus explicit nonverbal cues followed by explicit nonverbal refusal cues plus implicit nonverbal refusal cues (3.57%).

In regards to cues that appeared as single cues, there were implicit nonverbal cues and not applicable as the scene begins with characters already engaged in sexual activity, they appeared with the same frequency (n = 4, respectively). A visual overview of the prevalence of the individual consent and refusal cues will be given (see figure 3).

Figure 3: Prevalence of consent and refusal cues
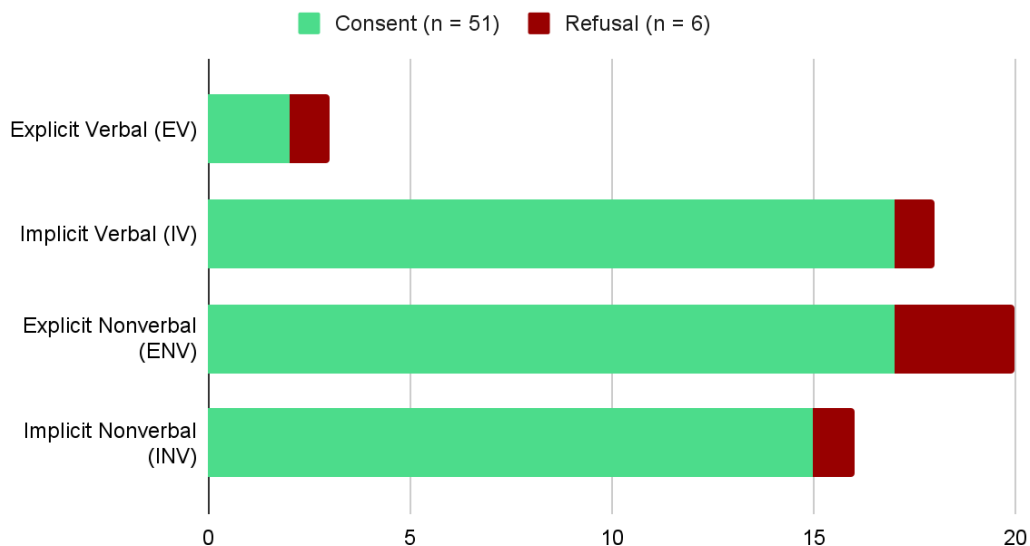
Scene-Level Variables

Consensual Labelling. Across the 28 scenes, the majority of scenes (n = 25; 89.29%) were coded as consensual which means that these scenes were perceived as all characters involved in the sexual activity have been willing to participate in the occurrences. Only one scene was coded as nonconsensual, meaning that at least one of the characters refused to engage in the sexual activity (3.57%); another scene was coded as the behaviour beginning as consensual but ending as nonconsensual (3.57%) and another scene was coded as the behaviour beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual (3.57%); for all of the scenes the consensual labelling was clear (n = 0).

Next, the category of consensual labelling was cross-referenced with the category of sexual behaviours. In the scene that was perceived as nonconsensual, the sexual behaviour was coded as intimate touching and as no further behaviour occurring because of refusal (3.57%); in the scene that was perceived as the behaviour

starting as consensual but ending as nonconsensual, the behaviours were kissing, intimate touching and no further behaviour because of refusal (3.57%); in the scene that was coded as the behaviour beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual, the behaviour was kissing (3.57%). In the 25 scenes that were perceived as consensual, the behaviours were stated as follows: 21.43% kissing, intimate touching and anal / oral / vaginal-penile sex (n = 6); 17.86% kissing and further sexual behaviour implied (n = 5); 14.29% only kissing (n = 4); 14.29% anal / oral / vaginal-penile sex (n = 4); 7.14% kissing and no further behaviour because of interruption (n = 2); 7.14% kissing, intimate touching and further sexual behaviour implied (n = 2); 3.57% kissing and anal / oral / vaginal-penile sex (n = 1); 3.57% kissing, intimate touching and no further behaviour because of interruption (n = 1). Following, a visual overview will demonstrate the results regarding consensual labelling and sexual behaviours (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Cross-reference of sexual behaviours and consensual labelling
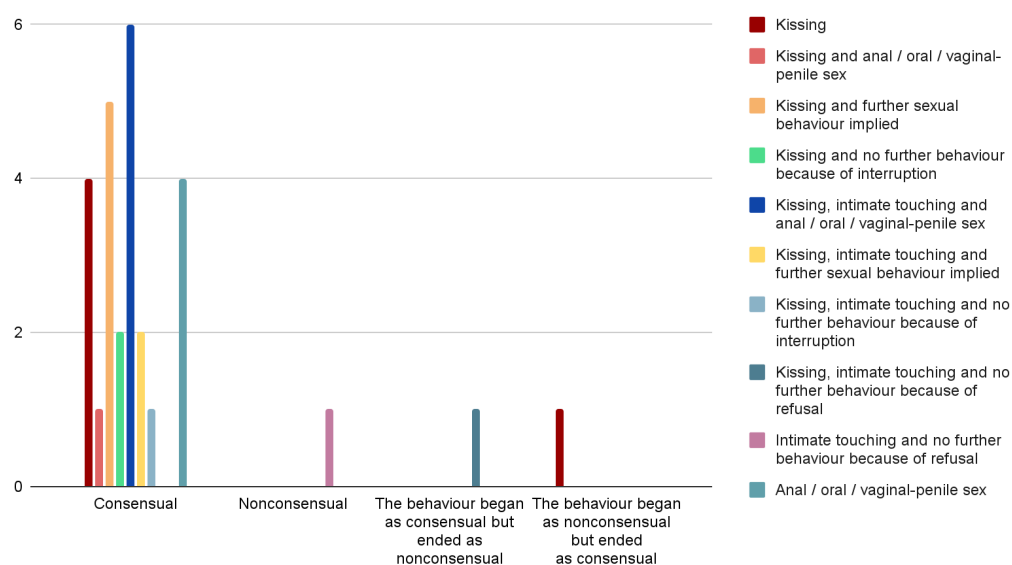
Relationship Status. For the majority of the 28 scenes, the characters engaged in sexual behaviours were in a casual sexual relationship with each other (n = 12; 42.86%); 25% had met before in a nonromantic context (n = 7) and 17.86% were in an established romantic relationship with each other (n = 5); for each 7.14%, the characters had just met when engaging sexually or the relationship status was unclear (n = 2); none of the characters engaged in sexual activity was married to each other nor were they ex-partner (n = 0).

In order to examine whether there is a correlation between the relationship status and consensual labelling, those two categories have been cross-referenced. By that, it was observed that the characters in the scene that was perceived as nonconsensual had met before in a nonromantic context (3.57%); the characters in the scene that was coded as the behaviour starting as consensual but ending as nonconsensual had just met in that scene (3.57%); the relationship status of the characters in the scene that was coded as the behaviour beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual was unclear (3.57%). In regards to the 25 scenes that were perceived as consensual, the relationship status was as follows: 42.86% characters are in a casual sexual relationship (n = 12); 21.53% characters met before in a nonromantic context (n = 6); 17.86% characters are in an established romantic relationship (n = 5); 3.57% for both 'characters just met' and for 'relationship status was unclear' (n = 1, respectively). In the following, an overview will show these outcomes visually (see figure 5).

Figure 5: Cross-reference of relationship status and consensual labelling
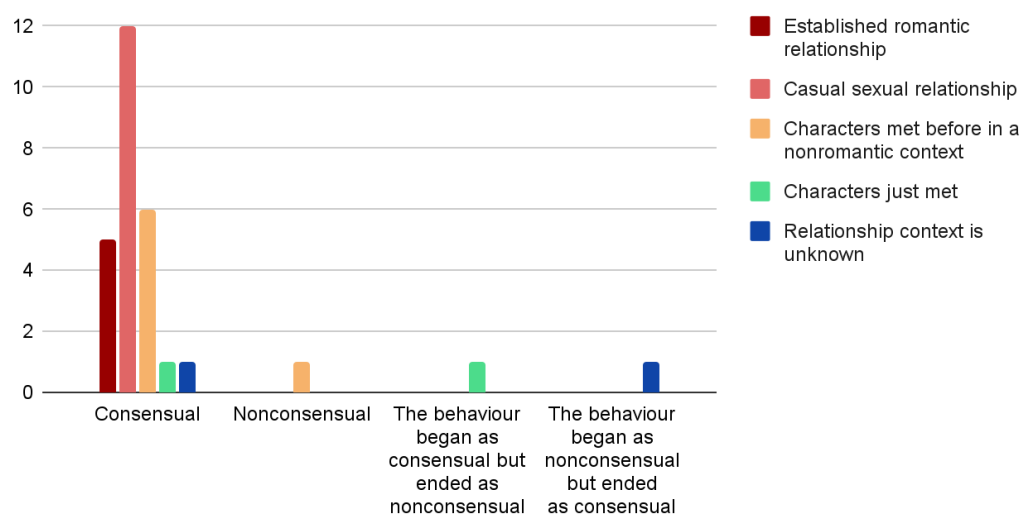
Sexual History. In regards to analysing whether characters have had a history of sexual intercourse, 10 scenes were coded as it is uncertain what kind of sexual history the two characters involved have had (35.71%); in 8 scenes the characters have had sexual intercourse with each other before (28.57%); in 7 scenes the characters haven't had any sexual behaviours with each other before (25%); in 3 scenes the characters have had no sexual intercourse but they have kissed before (10.71%); for all of the scenes, it was clear whether characters have had sexual behaviour before or not (n = 0).

In cross-referencing the categories of sexual history with consensual labelling, it was noted that in both the scene that was perceived as nonconsensual and in the one that was coded as beginning consensual but ending nonconsensual, the characters involved have not had any sexual activity with each other before (n = 1; 3.57%, respectively); in regards to the scene that was coded as the behaviour beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual, it could not be clarified what kind of relationship the characters had to each other (n = 1; 3.57%). In the 25 scenes that were perceived as consensual, the sexual histories were coded as follows: in 9 scenes it was uncertain what kind of sexual history the two characters involved have had (32.14%); in 8 scenes the characters have had sexual intercourse with each other before (28.57%); in 5 scenes the characters haven't had any sexual behaviours with each other before (17.86%); in 3 scenes the characters have had no sexual intercourse but they have kissed before (10.71%). Following, a visual overview will present these results visually (see figure 6).

Figure 6: Cross-reference of sexual history and consensual labelling
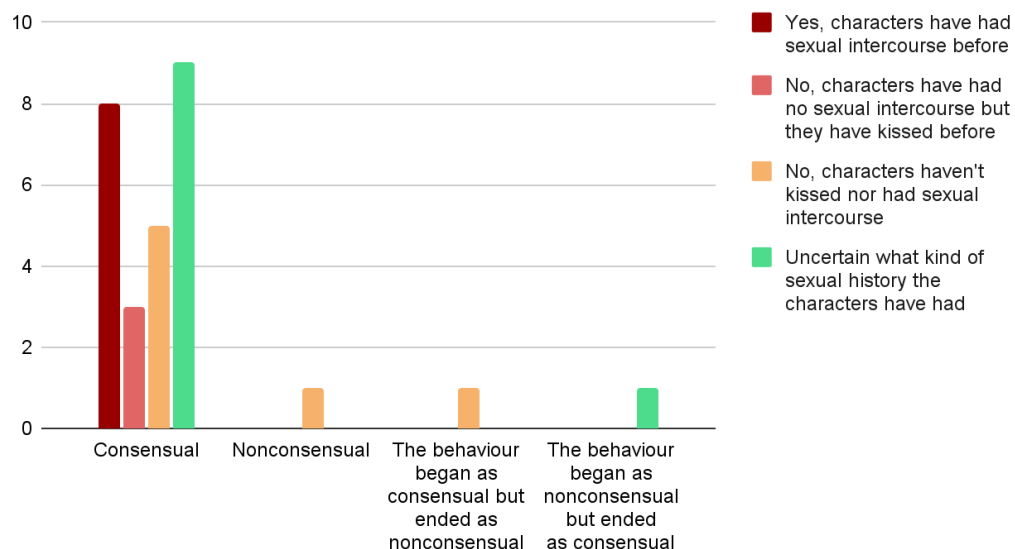
Substance Use

In the majority of the 28 scenes no substances were used during or prior to the sexual activity (n = 19; 67.86%); only in 5 scenes alcohol was consumed (17.86%); for another 4 scenes, it was suspected that the characters had drunk alcohol but the consume could not be witnessed (14.29%).

When cross-referencing substance use with consensual labelling, it was observed that the one scene that was perceived as nonconsensual was coded as that alcohol was consumed briefly before the sexual behaviour (3.57%); the scene in which the behaviour was perceived as beginning as consensual and to ending as nonconsensual was coded as that it is uncertain that alcohol was consumed (3.57%); the scene that was coded as the behaviour beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual was coded as that no substances were used prior or during the sexual activity (3.57%). In regards to the 25 scenes that were coded as consensual, the perception regarding substance use was as follows: 64.29% no substance use (n = 18); 14.29% alcohol was consumed (n = 4); 10.71% unsure if alcohol was consumed (n = 3). Following, an overview will present the results regarding consensual labelling and substance visually (see figure 7).

Figure 7: Cross-reference of substance use and consensual labelling
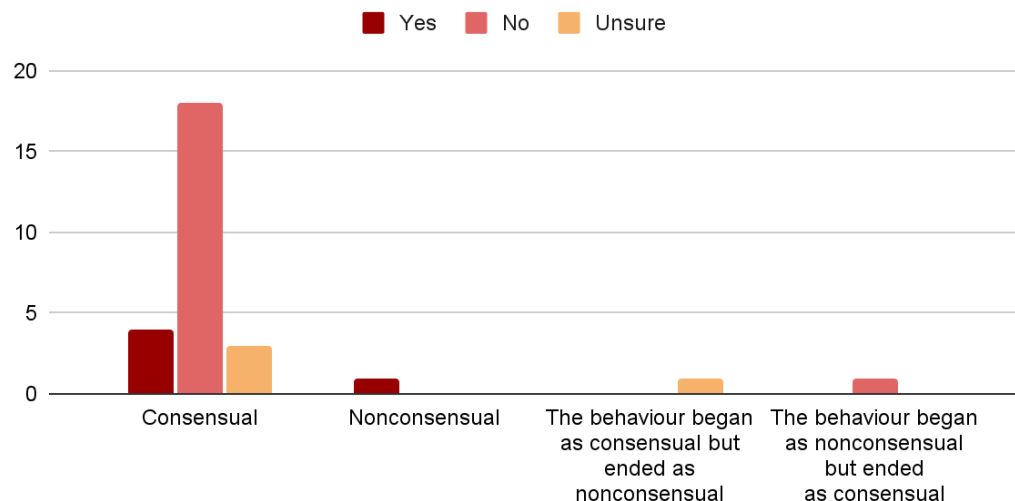
Protection. Across the 28 scenes, no use of birth control or STI protection was shown, mentioned, nor discussed (n = 0); 19 scenes that picture sexual behaviours in which it would not be possible for pregnancy to occur or to transmit STIs were coded as not applicable (n = 19; 67.86%). In all 9 scenes that depict oral or vaginal-penile sex, birth control or STI protection was not shown nor mentioned being used; for none of the scenes, the use of protection was unclear (n = 9; 32.14%).

Initiator/Gatekeeper. In the majority of the scenes, it was unsure who initiated the sexual activity. This was mostly because characters were already involved in the behaviour when the scene started for the viewer (n = 13; 46.43%); in 9 scenes it could be pointed out who of the two characters involved initiated and who allowed permission for the sexual activity (32.14%); in another 6 scenes, the sexual activity was mutually initiated by both characters (21.43%).

Pre-communication of Interest in Sexual Behaviour. In the majority of the 28 scenes, the interest in the sexual behaviour of one character with another character was communicated via narration or implied/depicted via actions/behaviours of that character (n = 22; 78,57%); in 5 scenes the sexual interest/disinterest was not expresses or implied (17.86%); in one scene the sexual disinterest was stated via narration (3.57%).

Nonconsensual scenes

Hereinafter, the three nonconsensual scenes will be described in detail to draw conclusions in regards to the depiction of refusal and how it is communicated.

Scene No. 1: In this scene, Whitney comes into her football coach's office to talk to him and then states: "I'm finding it very difficult to concentrate during practice because… I wanna fuck you so bad!". Dalton, the coach, answers with an outraged "Wait, what the hell!?" and nervously looks around. Whitney laughs and tries to appease him by apologising and by saying that everyone had left and no one would have seen or heard it. She then sits on his lap and he puts his hands on her waist and they share a deep look into each other's eyes. Next, Whitney says that no one will see "this" with which she means the kiss they share then. After that, she confirms that they will see each other that evening, which Dalton affirms and then sends her off with "Yeah.. Now get out of here." (episode 1) and he looks at her happily smiling when she leaves and the scene ends.

This scene was coded as starting as nonconsensual and ending as consensual, given that Dalton at first reacts negatively to Whitney surprising him by verbally and loudly stating her affection. Whitney is a young, Black cis woman who has an affair with her married assistant soccer coach who is perceived as a *white* cis man in the age of 25-35 years. In this scene, Whitney initiates the behaviour and Dalton gatekeeps. Moreover, this scene was the first one that showed Whitney and Dalton

engage with each other, therefore their relationship context at that point is unknown and so is their previous sexual history although their intimate interaction with each other implies that this affair has been going on for a while. Also, no substances were used before or during the engagement in sexual behaviour. Two consent and refusal codes were documented, firstly, implicit verbal refusal codes for when Dalton reacts to Whitney's statement and next, implicit nonverbal cues for when he opens her arm, lets her sit on his lap and lays his arm around her.

Scene No. 5: This scene pictures Leighton in a car making out with another woman who she has met via an online dating app. While they are passionately kissing and touching, the woman tells Leighton that she is positively surprised by her appearance and Leighton reacts by further engaging in kissing and touching. However, the woman suddenly asks Leighton if she attends Essex College and Leighton abruptly stops and confusedly asks where she would know that from. The woman refers to Leighton's keychain which has the Essex logo on it. When Leighton reacts defensively and looks away, the woman asks if Leighton is not out yet which Leighton answers with "No, I'm… I'm sorry, how is that any of your business?" (episode 2). In the following, they start a discussion about sexual identity, otherness, as well as class and generation differences, which ends with Leighton angrily leaving the car with the words "I came here to hook up, not to be lectured by some suburban mom in a bad cardigan" (episode 2) and the scene ends.

This scene was perceived as starting as consensual and ending as nonconsensual. Depicted are two *white* cis women, one in the younger (18-24 years) and one in the older age range (25-35 years). As the scene begins while the two are already engaging in the sexual activity, it is unclear who initiated it and so is unclear whether alcohol or other substances were consumed. However, it is understood that both just met before this sexual encounter and therefore they have not had any sexual history with each other before and there was no previous communication of interest in sexual behaviour. Concluding, the consent and refusal cues recorded for this scene were not applicable in regards to the beginning of the sexual behaviour since the scene begins with characters already engaged in sexual activity. However, there were several other codes throughout this scene happening simultaneously such as implicit verbal cues and explicit nonverbal cues for when the woman tells Leighton that she likes her and Leighton smiles at her and kisses her more, followed by

explicit nonverbal refusal cues and implicit nonverbal refusal cues for when Leighton gets upset, stops engaging in any sexual behaviour by avoiding eye or any physical contact and, in the end, leaves the car while openly stating her resentment.

Scene No. 22: This scene is set in the house of Essex's prestigious comedy club named *The Catullan* where Bela aspires to become a writer. However, the member selection process is quite tedious and tied to the approval of mostly male members of the elite club. On the day of the admissions announcements, Bela gets invited by one of *The Catullan*'s members, named Ryan, to take a look at the club's historic wall of fame in the clubhouse. While drinking a beer and admiring the club's private hall, Bela mentions doubts about getting admitted as a member and Ryan ensures her to convince others to vote for her. Then he suddenly stands behind her and rubs his groin area against hers while holding her waist with his arm and breathing onto her neck. Bela, who just had been talking, freezes for a few seconds and then jumps away from Ryan while refusing verbally by saying "Hey ehm… I don't… Ehm" (episode 7). Ryan says it will be OK because everyone else would be gone and opens the zipper of his pants. But Bela loudly states: "I don't wanna do whatever this is!" (episode 7). Ryan appears surprised and asks "Seriously?" (episode 7) and Bela answers with: "Yeah.. I just.. Are we cool?" (episode 7). She smiles at him doubtfully, still standing about two metres away from him and defensively holding one arm in front of her body. Ryan assures her they were cool, appearing confused about the refusal, and Bela then says goodbye and thank you for showing her the wall and leaves which marks the end of the scene.

This description clearly shows why this scene was perceived as nonconsensual. Bela as an AAIP cis woman is getting harassed by a *white* cis man of the same age who even though is, due to his function at *The Catullan*, in a superior position. Therefore, the initiator role is assigned to Ryan and Bela functions as the gatekeeper. In regards to their relationship status, they have met in a strictly nonromantic way before and they have not had any sexual relations. As observed in the scene, they both are drinking one beer, however, they do neither look drunk nor was it shown if or how much alcohol they had drunk before. In terms of consent and refusal cues, first, implicit nonverbal refusal cues were coded for when Bela stops talking and her body paralyses, followed by two simultaneously occurring cues, in particular, explicit verbal refusal cues and explicit nonverbal refusal cues for when

Bela loudly voices her not wanting to engage in the activity and physically removes herself from Ryan. For further contextualisation, prior to this scene, there is one scene between Bela and Ryan where he gives her advice on one of her writing pieces and then says that he wanted to show her a funny video but instead puts on a pornographic video on the computer (cf. episode 5). Confused about this, Bela talks to her friends about the incident and tries to make sense of it. Her friends worriedly warn her to avoid Ryan to which she reacts by stating: "But this is Ryan… he is the nice one" (episode 5).

6. Discussion

Based on the previously presented findings, the following chapter will provide a concluding discussion to answer the research questions of this study in connection to the theoretical framework.

The purpose of this study was to examine the depiction of sexual consent communication in the teen show *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*. On the basis of the codebook by Jozkowski et al. (2016), a content analysis was conducted examining 28 scenes throughout 10 episodes of the show. Across the sample, the majority of scenes (89.29%) were perceived as consensual; only 10.71% were perceived as nonconsensual, beginning as consensual but ending as nonconsensual, and beginning as nonconsensual but ending as consensual (n = 3).

According to Beres (2007), "sexual consent is an understudied and undertheorized concept despite its importance to feminist researchers and activists interested in sexual violence" (2007, 93). In many attempts to define the concept of sexual consent, it is rather mentioned what consent is not, such as sexual violence or coercion (cf. Beres 2007; Jozkowski and Peterson 2013). This study has adopted the definition by Hickman and Muehlenhard (1999) defining sexual consent as "freely given verbal or nonverbal communication of a feeling of willingness to engage in sexual activity" (Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999, 259). However, it was observed that throughout the coding process it was always immediately clear whether a behaviour was perceived as consensual or not. According to Jozkowski et al. (2019), this was an "important variable to assess because consent communication is often conflated with sexual activity being consensual" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 761).

When analysing more accurately the specific consent and refusal cues in the show, a total of 67 consent and refusal cues were detected; 76.12% were consent cues and 8.96% were refusal cues. As stated by several scholars, consent communication is a fluent, ongoing process between two parties involved in a sexual encounter (cf. Beres, 2010; Humphreys, 2004; Jozkowski et al. 2016). With an average of 2.39 cues per scene, meaning several cues being sent and received, it can be argued that a negotiation process with active participation is depicted in the show (cf. Beres 2010, 8).

The majority of the consent cues were split equally between *implicit verbal* and *explicit nonverbal* cues (25.37%, respectively); 22.39% were *implicit nonverbal* cues; 2.99% were *explicit verbal* cues. When comparing these results with the findings of Jozkowski et al. (2019) from analysing mainstream films, a similar pattern reinforcing *nonverbal* and *implicit cues* can be detected. In the current study, *nonverbal* and *implicit cues* add up to a total of 73.13%. In Jozkowski et al.'s (2019) study *nonverbal* and *implicit cues* make up a total of nearly 75% (cf. Jozkowski et al. 2019, 760). However, in Jozkowski et al.'s (2019) study, *implicit nonverbal* and *explicit nonverbal* were the most used cues, and only 12.2% were *implicit verbal* cues. In the current study, *implicit verbal* cues were, next to *explicit nonverbal* cues, the most-used cues. Jozkowski et al. (2019) argue in their study that the "broad use of nonverbal cues in films may promulgate a narrative that consent should be communicated via subtle and seductive cues" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 760) or "that consent communication is irrelevant because characters and, by extension, the audience "just senses or knows" when a character consents to sex" (cf. Beres 2010, cited by Jozkowski et al. 2019, 760). They debate that the perception of adolescents "that explicit consent is awkward or uncomfortable" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 760; cf. Beres 2010) might be reproduced by the depiction of consent communication in movies "via nonverbal, implicit, or nonexistent cues" (Jozkowski et al. 2019, 760).

It is assumed that due to *affirmative consent* becoming standard at colleges in the U.S., including in policy, practices, and education programmes, the producers/directors/writers of *The Sex Lives of College Girls* aimed at depicting and advocating for explicit sexual communication (cf. Curtis and Burnett 2017; Jozkowski et al. 2019).

Regarding the third research question *In the case of no consent in sexual behaviours pictured in the show, what is the meaning of that?,* a detailed description of the three nonconsensual scenes has been conducted. All three scenes present significantly different settings. Scene No. 1 depicts a secret affair between a female student and her male coach; the woman initiates the sexual behaviour and the man gatekeeps the sexual behaviour which, at the beginning of the scene, gets rejected but then gets consented to. Scene No. 5 shows two women who just have met through an online dating app involved in sexual behaviour. However, an argument about one of them not being out comes up and she refuses to engage further. Lastly, scene No. 22 depicts a man sexually assaulting a woman who is dependent on his approval for her career.

Concluding, all three nonconsensual scenes depict traditional sexual power struggles between two individuals. However, only one scene depicts it in a heteronormative context, between a man and a woman; in the other two, the respective woman holds sexual agency. As argued before, sexual consent is closely tied to power dynamics and its socialisation processes. Particularly patriarchal systems are shaped by gendered understandings such as the dominant man and the submissive woman (cf. Humphreys 2000; Jozkowski 2011; Righi et al. 2021). In *The Sex Lives of College Girls,* these gender roles are challenged by the women claiming power and therefore denying traditional heterosexual scripts. However, this is not done critically but rather in a simplified manner depicting a euphemistic reality.

7. Conclusion

As shown in this case study, *The Sex Lives of College Girls* does not manage to capture the full depth of sexual consent communication by glossing over the more serious aspects necessary to take into account when looking at the topic. Instead, endeavours of affirmative consent initiatives are being simplified and shown from a one-sided perspective.

Based on the findings, I recommend implementing sexual consent teaching for filmmakers of future productions to guarantee adequate depiction of sexual consent communication in screen media.

8. Limitations And Future Research

The current study aimed at analysing the depiction of sexual consent communication in the teen show *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*. However, due to limited time within the research process, this study was carried out as a case study and therefore its purposefully small sample only focuses on one specific show. Consequently, it is not expected that the results of this study are representative or that universally valid generalisations can be made for the depiction of sexual consent communication in teen shows.

Lastly, further research could build on the findings of this study and aim at investigating the effect that the depiction of sexual consent communication has on their audience. The consumers' reception of consent, particularly of the nonconsensual scenes, could be analysed in the scope of further research with focus groups or by examining social media commentaries. By that, it would allow the research to go even deeper into the influence of the portrayal of sexual consent communication on the audience. Despite these limitations, this study has provided insights into the depiction of sexual consent communication in *The Sex Lives Of College Girls*.

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10. Appendix

Appendix 1: Universe of the sample: Season 1 of *The Sex Lives of College Girls*

Episode No.	Title	Directed by	Written by	Original release date	Length
E1	Welcome to Essex	David Gordon Green	Mindy Kaling & Justin Noble	November 18, 2021	51:46
E2	Naked Party	Zoe Cassavetes	Ali Liebegot & Caroline Goldfarb	November 18, 2021	30:01
E3	Le Tuteur	Zoe Cassavetes	Rupinder Gill	November 25, 2021	27:33
E4	Kappa	Kabir Akhtar	Charlie Grandy & Beth Appel	November 25, 2021	25:45
E5	That Comment Tho	Rachel Raimist	Matt Warburton & Sheridan Watson	November 25, 2021	27:40
E6	Parents Weekend	Meredith Dawson	Mindy Kaling & Justin Noble	December 2, 2021	25:45
E7	I think I'm A Sex Addict	Lila Neugebauer	Rupinder Gill & Vanessa Baden Kelly	December 2, 2021	24:29
E8	The Surprise Party	Maggie Carey	Charlie Grandy & Kristen Zublin	December 2, 2021	28:55
E9	Cheating	Kabir Akhtar	Caroline Goldfarb & Beth Appel	December 9, 2021	26:31
E10	The Truth	Liza Johnson	Justin Noble & Rupinder Gill	December 9, 2021	28:08

Appendix 2: Sample: 28 scenes of *The Sex Lives of College Girls*

Scene ID	Time frame	Episode No.	Short description
1	13:55 - 14:34	E1	Whitney kisses Dalton; kiss (no sex)
2	34:32 - 35:10	E1	Kimberly and Max say "I love you"; kiss (no sex)
3	35:10 - 36:15	E1	Kimberly and Max lose their virginities; consensual sex
4	49:42 - 50:20	E1	Leighton and Jillian meet up; kiss (sex implied)
5	15:47 - 17:11	E2	Leighton and woman kiss in car; kiss (no sex, refusal)
6	04:21 - 05:37	E3	Whitney and Dalton kiss in the supply closet; kiss (interrupted)
7	16:13 - 16:58	E3	Bela and fellow student have sex; consensual sex
8	21:25 - 22:34	E3	Whitney and Dalton on a car date scene 1; kiss (sex implied)
9	24:25 - 25:25	E3	Whitney and Dalton on a car date scene 2; kiss (sex implied)
10	06:46 - 07:40	E4	Whitney and Dalton kiss before the team trip; kiss (no sex)
11	14:45 - 15:51	E4	Leighton and Cory on a date; kiss (no sex)
12	19:39 - 20:22	E4	Leighton and Cory in Cory's room; consensual sex
13	22:32 - 23:22	E4	Whitney sneaks into Dalton's hotel room; kiss (sex implied)
14	19:39 - 20:58	E5	Leighton and Alicia kiss for the first time; kiss (no sex)
15	22:37 - 24:18	E6	Kimberly and Nico kiss; kiss (sex implied)
16	00:00 - 01:55	E7	Kimberly and Nico kiss (talk about consent); kiss (sex implied)
17	05:35 - 05:40	E7	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 1; consensual sex
18	05:52 - 05:55	E7	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 2; consensual sex
19	06:03 - 06:06	E7	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 3; consensual sex
20	06:14 - 06:22	E7	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 4; consensual sex
21	07:31 - 07:52	E7	Bela receives oral sex from fellow student; consensual (oral) sex
22	15:31 - 16:44	E7	Bela gets harassed by Ryan; sexual harassment
23	16:44 - 17:00	E7	Kimberly and Nico in professor's office; kiss (interrupted)
24	19:17 - 20:15	E7	Leighton and Alicia talk about their relationship; kiss (no sex)
25	10:44 - 12:26	E8	Leighton and Alicia in Alicia's room; kiss (no sex)
26	13:57 - 15:19	E8	Kimberly and Nico in Nico's room; kiss (sex implied)

27	15:25 - 16:35	E9	Leighton and Alicia in hotel room; consensual sex
28	04:08 - 05:17	E10	Whitney and Canaan in Whitney's room; kiss (interrupted)

Appendix 3: Codebook

Unit of analysis	Definition	Response options
Scene ID	Each scene is given a unique ID number to differentiate sex scenes, sexual behaviours, and characters involved in sexual behaviours	Scene 1 - 28
Character names	Name or descriptive characteristic of character involved in sexual behaviour (if no name is provided in the show)	Open ended
Gender/gender identity	Gender/gender identity of characters	1: Cis woman 2: Cis man 3: Trans woman 4: Trans man 5: Non-binary character 6: Gender/gender identity unclear
Age	Estimated age range of characters	1: Young adult: 18–24 years 2: Adult: 25–35 years 3: Age unclear
Race/ethnicity	Perceived race/ethnicity of characters	1: Black 2: White 3: Latinx 4: AAIP (Asian American and Pacific Islander) 5: Native American 6: Bi/multiracial 7: Unsure of race/ethnicity
Pre-communication of interest in sexual behaviour	It was recorded whether a character had stated interest in engaging sexually with the other character prior to the activity. This merely refers to statements outside of the respective scene and to other characters than the one involved. Since the sample contains solely scenes with one protagonist per scene, the pre-communication of sexual interest in this study refers to the respective protagonist. For example, Bela tells her friends that she is planning on having sex that night by saying: "Yeah I can't [meet you]	1: Interest in sexual behaviour stated explicitly to a third character or out loud 2: Interest in sexual behaviour stated via narration or internal character monologue or implied/ depicted via actions/behaviors of the character 3: Disinterest in sexual behaviour stated explicitly to a third character or out loud 4: Disinterest in sexual behaviour stated via narration internal character monologue or implied/depicted via actions/behaviours of the character

	either, I am gonna get piped by a guy with abbs tonight." (Episode 3)	5: Interest/disinterest in sexual behaviour not expressed or implied 6: Romantic interest stated or implied (without knowledge of other characters), but not necessarily sexual interest expressed
Initiator/gatekeeper	It was documented which character acts as initiator and as gatekeeper, meaning who initiates and who allows permission for the sexual behaviours.	1: Initiator 2: Gatekeeper 3: Mutually initiated 4: Unsure who initiated
Sexual behaviour	It was recorded what kind of sexual behaviour the characters engaged in. Here is noted that in several scenes sexual behaviours were occurring simultaneously or consecutively, therefore within this category, all sexual behaviours per scene were collected, meaning that in some scenes several codes were recorded.	1: Kissing 2: Intimate touching 3: Anal, oral sex, vaginal-penile sex 4: No behaviour shown, but based on the contextual and situational factors, it is implied that sexual activity was going to happen 5: No further sexual behaviour occurred because a character had refused 6: No further sexual behaviour occurred because something interrupted characters from engaging further
Consensual versus nonconsensual perception	It was recorded per scene whether or not the sexual behaviour was perceived as consensual or nonconsensual.	1: Consensual 2: Nonconsensual 3: The behaviour began as consensual but ended as nonconsensual 4: The behaviour began as nonconsensual but ended as consensual 5: Unsure whether behaviour was consensual or nonconsensual
Protection	It was recorded if birth control or STI protection were shown or mentioned being used. In the case of sexual behaviours by which it would not be possible to transmit STIs or for pregnancy to occur, not applicable was coded.	1: Yes, shown being used 2: Yes, mentioned being used 3: Yes, both discussed being used and shown being used 4: Not shown or mentioned being used 5: Unsure 6: Not applicable
Relationship status	The relationship status of the two characters engaged in sexual activity was documented	1: Married 2: Established romantic relationship 3: Casual sexual relationship 4: Past history of romantic involvement (ex-partner) 5: Characters met before in a nonromantic context

		6: Characters just met 7: The relationship context is unknown, unclear, or uncertain
Sexual history	It was recorded whether characters had previously had a sexual history.	1: Yes, characters have had sexual intercourse before 2: No, characters have had no sexual intercourse but they have kissed before 3: No (for behaviours stated before) 4: Uncertain if characters have sexual history for behaviors stated above 5: Uncertain what kind of sexual history the characters have had
Substance use	It was coded whether any character had consumed alcohol or any other drugs before or during the sexual activity. If substance use was detected, the type of substance was recorded. The consumption was only indicated if it was specifically depicted or stated that a character had used a substance. In scenes where it was assumed that a character used a substance, but it was not witnessed, *unsure* was coded and the potential substance was indicated.	1: Yes, please specify what kind (open ended) 2: No, no substance use 3: Unsure if substances were used (open ended)
Consent/refusal cues	The specific type of consent and refusal cue was documented. As the type(s) of sexual behaviour(s), several consent and refusal cues were occurring simultaneously or consecutively. Therefore, in this unit of analysis, all cues were documented per scene by even indicating the sequence or parallelism of the cues.	Consent: 1: Explicit verbal cues 2: Implicit verbal cues 3: Explicit nonverbal cues 4: Implicit nonverbal cues 5: No response cues Refusals: 6: Explicit verbal refusal cues 7: Implicit verbal refusal cues 8: Explicit nonverbal refusal cues 9: Implicit nonverbal refusal cues 10: Not applicable (scene begins with characters engaged in sexual activity)

Appendix 4: Comparison of two coders

Scene	Coder 1	Coder 2	Agreement
3	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 2 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 1, 3	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 2 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 1, 3	In total: 18 codes Agreement in: 17 codes
7	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 3, alcohol Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 1, 3, 4	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 4 Substance use: 3, alcohol Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 1, 3	In total: 19 codes Agreement in: 16 codes
26	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Nico, 2 = Kimberly Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3, 4	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Nico, 2 = Kimberly Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 7 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 4	In total: 19 codes Agreement in: 17 codes

Appendix 5: Sample coded according to coding sheet

Scene	Short description	Notes consent	Codes
1	Whitney kisses Dalton; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 5 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Whitney, 2 = Dalton Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 4 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 7 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 7 -> 4
2	Kimberly and Max say "I love you"; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 2 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3
3	Kimberly and Max lose their virginities; consensual sex	Max: "Should we…? I mean only if you're ready" Kimberly: "I am so ready." *Takes her shirt off and kisses Max* - protection unknown - he dumps her the morning after	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 2 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 1, 3
4	Leighton and Jillian meet up; kiss (sex implied)	*Both kissing* Jillian: "You're so hot" Leighton: "No talking. Get on the bed." *Initiates sex*	Gender: 1, 1 Age: 1, 2 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 5 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1

			Protection: 6 Relationship status: 6 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 1 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2, 3, 4
5	Leighton and woman kiss in car; kiss (no sex, refusal)		Gender: 1, 1 Age: 1, 2 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 5 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 5 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 3 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 6 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 3 Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2, 3 -> 8, 9
6	Whitney and Dalton kiss in the supply closet; kiss (interrupted)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 6 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2, 3
7	Bela and fellow student have sex; consensual sex	*Bela and guy kissing on her bed* Bela: "May I?" (wants to take his shirt off) Guy: (laughs) "Yeah, sure" *Bela takes his shirt off* Bela: "Wow! They are just incredible." *Looks at his abbs* Guy: "Do you want to have sex, or…." Bela: "Uh, in a… in a second. I just want to look at you for a bit. Really burn the image in." Guy: "Right" *After a second* Bela: "Ok I'm ready." Guy: "Oh, wow." *Kisses him on the abbs and initiates sex. Sex scene.* Bela: "You're so fucking hot."	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 3, alcohol Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 1, 3, 4

		Guy: "You're so fucking funny." (3 times)	
8	Whitney and Dalton on a car date scene 1; kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3, 4
9	Whitney and Dalton on a car date scene 2; kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3, 4
10	Whitney and Dalton kiss before the team trip; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Dalton, 2 = Whitney Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 4
11	Leighton and Cory on a date; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Leighton, 2 = Cory Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 5

			Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 3 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 4
12	Leighton and Cory in Cory's room; consensual sex	*Both kissing. Cory takes his shirt off.* Cory: "You down?" Leighton: "Yeah I'm fine." *Sex scene*	Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 2 Substance use: 3 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 4
13	Whitney sneaks into Dalton's hotel room; kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 2 Race: 1, 2 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 1 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3, 4
14	Leighton and Alicia kiss for the first time; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 1 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 5 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Leighton, 2 = Alicia Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 1 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 3, 4
15	Kimberly and Nico kiss; kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Nico, 2 = Kimberly Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1

			Protection: 6 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 1 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 3, 4
16	Kimberly and Nico kiss (talk about consent); kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Nico, 2 = Kimberly Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 4
17	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 1; consensual sex		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10
18	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 2; consensual sex		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10
19	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 3; consensual sex		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual

			perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10
20	Kimberly and Nico sex scene 4; consensual sex		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10
21	Bela receives oral sex from fellow student; consensual (oral) sex		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2,4
22	Bela gets harassed by Ryan; sexual harassment		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 4 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Ryan, 2 = Bela Sexual behaviour: 2, 5 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 2 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 5 Sexual history: 3 Substance use: 1 (alcohol) Consent/Refusal cues: 9 -> 6, 8
23	Kimberly and Nico in professor's office; kiss (interrupted)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2

		52	Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Kimberly, 2 = Nico Sexual behaviour: 1, 6 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2,3
24	Leighton and Alicia talk about their relationship; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 1 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3
25	Leighton and Alicia in Alicia's room; kiss (no sex)		Gender: 1, 1 Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3
26	Kimberly and Nico in Nico's room; kiss (sex implied)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 1 = Nico, 2 = Kimberly Sexual behaviour: 1, 4 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 3 Sexual history: 1 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3, 4
27	Leighton and Alicia		Gender: 1, 1

	in hotel room; consensual sex	53	Age: 1, 1 Race: 2, 4 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 3 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 3 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 4 Relationship status: 2 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 2, 3
28	Whitney and Canaan in Whitney's room; kiss (interrupted)		Gender: 1, 2 Age: 1, 1 Race: 1, 1 Pre-communication: 2 Initiator/Gatekeeper: 4 Sexual behaviour: 1, 2, 6 Consensual/nonconsensual perception: 1 Protection: 6 Relationship status: 7 Sexual history: 5 Substance use: 2 Consent/Refusal cues: 10 -> 2, 3