

**“Just trying to avoid doing it”: Exploring Gendered Interpretations and Discussions of
Sexual Assault Media Campaigns for Men on Campus**

By

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Abstract

Intrigued by sexual assault poster campaigns that targeted and exclusively put the responsibility on women to prevent sexual assault crimes committed by men, I decided to write a thesis on sexual assault media campaigns on campus. The goal of my thesis research was to understand why men do not identify with sexual assault prevention campaigns on campus and to determine what form of sexual assault campaign would help to engage men in actively preventing sexual assault.

This thesis is grounded in the following theories/concepts: sexual assault, feminist theory, hegemonic masculinities, university communities, and campus public education media campaigns. My methodology was informed by principles from qualitative research as well as writing on feminist research methodologies. Specifically, I conducted five focus groups with 25 male and female first-year university students at Carleton University and analyzed my data using feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis.

My main findings can be summarized in four points. First, the majority of men in all my focus groups felt unaffected by current sexual assault campaigns as a result of feeling blamed and talked down to as potential sexual assault perpetrators. Second, both women and men participated in anti-feminist, victim-blaming, and hegemonic masculinity discourses. Third, in order to be successful, sexual assault public communication campaigns must be accessible and empower men and women to make social change in gendered ways. Fourth, a model for effective poster campaigns requires a positive redefining of masculinity by constructing men as part of the solution to end sexual violence. My findings are potentially of vital interest to administrations and varied student groups at Canadian universities who devote time and energy trying to raise student awareness about sexual assault and, more generally, issues of campus safety.

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Autoethnographic Reflections: Preface

Before: My Previous Conceptions about Sexual Assault

Growing up, I always knew that sexual violence was wrong and that nobody deserved to be sexually assaulted. I understood that if a woman was sexually assaulted, she should never be blamed for what happened to her. For example, when I was 18, I remember telling my manager where I worked that it was wrong to think that a woman invited sexual assault by wearing a short skirt.

However, I never thought that sexual assault could happen to me. I thought that sexual assaults on women were only perpetrated by strangers, not by persons that women knew and trusted. I had never heard of date rape or acquaintance rape. I protected myself from sexual assault by walking home from parties with a friend. In doing so, I felt safe from rapists lurking in the bushes at night. I considered myself to be a smart and responsible woman, because I was preventing the only form of rape I knew: stranger rape.

It was very easy for me to think of myself as immune to sexual assault because I was never exposed to any sort of public education or events on campus (or elsewhere) that told me otherwise. Despite sexual assault having a high prevalence, especially sexual assault by an acquaintance or date, there were no warnings that this type of sexual assault was common among my peers.

The Victim-Blaming Checklist

I felt completely alone when a man I knew sexually assaulted me in the third year of my undergraduate studies. I could not process or understand what had happened to me. Since the

man who sexually assaulted me was not a stranger, I felt like I had to learn a new language, a new script to understand my sexual assault.

The man who sexually assaulted me looked very ‘good on paper’: he was not the type of man who sent a warning signal to university women. He was in his last year of law school and was part of the debating society. He was charming and attractive. Thus, when he told me that he would walk me home from his birthday party, I thought he was just being a gentleman. By walking me home, he was supposed to protect me from all the potential rapists lurking behind bushes on that dark evening. As I opened the door, I was shocked when my ‘protector’ burst inside my home and would not take “no” for an answer. This scenario did not fit with my preconceived sexual assault script, yet he had unquestionably violated me.

When I talk more specifically about the series of events that led to my sexual assault, I risk being victim-blamed. I get a list of questions from people, a mental checklist. As people pose me these questions, I understand that they are testing my answers against their own personal criteria of whether I “asked” to be sexually assaulted. Here are examples of questions I have been posed in the past: (1) Was I drunk?; (2) Was I wearing something provocative that night?; (3) Did I have a crush on him?; (4) Did I allow him into my house?; (5) Did he go into my room?; (6) Did I say “no”?; (7) Did I scream when he did not stop? The problem with this checklist is that none of these criteria should matter. Whether I answer yes or no to any of these questions, the answer is the same: I was sexually assaulted. I did not consent to sex with the perpetrator. Period.

As I reflected on my experience with the meaningless sexual assault checklist, I had an important “aha” moment. I began to wonder why men who rape do not receive a checklist of their own. Unlike the checklist with which female sexual assault victims must contend, this

checklist would help place the responsibility on the right person. From my experience with sexual violence, I have come to understand that we do not have a checklist for men who sexually assault women, because sexual assault does not have a place for discussion in the public arena. The very act of making a checklist exclusive to women implies that we are framing sexual assault as a problem that only involves the victim. While feminists have been talking about sexual assault for some time, we do not live in a culture where it is okay for women who have been sexually assaulted to talk publicly about their experiences without a checklist.

Reactions from Other Survivors

As time went by, I understood the importance of listening to other women's voices and providing a safe space for the voices of female sexual assault survivors to be heard. When I disclosed my sexual assault to others, I began to hear women's voices and learn about other's sexual assaults. Revealing my sexual violation to others was a difficult choice due to the victim-blaming attitudes I experienced. Victim-blaming is most likely the primary reason why so many sexual assault survivors keep silent about their experiences. Yet, the pain and shame I felt from being victim-blamed were too much for me to handle alone and I began to speak about my feelings regarding my sexual assault. Audre Lorde (1984) articulates beautifully the need for people to share their traumatic experiences with others, even if speaking out can be scary and fraught with risk:

“ . . . I am afraid, because the transformation of silence into language and action is an act of self-revelation, and that always seems fraught with danger. But my daughter . . . said, ‘Tell them about how you're never really a whole person if you remain silent, because there's always that one little piece inside you that wants to be spoken out, and if you keep ignoring it, it gets madder and madder and hotter and hotter, and if you don't speak it out one day it will just up and punch you in the mouth from the inside.’” (Lorde, 1984, p. 42).

Although sexual assault is a silenced and victim-blaming topic, it became a huge part of me, which try as I might, I could never make go away. Avoiding the topic of sexual assault, and my feelings associated with it, would be betraying my identity. At times, talking about my sexual assault to others was a therapeutic process, because it got me to the point where I talked to people who really understood.

By choosing to talk to women I knew, I developed a new language and script to better understand sexual violence against women. I talked about it with a woman in the human resources department where I did research, with trusted classmates, family, and friends. I slowly understood that we were speaking a language of common understanding, a sort of code. Often, when I told these women that I was sexually assaulted, I would be met with the response, “Was it somebody you knew?” I would nod my head and say “Yes.” Once I said “Yes,” survivors would feel safe telling about their experiences. I was a safe confidante, a person who greeted them with understanding and, most importantly, without a victim-blaming checklist. By talking with these women, I discovered a new language and script about sexual assault. This new script helped me understand how sexual assault is committed more often by a person the woman knows than by a stranger in the bushes. I could articulate that the pain from sexual assault did not necessarily have to come only from a physically violent act. In fact, most women suffered more emotionally from being betrayed and having their trust broken by a friend. The fact that I was sexually assaulted by a person I knew did not make my sexual assault “lesser” than the kind that involves strangers and weapons. This sentiment was reflected by the women I spoke with, who were all terribly hurt by their friend, date and/or family member who sexually assaulted them. Even though there were no marks on their bodies, they still felt violated.

Starting a dialogue with other sexual assault survivors helped me break the silence and isolation surrounding sexual violence. The women I talked to would tell me about their own experiences of sexual assault by a family member, friend, date, and/or classmate. Then they would tell me that I was one of the first people they told. In these conversations, these women and I began to discover that we were not alone. By choosing to talk about my sexual assault, we found out that this crime was more common than we had originally thought.

Because I know many women have an experience to share about surviving sexual assault or helping a friend through it, I became aware of the way my knowledge of the subject influenced the way I responded to women and men in my focus groups. I have always been fascinated when women talk about a silenced issue, especially sexual assault, because I know that in doing so they show their bravery. For the most part, sexual assault is an issue that affects women on a more personal level than men, governing women's everyday decisions. From my sexual assault, I could relate more to their narratives about how sexual assault myths and the risk of sexual assault governed the way they behaved on dates, the way they dressed and even where they would walk in public. They were more likely than men to understand sexual assault as something that could happen with somebody they knew. When they discussed their increased awareness and additional precautions, I understood what they meant.

Researching Sexual Assault in Academia: The Need to Involve Men

Listening to women's stories made me realize that sexual assault was a problem that went beyond my own trauma. I took courses in women's studies and wrote essay after essay about sexual violence against women. From my research, I could not believe that according to one study, one out of four women had been raped by the time they entered university. Eighty

percent of these rape cases were perpetrated by somebody the woman knew. The statistics were much higher than I realized. I understood how much sexual assault really was a silent issue.

At this point, I fully understood how wrong it was for sexual assault to stay my problem, when it was an issue that affected so many. I no longer wanted to feel that this huge part of my life was an off-limits discussion. I wanted to let people know how sexual assault had hurt so many women. This was a problem larger than my sexual assault, larger than my friends' sexual assaults; this was an issue affecting university campuses all over Canada and beyond.

Armed with extensive research on sexual assault, I felt I could talk more freely and knowledgeably about it. I got tired of being victim-blamed and burnt out from hearing so many others' personal narratives. Instead, I began to tell more and more people about my academic research on sexual assault, and without actually talking about my own experience, I was able to verbalize a vital personal issue and avoid the consequences of victim-blaming and hearing other women's depressing encounters.

I became aware of how interpretations and discussions of sexual assault were gendered when I started talking about the false assumptions and myths about sexual assault, the prevalence of sexual assault on campus, and the importance of being cautious due to the prevalence of acquaintance sexual assault.. I was discussing this topic with a male friend at my university who remarked that he was not the one who had to be careful. He implied that as long as he did not sexually assault women, he did not have to worry about sexual assault as much as me, my friends, or the multitudes of women behind all the statistics about sexual assault on campus.

My friend's perception about sexual assault seemed unfair. He absolved himself of any responsibility to acknowledge and understand the existence of sexual assault while I could not. It

made me sick to my stomach that he would not pay attention to these things while women around me were always thinking about the risk of being sexually assaulted. Other male friends I talked to were oblivious to the fact that sexual assault happened to their friends. One of them would later say that he had never met anybody who had been sexually assaulted as he stared me in the face.

Media and Masculinities

I clearly saw a culture of silence in males along with male privilege when I took a course called “Masculinities: Cross Cultural Perspectives”. The fact that I was sexually assaulted around this time made this experience compelling and heightened my awareness of the interaction between masculinities, media, and sexual assault. The course was taught by a white, straight, middle-aged, male professor. For the course midterm, the other students and I were required to analyze popular culture media with which we engaged. We were to look for ways in which gender roles, sexism, racism and heterosexism were reinforced through these media. The assignment was supposed to make us more critical about the media to which we were exposed every day. The assignment was designed to further our understanding of how gender roles play an important part in shaping the media, and how we participate in such a culture through using of the media.

I thought this was a great idea and was excited to begin. That is, until the professor made a joke that we should not analyze our favourite piece of media, such as a favourite television show. Instead, we should pick our second favourite show. Analyzing our favourite show in this way could “ruin” the show for us.

I was stunned and angry at his 'joke.' Sexism and hegemonic masculinity are not just present in television shows; they are present in our daily lives whether we like it or not. They are especially present in women's lives, including women who have been sexually assaulted. My sexual assault was a blatant act of sexism, committed by a man who strived for hegemonic masculinity as he committed this act. I no longer had the choice to ignore my experiences with sexism and hegemonic masculinity because it interfered with my favourite television show. I was upset that our course was not encouraging us to look at sexism and hegemonic masculinity head-on by analyzing and questioning the forms of media to which we were most attached. Instead, we were analyzing media on a more superficial level, a level at which personal investment was almost discouraged..

Conclusion

Had I not been sexually assaulted, I would not have understood the harmful effects that victim-blaming statements have on a victim and why it is an important component of sexual assault. Without experiencing sexual assault for myself, I would likely not have understood the importance of breaking the silence by speaking about it to others and addressing sexual assault in a way that involves men. My time spent taking undergraduate courses in women's studies, particularly a course about masculinities, drove home the importance of using media as a tool to involve men in helping prevent sexual assault on campus. These experiences have propelled me to write a thesis using all of these elements.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background and Context/Literature Review

Sexual assault is a gendered crime. That is, far more women than men are raped and sexually assaulted, and the sexual offender is typically a man (Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008). The 1994 Statistics Canada “Violence Against Women Survey” found that 4 out of 10 Canadian women report having been sexually assaulted, estimating that 572,000 Canadian women had experienced at least one incident of sexual assault one year prior to the survey being filled out (Statistics Canada, 1994a). Young women between the ages of 15 and 24 are at greater risk of experiencing sexual assault than women at any other age (Statistics Canada, 2006). Female university students are likely to fall within this age range, thereby making sexual violence against female university students an issue of primary concern. In fact, the prevalence of sexual assault against women on Canadian university campuses ranges from 15% to 45.1% (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; German, 2007; LoVerso, 2001; Newton-Taylor, DeWit & Gliksman, 1998). Young women in university are at an even greater risk of sexual assault than other women in the general population or women of a similar age (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). The literature also shows that female first-year university students are more likely to be sexually assaulted than female students in any other year of university studies (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997).

However, according to the academic literature and recent newspaper articles, even though sexual assault is a gendered crime, men do not generally see themselves as included in this problem. In fact, they are largely absent from sexual assault public

education campaigns off campus (Marchese, 2008; Masters, 2010) and on campus (Hong, 2000b; Louwagie, 2008). These are also observations that draw from my experiences of talking to male university peers (mentioned in my Preface Reflections), going to campus events that raise sexual assault awareness, and viewing sexual assault posters and pamphlets displayed on campus.

During campus events such as vigils commemorating sexual assault survivors, protest marches for a campus sexual assault centre, and the student performance of *The Vagina Monologues*, I noticed that men were barely ever present and participating. The great majority of people spearheading and partaking in these events were women. Campus sexual assault events came and went throughout the year, but posters on walls and pamphlets addressing sexual assault were the public education media tools that lasted. I noticed posters hung in women's bathroom stalls, in the University Centre atrium, and in the tunnel system connecting buildings on my campus; pamphlets were also circulated in the Health and Counselling Services wing. It struck me that most, if not all of these campaigns were targeted towards women.

These resources seem aimed at scaring women with staggeringly high statistics of sexual assault and/or telling women how to protect themselves from this dangerous crime. This thesis argues that these campaigns are problematic in that they fail at enabling the topic of sexual assault to be framed and discussed as a preventable crime. Furthermore, they do not target men as part of the solution to end sexual assault against women.

1.2 Research Questions

In order to explore this argument, this thesis and its research problem were formulated through the following five research questions:

1. *When men view sexual assault public communication campaigns on campus, do they feel part of the solution to end sexual assault against women?*
2. *How can new media campaigns make men feel like part of the solution to end sexual assault against women?*
3. *Drawing on men's perspectives, what may motivate men to view themselves as part of the solution to end sexual assault against women?*
4. *What discourses do men and women use to mitigate men's responsibility in sexual assault?*
5. *Under what circumstances might sexual assault media campaigns on campus change the discourse of sexual assault so that it is framed and discussed as a violent crime that can be prevented by both men and women?*

This thesis addresses the above research questions by using focus groups to study first-year Carleton University students' interpretations and discussions about men's engagement with two types of sexual assault public communication poster campaigns. My research is grounded in theoretical frameworks that recognize the role of communities, risk and fear, and masculinities in shaping sexual assault discourses.

Using feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis, my thesis analyzes the talk of this student demographic. Analyzing student talk can inspire new discourses for sexual assault public communication campaigns. These new discourses might help frame sexual assault as a crime perpetrated by a person known by the university

community that is preventable by *both* male and female university students. I argue that this approach is integral to solving the root causes of sexual assault on campus.

1.3 Objective of Thesis Project

My thesis has the following three objectives: (1) to explain how public communication campaigns about sexual assault on campus, such as poster campaigns, affect sexual assault discourses on Canadian campuses; (2) to find out which campaigns are effective and ineffective at targeting and engaging men; and (3) to pinpoint how these campaigns can create discourses that empower both men and women to prevent sexual assault. In fulfilling these objectives, my thesis also has a related long-term goal of seeking to provide a way to speak directly to victim-blaming attitudes about sexual violence on campus.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

In Chapter 2, I discuss some key theoretical concepts and frameworks drawn from scholarly works on sexual assault and the media. I provide a description of five key concepts/theories that underpin my work: (1) Defining Sexual Assault Using a Feminist Legal Framework; (2) Sexual Assault as a Gendered Crime: The Role of Masculinities and Hegemonic Masculinity; (3) Women's Risk, Fear, and Responsibilization; (4) Theorizing the University Campus as a Community; and (5) Public Education Media Campaigns on Campus. I discuss the debates and critiques relating to each theoretical framework and then situate each framework in my research.

In Chapter 3, I describe my specific research tasks such as sampling strategy, ethics approval in methodological field work, guided focus group structure. I also outline the characteristics of the participants I interviewed. I explain the qualitative research methodology and the focus group method along with the data analytic approaches I used for the study; the latter includes feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis. The debates and critiques of these methods and analytic tools are acknowledged and situated in my research.

In Chapter 4, I apply feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis gleaned from the focus group interviews. I discuss two categories of discourse: sexual assault myths and hegemonic masculinity. The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to the gendered discourses and diagnostic frames that contribute to men's lack of engagement with sexual assault public communication campaigns on campus and with sexual assault prevention more generally.

In Chapter 5, I present counter-discourses and counter-frames (or prognostic frames) that can pave the way for new sexual assault campaigns that would engage men to potentially contribute to sexual assault prevention efforts on campus. The two counter-discourses I discuss in this chapter are termed "accessible knowledge" and "knowledge that empowers men and women."

In Chapters 4 and 5, I discuss the frames that complement each discourse and provide a link to existing scholarly literature as well as media campaigns used to address violence against women. In chapter 6, I discuss my concluding remarks, the strengths and limitations of the study, and future research possibilities.

The ten appendices include all relevant documents related to this thesis, including the Focus Group Guide and Informed Consent Form for Participants. Finally, the illustrations show the sexual assault poster campaigns that were presented and/or discussed during focus group sessions.

Chapter 2: Key Concepts and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Defining Sexual Assault Using a Feminist Legal Framework

My thesis adopts the Canadian Legal term “sexual assault” to describe the crime where someone engages in any form of sexual activity with another person without that person’s consent (S.265 Criminal Code, 1985).

The Canadian Association for Sexual Assault Centres (CASAC) and the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics have adopted this terminology in their quest to serve sexual assault victims in their communities and in their research on sexual assault victims respectively. However, they have further developed the main ideas of this definition to further their goals in helping sexual assault victims.

The Constitution of CASAC defines sexual assault as “an act of domination, violence and aggression perpetrated through forced physical intimacy against a woman's will and without her consent” (2009). CASAC also expands this definition to include the environmental factors perpetuating sexual assault with the following statement: “Sexual assault is the exploitation of a woman's body and is a logical extension of a sexist society which promotes violence against women through a polarization of the sexes” (CASAC, 2009). This definition both recognizes the abuse of women’s bodies from sexual assault and discusses the role gender inequalities play in promoting this form of violence against women. While CASAC’s (2009) definition of sexual assault should be applauded for recognizing the social structure perpetuating sexual assault in Canadian society, and the effect that sexual assault has on individual women, its definition of this crime is still very

broad. That is, the organization does not discuss what particular sexual activities or forms of violence constitute a sexual assault.

The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS) is helpful here because it delves into what a specific case of sexual assault might look like. The CCJS views sexual assault as an umbrella term, recognizing “all incidents of unwanted sexual activity, including sexual attacks and sexual touching” (Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008, p.7). It defines a sexual attack as an unwanted sexual activity involving force or attempted force through threats, holding someone down, or hurting the person in some way (Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008). Unwanted sexual touching includes grabbing, kissing, and fondling (Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008). However, unlike CASAC’s (2009) definition, this definition does not acknowledge the effect that sexual assault has on female survivors or the gendered element of sexual assault. The CCJS definition simply consists of a series of individual acts.

In my thesis, I use a definition of sexual assault that straddles these two definitions. I define sexual assault as any non-consensual sexual act(s) towards a person, most often a woman. These individual acts are a reflection of a sexist society that perpetuates gender inequalities. This definition recognizes the effect sexual assault has on women; it acknowledges the role Canadian society plays in perpetuating sexual assault; it also discusses specific scenarios that constitute sexual assault so people can more concretely recognize instances of sexual assault that play out in their lives.

2.2 Sexual Assault as a Gendered Crime: The Role of Masculinities and Hegemonic Masculinity

When discussing gender, it is crucial to recognize the ways in which gender is learned, acted, and performed using the body (Connell, 2000). “Masculinities” are ways of performing gender, linking men’s personal lives with their social contexts. Sexual assault against women is constructed and reinforced through current ‘masculinities’; gendered ideologies that institutionally script and structure men’s and women’s lives (Connell, 2000; Kaufman, 2001). I use the term ‘masculinities’ to indicate that there is more than one way for gender to be constructed and practiced (Connell, 2000). Masculinities vary across cultures and points in history. Race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality are all factors that influence definitions of ‘masculinities.’ The definitions for masculinities become further complicated by the knowledge that there are different ways of enacting manhood across social institutions such as the home, religious institutions, and the university setting (Connell, 2000).

The undercurrent of the acceptability of sexual assault in current Western culture is based on ideological practices of “hegemonic masculinity,” defined as the “most honoured or desired” form of masculinity (Connell, 2000, p.10). Hegemonic masculinity is also the most widely accepted way to live if a man wants to take full advantage of the privileges that a patriarchal system offers (Connell, 2005).

Three particular ‘rules’ representing such hegemonic patterns are: be ‘*non-feminine*’; be dominant, powerful, and aggressive; and be independent and unemotional (Hong, 2000b). A *non-feminine* masculinity provides an extremely narrow and limiting definition of what it means to be a man. This narrow definition comes from an intense

fear of thinking or acting in ways men consider feminine. A man acting 'feminine' risks being perceived as gay. Gay masculinities are the most subordinated forms of masculinities in the United States and Europe (Connell, 2000). The dismissal of 'feminine' characteristics such as open-mindedness, tolerance, and emotion prevent men from seeing women as their equals (Hong, 2000b). These anti-feminine attitudes can set the stage for sexual aggression by portraying women as lesser and more vulnerable while portraying men as dominant over women.

Sexual assault can be understood as an act where men exercise power over women, making women subordinate to men (Warshaw, 1994) and further distancing themselves from the despised feminine. Thus, sexual assault is a highly gendered act of hegemonic masculinity. Sexual assault is also a gendered crime even when a woman is not present. For instance, when a male prison inmate is sexually assaulted by another male inmate, the victim is considered feminized (even called a "woman" by his fellow inmates) while the perpetrator is considered dominant and masculine (Kupers, 2006). A man can come closer to attaining hegemonic masculinity by committing sexual assault; an act through which the perpetrator can be self-assured that he is the 'opposite' of his feminine victim.

For many, hegemonic masculinity is impossible to achieve. To these individuals, one has to be privileged as white, heterosexual, and middle-class to pass as part of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, black, gay and lower-class men, whose lives are linked with marginalized forms of masculinity, are less likely to reap what Connell (2000) calls the 'patriarchal dividend' associated with hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, hegemonic masculinity comes with its own set of tensions. Enacting

hegemonic masculinity can make it difficult for men to have intimate and/or loving relationships with women, which will be further discussed in this section. For reasons such as these and others, some men intentionally distance themselves from hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2000).

The hegemonic pattern some men follow to be dominant, powerful, and aggressive (Hong, 2000b) can facilitate rape-supportive attitudes. While some masculinities reign supreme, others are stigmatized and marginalized. For those men with marginalized and subordinate masculinities, using their domination, power, and aggression to commit violence against women is a way for them to construct masculinities using the limited resources available to them (Messerschmidt, 1993). Thus, the marginalization of some masculinities, perpetuate men's power over women. *All forms* of masculinities benefit from this form of patriarchy (Kimmel & Messner, 2007).

Heterosexual intercourse can become a battlefield on which a man can assert his masculinity through power over women; that is, the act of sex can become a form of conquest. This equating of masculinity with sexual power encourages men to seek power over women's bodies through violence.

Sexual objectification of women, which is viewing women primarily as objects for men's sexual pleasure, flows from the hegemonic masculine 'rules' to be dominant, powerful, and aggressive while remaining independent and unemotional (Boswell & Spade, 2006). By objectifying women, it is easy for men to assume that women think with their bodies and not their minds. Sexual objectification makes it easier for men to conceive of sexually assaulting women. One widespread myth about women is that if they dress in a 'sexual manner', they must want sex. Therefore, many men believe that a

woman's sexual refusal while she is 'dressed seductively,' is meaningless; she has already implicitly consented through her self - presentation. Objectification promotes the dismissal of any form of communication expressed by a woman, even actions such as kicking, crying, or pushing (Warshaw, 1994).

When men objectify women, they follow the hegemonic masculine ideal: mandating antipathy towards women. Indeed, sexual assault on women is most likely to occur at fraternity house parties because men at these parties enact these hegemonic masculinity rules and view the women they hook-up with as "faceless victims" (Boswell & Spade, 2006, p. 166). These men prefer hooking-up with women they do not know because they are not obligated to have respect for them. The objectified male gaze excludes "recognition of her competence, rationality, trustworthiness and even humanity" (Quinn, 2006, p. 276). In order for objectification to occur, the female body must be present. However, consensual and active participation from the woman being objectified is not necessary (Quinn, 2006). Similarly, in order for sexual assault to occur, women's feelings, participation, and consent are not required; only their bodies are needed for the act of sexual assault to take place.

The consequence of emotional distance from women is that sexual assault prevention is viewed as independent of men's responsibility. For example, when a university male was asked to define the word "date rape," he replied that, "Date rape is when a woman wakes up the next morning and regrets having sex." (Boswell and Spade, 2006, p. 170). This definition takes the man's role out of a date-rape scenario entirely, holding the women being raped as responsible for making bad decisions.

Men who follow this pattern of hegemonic masculinity refute the existence of sexual assault by denying the effect of a male sexual assault perpetrator's actions. For example, one university male insinuated that women invite sexual assault when they get drunk at a party and approach men (Boswell and Spade, 2006). In this scenario, rape is simply a reaction to a woman's 'invitation'. When a culture validates men in their decision to appropriate patterns of hegemonic masculinity by not taking (emotional) responsibility for a criminal act, there is an insidious connection between hegemonic masculinity and sexual assault.

Gender roles, particularly masculinities that take on patterns of hegemonic masculinity, contribute to a rape-supportive culture. For men to prevent sexual assault, they must see the possibility of living different forms of masculinities that challenge hegemonic masculinity, so that men do not feel pressured to conform to elements of this hegemonic model.

2.3 Women's Risk, Fear and Responsibilization

The majority, if not all, of the responsibility is placed on women to prevent sexual assault. Rachel Hall (2004) theorizes that a culture of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s played a role in placing the responsibility on women to prevent sexual assault by making women in charge of lessening their 'risk' of being a victim of this crime.

Women's bodies were (and still are) perceived as vulnerable and therefore at risk of being sexually assaulted. This responsibilization effectively turned sexual assault into an exclusively female problem rather than treating the act as a social problem requiring male responsibility and government intervention and funding.

Jane Doe lists a few of the precautions women must take in order to prevent a potential sexual assault such as “Don’t go out alone or at night unless accompanied by someone (male). . . . Don’t talk to strangers (men). Don’t assist strangers (men). . . . Don’t take elevators by yourself (or with strange men). Monitor the motions of the men around you.” (Doe, 2003, p. 126). Public conversation neglects discussions of how men can prevent sexual assault; how or why sexual assault occurs is not questioned. Placing women’s bodies at the centre of sexual assault prevention discourse ignores the roles that males, particularly male perpetrators, play in perpetuating sexual assault.

While men are exempt from such sexual assault prevention discourses, women’s risk of being sexually assaulted governs women’s day-to-day choices and actions to the extent that “. . . no social experience seems to escape the ever-present possibility of rape” (Hall, 2004, p. 3). The elements of fear, risk, and self-monitoring related to sexual assault, inherent in women’s daily lives does not apply nearly as readily to men.

The recent media release of the date rape drug test kit covered in the Ottawa Citizen (White, 2010, July 21) in the summer of 2010 made it clear that it is the sole responsibility of Canadian women to prevent sexual assault . The kit is marketed towards women at a bar or club who want to find out if their drink was spiked with a date rape drug. This new product is yet another way to capitalize on women’s fear. Under this new prevention strategy that places the onus on women to prevent sexual assault, they argue that those who fail to use the kit or take other precautions could be blamed for their assault (Mardorossian, 2002; Sampert, 2009).

Women’s fear and risk of sexual assault also govern the ways in which women navigate geographical spaces as women are forced to restrict their movement and/or stay

at home in light of this risk. Consequently, there are less spaces for women to travel in the world than for men. Women's fear of sexual assault makes dark nights, dark spaces, and travelling alone dangerous, and women are blamed if they do encounter danger in these settings. Having responsibility placed on them, a culture of fear is promoted when women are forced to try to protect themselves from a crime they interpret as ever-present.

The ways in which women attempt to prevent sexual assault are always questioned. There is always more that women can do to protect themselves and whatever they do never seems to be enough. When women go about their daily lives, they are treated as if they are "flirting" with the risk, the possibility, of being sexually assaulted (Hall, 2004, p. 6). Thus, a new form of the panopticon is born, a system where every woman monitors and polices her each and every move.

If women do not take seriously the responsibility to prevent their own sexual assault, and they are sexually violated, they will likely be blamed for their assault (Mardorossian, 2002). As Mardorossian aptly states, "Years of educating the public about these issues seem to have resulted only in the expectation that women should know better than to let themselves get raped" (2002, p. 753). A female victim of sexual assault is thought to have forgotten, for a moment in time, that she is perpetually at risk of experiencing such a crime; forgetting to fear the risk of sexual assault is deemed the cause of her sexual assault (Cahill, 2001).

While sexual assault prevention campaigns responsabilizing women are extremely popular, it is important to bring the campus community to the forefront in sexual assault prevention efforts.

2.4 Theorizing the University Campus as a Community

According to Beck (2001), the term 'community' can be defined as a group of people who (1) interact regularly and share an area; (2) share a similar culture; and (3) provide basic requirements.

Over the past several decades, the 'community' has become a central feature in response to various components of the criminal justice system. One of the most controversial areas in this regard is how communities deal with instances of sexual assault and rape, crimes in which women are victimized substantially more than men and where the prevalence of these crimes are high. Within this context, advocates for female sexual assault victims have repeatedly demonstrated that these victims do not receive adequate support from their communities.

Lack of support in the university community is demonstrated by the fact that victims of sexual violence are often blamed for the incident and re-victimized by the justice process offered by Canadian (Ehrlich, 1998) and American (Lombardi & Jones, 2009) universities. Michael Barton, Bonnie Jensen and Joanne Kaufman (2010) argue that community-based theories of crime should apply to the university setting; that is, the university campus can be theorized as a community. The researchers apply Beck's (2001) definition of community to the university institution by reasoning that (1) a university campus is a shared space where students can interact regularly; (2) all students share a culture; and (3) cafeterias and classrooms are among a list of basic requirements the university provides (Barton, Jensen, & Kaufman, 2010).

Community-based theory centers on the idea that increasing the level of social capital in a community can reduce a community's crime rate (Kawachi, Kennedy, &

Wilkinson, 1999). 'Social capital' can be defined as the cooperation between community members in which everyone benefits (Putnam, 2000). It is created when common values and effective social controls are the foundation of a community (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Put succinctly, social capital is a form of community solidarity that can be used to help less fortunate community members (Putnam, 2000).

Viewing crime from a community perspective brings forth a couple of implications. First, a community needs to act as a cohesive unit in order to decrease crime rates. The theory of social capital is put into practice when community members who care about the plight of less fortunate community members mobilize. Second, it is important to pay attention to community factors that may cause a breakdown in social capital. For example, violence on university campuses can arise due to a sense of marginalization and widespread social isolation, that is, people mistrusting or not knowing other students (Whitzman, 2006).

Recognizing the roles of communities helps to explain how university communities facilitate sexual assault on campus. For example, sexual assault on campus is a crime where the perpetrators and victims are most often members of the university community. The fact that sexual violence is embedded in community culture, (Hudson, 1998) makes sexual violence a destroyer of social bonds, a crime that weakens relationships within communities, such as the university campus.

The majority of sexual assaults are committed by a man whom the victim knows and who is likely to use verbal pressure or threats during an assault rather than physical violence (Statistics Canada, 2006). Therefore, sexual assaults are most likely to be perpetrated by male students at Carleton University who are accepted in its community,

rather than in a back-alley late at night by a complete stranger considered deviant by community members; the latter scenario represents only a small number of cases of sexual violence.

Universities, such as Carleton, view the university setting as a community when they discuss sexual assault. When Equity Services—an administrative department at Carleton University that accommodates students and advocates for student rights (including freedom from sexual assault on campus)—discusses sexual assault, it presents the university as a community and recognizes the importance of social bonds. On the Equity Services website that outlines students’ ‘human rights,’ at the very beginning of its preamble about sexual assault, it reads: “One in four Canadian women is sexually assaulted. Most women live with fear of being sexually assaulted. People don’t like to talk about it, but as a *community* we should all be concerned” (italics added) (Equity Services, 2010). In its writing about Carleton University as a community, it urges students to care about other students around them. Drawing on this view, my thesis will also discuss prevention of campus sexual assault as a community issue that requires the participation of all university members.

2.5 Public Education Media Campaigns on Campus

In Canada, 20–25% of college-aged women will be victims of sexual assault at some point during their post-secondary education (Johnson, 1996). Even though sexual assault is an issue that affects the entire university community, public education media campaigns seldom acknowledge their role; less than two-thirds of American colleges

offer sexual assault prevention programs and only a third of those offer campus safety programs that involve acquaintance rape (Fisher et. al., 2000; Karjane et al., 2005).

The current public communication media campaigns presented on the Carleton University campus about sexual assault are exclusively directed towards women. Women are considered responsible for protecting themselves against sexual assault when campaigns urge women, for example, to take a self-defence class (as in the Rape Aggression Defense poster presented in my focus groups, see Illustration 1 [ii]), to never walk alone at night, and to always watch their drink at a party (Illustration 3). These media approaches imply that the risk of sexual assault is inevitable but avoidable and that when women fail to protect themselves in the above referenced ways, they have taken a risk and lost. Not only is this rhetoric victim-blaming for survivors of sexual assault, it completely ignores the role that a male bystander or perpetrator plays in a sexual assault.

Media campaigns play an important role in sexual assault prevention. Public communication poster campaigns about sexual assault are the focus of this thesis project since they are in a variety of places across campus. Despite the internet being a popular media tool for university students, Potter and her colleagues argue that poster campaigns are a “point of contact with community members” and are an important mode of cultural expression for students (Potter, Moynihan, Stapleton, & Banyard, 2009, p.108).

Though poster campaigns are an important medium to help create awareness about sexual assault on campus, poster campaigns can be viewed as one tool out of many to help achieve this goal (Potter, Moynihan, Stapleton, & Banyard, 2009). Therefore, in Chapters 4 and 5, I will address media campaigns where posters and in-person discussions form two of many components of public education campaigns. All the

campaigns mentioned in this study address gender roles and help provide awareness to students about sexual assault prevention. These campaigns that attempt to target men are only a few out of many public communication campaigns that exist in Canadian communities and/or across campuses.

The following chapter, Chapter 3, explains how these types of public education media campaigns on campus will be incorporated into my thesis research, along with other methodological components of the project.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

My research is guided by insights gleaned from two wide but related bodies of methodological writing: qualitative research methods and feminist methodologies. This chapter discusses how these approaches have guided my sampling strategies, research methods, and data analysis. In particular, I chose to use focus groups as a method of data collection, along with feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis as methods of data analysis. In this chapter, I have also included reflexive notes in order to help make my research decisions more transparent.

3.1 Qualitative Research Methodology

Qualitative methods provide the best tools for answering my research questions. Qualitative research methods are widely recognized as a useful means for investigating how meanings and power are constructed (Flyvbjerg, 2002; Oakley, 2000). One of the benefits of using qualitative research is that it will enable me to capture the “polyphony of voices” a characteristic Bent Flyvbjerg (2002, p.139) believes contributes to good quality social science research. Flyvbjerg (2002) advocates for a social science where there is no privileged position, and there is no silencing of discourses during discussions. When engaging in qualitative research, hearing multiple sources of dialogue is a way for me, the researcher, to understand the ways that participants construct meaning from sexual assault public education campaigns on campus.

Hearing multiple sources of dialogue also contributes to a better understanding of how media messages are interpreted and discussed through language. In this way,

qualitative research allows for an ‘analysis of mediation,’ where language may bridge the cultural divide between individual thoughts and practices and institutional discourses and practices. Ray Morrow (1994) understands qualitative methods of analysis as social theorizing, related directly to social practice. Social theorizing, moreover, lends a wider understanding of the social world than theorising which relies only on variables and statistical analysis (Morrow, 2004).

Using social theorizing as my epistemological and methodological starting points enabled me to compare the social construction of male and female sexual assault discourses about campus public education campaigns. Morrow (1994, p.212) calls this process “comparative generalization.” Qualitative research allowed me to analyze how discourse is negotiated and transformed when, for instance, both genders discuss sexual assault public communication campaigns in the same room together.

3.2 Feminist Research Methodology

Feminists argue that women’s oppressions are worthy topics of study, not just for women, but for every social being. Researching women’s oppressions enables one to understand the inner-workings of social worlds (Hill Collins, 1991; Naples, 2003; Smith, 1999). Feminist research challenges positivist approaches of “conventional” research by seeking to understand the social and cultural contexts of women’s lives as the forces that create and shape the construct ‘woman.’

At its most basic, feminist research is the study of women and gender and is not confined to a particular method (Harding, 1987). Sandra Harding states that most researchers can use almost any research method to conduct feminist research. However,

feminist research is conducted in ways that are different from those of traditional social sciences. In short, feminist research does not have a method to call its own, but it does have its own set of methodological features (Harding, 1987). Among these many features, feminist research is reflexive (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Fonow & Cook, 1991, 2005), challenges conventional or mainstream ways of collecting, analyzing and presenting data (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Naples, 2003), and recognizes how power and knowledge interconnect and shape the research process (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Lennon & Whitford, 1994).

Feminist research is more than a set of methodological features, it is an epistemological approach. Harding defines epistemology as “a theory of knowledge.” Epistemology “answers questions about who can be a ‘knower’ (can women?); what tests beliefs must pass in order to be legitimated as knowledge (only tests against men’s experiences and observations?) . . .” (Harding, 1987, p.3). In feminist research, women can be ‘knowers’ thereby making women’s experiences and observations sources of legitimate knowledge (Harding, 1987).

Originally, one of the key elements of feminist research was that it is meant to be *for* women. Research conducted *for* women is different from research simply being conducted *about* women. While research *about* women includes women as part of the sample in a research project, research *for* women provides women with explanations of social phenomena that are relevant to women. This type of research suits the needs and interests of women even if women are not part of the research sample. For centuries, research about women was carried out for psychiatrists, medical establishments, and the judicial system (among other social systems) and was meant to pacify, control, exploit, or

manipulate women (Harding, 1987). In contrast to this traditional approach, feminist research is meant to be a source of empowerment for women, where women's oppressions, silenced through social discourses, are brought to the forefront of the research process.

Feminist research has expanded to include men and analyze gender relations, particularly over the last decade (Doucet & Mauthner, 2006; Grenz, 2005; Presser, 2005; Taylor & Rupp, 2005). While the definition of feminist research methods and methodologies has developed and expanded over the last few decades, Doucet and Mauthner (2007) argue that there are still more challenges to work through, particularly in the ways that feminists theorize and interpret men's experiences (Doucet, 2004). Following Doucet's argument (2004), I believe that feminist research can include men as long as it is not used to undermine women's interests and perspectives (see Doucet, 2004). That is, I see the potential for research including men while also simultaneously valuing women's efforts, accomplishments, identities, and power.

Sexual assault is a source of oppression predominantly experienced by women. Engaging in a feminist research process can enhance women's quality of life by simultaneously breaking the silence of sexual assault, while finding ways to prevent it. Indeed, including men in this research study can complement, rather than take away, resources from women's hard work in their efforts to prevent sexual assault on campus. Fonow and Cook (1991, 2005) view concern for social justice and broad social change as one of the primary components of feminist research. I argue that by studying men's interpretations and discussions about sexual assault media campaigns on campus, I am

helping men become concerned and involved in preventing a social justice issue (sexual assault) that predominantly affects women.

As feminist research has expanded to include men, it has also evolved to include multiple femininities and recognize the differences *between* women. Third wave feminist research goes beyond essentializing and dichotomizing gender to acknowledge the ways in which intersectionality impacts gender as a social construction (Siltanen & Doucet, 2008). Intersectional gender analyses highlight the multiple and interrelated ways women encounter racism and ethnocentrism as well as how they are ‘othered’ and excluded in other social contexts (Hill Collins, 2000). For example, an intersectional analysis can highlight how women’s sexualities, races, classes, and /or religions interlink to influence their interpretations and discussions of sexual assault public communication campaigns. While the scope and size of my M.A. level research was more focused on broad differences between women and men of similar ages and social class in their interpretation of sexual assault campaigns, I argue in my concluding chapter that a larger research project could focus more on differences among women, and differences among men, which would provide for a more comprehensive intersectional analysis of gender and sexual assault campaigns.

3.3 Research Method: Focus Groups

Focus groups play an integral role in my thesis since they map out the relationships among identities, discourse, and society (Lunt and Livingstone, 1996). Focus groups helped me to understand how information from campus sexual assault public communication campaigns (‘political discourses’) socially constructed everyday

conversations conducted between first-year students (Lunt & Livingstone, 1996). It was my view that the focus groups would help me comprehend how these political discourses shape first-year students' values, attitudes and emotions and how these characteristics affect the dynamics of everyday conversations between first-year students (Delli Carpini & Williams, 1994).

Delli Carpini and Williams stress the importance of viewing focus groups as a conversation since people's opinions on political issues stem from social interactions and debates between others (1994). They also stress that these social debates and interactions shape and have potential to reshape political discourse (Delli Carpini & Williams, 1994).

In summary, using focus groups for my research was an important way to analyze the ways that discourses used in campus sexual assault public communication campaigns can be reshaped to include men. I conducted both mixed-gender and same-gender focus groups. Conducting focus groups with only women contributed to my understanding of how gender shapes the discussion of sexual assault campus public communication campaigns. In addition, mixed-gender focus groups showed me how this discussion is negotiated and potentially reshaped through gender interaction.

3.4 Specific Research Tasks

Recruiting Participants

Given that my research involves human subjects, I applied to the Carleton University Research Ethics Board for ethics approval before beginning my study. I received ethics clearance on October 7, 2009 (see Appendix J: Ethics Clearance Form).

To recruit participants, I emailed lecturers of first-year courses asking for permission to make a recruitment announcement during the first five minutes of their scheduled class time (Appendix A: Email to First-Year Course Instructors: Request to Recruit Students).

In this email, I asked for permission to pass around a sign-up sheet during the class to collect names and email contacts of students interested in participating.

Unfortunately, I did not obtain permission from first-year course instructors who taught in the natural sciences, including Engineering, Physics, and Chemistry. I obtained permission from first-year course instructors in the following departments: Business, Law, Political Science, Communication Studies, Sociology, Geography, Women's Studies, and Canadian Studies.

Once an instructor had granted me permission to address their first-year class, I made my recruitment announcement in person (Appendix B: Recruitment Script for First-Year Classes). In my remarks to students, I briefly discussed my study, its targeted age range (17–24), student year requirement (first-year), and the compensation they would receive for participating (free pizza and pop). After my announcement, I passed around a sign-up sheet for the study.

Interested students wrote down their names and email addresses and placed a checkmark beside possible dates and times they might be available to participate (Appendix C: Student Sign-Up Sheet).

When each class ended, I collected the sign-up sheet from the students. I emailed interested students to arrange a time for their participation in the study and to ensure that each participant met the selection criteria laid out for this study. Students were assigned a particular focus group according to their availability. Once ten potential participants

signed up for the same time slot, all ten were emailed information about the study date, time, and location. Participants were asked to confirm if these logistics still worked for them. They were invited to bring their friends to compensate for those who confirmed their participation by email but did not attend.

3.5 Conducting Focus Groups

Sampling and Procedure

The recruitment period lasted two months and the focus groups were conducted in a two week period between November 24–December 4, 2009. At the beginning of the study, I gave each student an “Informed Consent Form for Participants” (Appendix E). This form gave a brief description of my research project and my contact information, and informed students that they could refrain from answering any question and withdraw from the study at any time.

With the informed consent of all participants in every focus group an audio tape recorder was used and a note-taker was present. To help ensure confidentiality and help students feel more comfortable engaging in the focus group discussion, they signed a “Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement” (Appendix G) before each focus group session. In signing this form, students agreed the discussions taking place would not leave the focus group room.

I appointed a note-taker in each of my focus groups to ensure that all important information gathered was captured in detail. I selected three graduate students in the

Sociology department to be note-takers. Each graduate student had taken a graduate level research methods course. Before they began, they signed the “Note-Taker Confidentiality Agreement” (Appendix F). This agreement was identical to the “Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement” (Appendix G) with the exception of an added paragraph where the note-taker agreed not to share his/her notes with anyone except my MA thesis committee and me. A male note-taker accompanied me to the focus group comprising both males and females to help ensure that the men felt comfortable voicing their opinions during the group. A female note-taker accompanied me to women-only focus groups so as not to disrupt the gender dynamic of the group.

Each participant filled out one background form and participated in one focus group. The participants were first-year Carleton University students aged 17–24; as discussed in Chapter 1, female students in this age group and student year are the most likely demographic to be sexually assaulted on campus (Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Statistics Canada, 2006). During the design of the study, I estimated a sample size of 81 participants, with nine participants in nine focus groups. I originally planned for three focus groups to include only female participants, three focus groups to comprise only male participants, and the remaining three focus groups to comprise both men and women.

These numbers and groups had to be modified as I began recruiting students. Recruiting students, especially men, for a focus group on sexual assault media was more difficult and time-consuming than I had originally anticipated. Within the given time frame, it was not possible for me to gather more participants and to have a men-only focus group. Instead, I recruited a total of 25 participants. Two of the focus groups had

only women and three of the focus groups were mixed gender (Appendix I offers a more detailed account of how participants were organized according to gender in each focus group).

Through the informed consent form, each participant agreed to sign up for a time slot lasting approximately 75 minutes where he/she filled out a background form (first stage of research project) and joined a focus group discussion (second stage of research project). The background form took between 2-4 minutes to fill out and the length of each focus group ranged from 45-90 minutes. Focus groups that were closer to the higher end of this time range typically had more outspoken participants than the focus groups that took less time. Classrooms at Carleton University were used to fill out background forms and conduct focus group discussion.

The background form required participants to fill out demographic information such as age, gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Appendix H: Background Form). The purpose of the Background Form was not to act as a survey but rather to understand how people from different demographics interpret sexual assault media on campus. This is important because the literature shows that the prevalence of sexual assault increases for certain groups, especially socially marginalized groups. I took the demographics of my focus group participants into account in order to help me understand how these dynamics shaped the group discussion.

From the background forms, I generated the following information from the 25 participants that were recruited:

- Gender: 10 participants identified as men, 15 participants identified as women, and one participant did not identify as a gender.

- Sexuality: 23 participants identified as heterosexual and 2 participants (both women) identified as bisexual.
- Age: ranged from 17–22.
- Race/Ethnicity: The majority of participants (17) identified as Caucasian. Remaining participants (8) used the following identifications: Malay, Black, Dutch, Irish, Caucasian/Irish/English/French, Multi-Racial, and Latin American and Caucasian/Latina.
- University degree (Major): Spanned across Humanities, Science, and Social Science, with majors including English, Cognitive Science, Political Science, Journalism and Undeclared.

During the focus groups, participants were shown public communication posters and pamphlets distributed on campus about sexual assault. During the first half of the focus groups, I showed participants sexual assault prevention posters that were displayed and distributed at Carleton University [Illustration 1 (i-vi): Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns Presented in Focus Groups]. According to the head of the Coalition for a Carleton Sexual assault Centre, Julie Lalonde, these Canadian posters are very similar to other sexual assault public communication campaigns in other Canadian universities (personal communication, December 12, 2010).

For the second half of the focus groups, I showed participants prevention campaigns originally from American schools. These campaigns have made their way to Canadian campuses but they have *not* been displayed at Carleton University [Illustration

2 (i-v): Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University].

Next, students formed groups to discuss what elements an effective sexual assault campaign would possess. They had the option of incorporating these elements in a poster campaign of their own design.

Focus groups centered on participants' interpretations of campus sexual assault media. The group interviews were guided by a sample of focus group questions (Appendix D: Focus Group Guide). However, questions asked were dependent on participants' answers to previous questions. The questions listed in Appendix D were not always asked in every focus group or in the same sequence. The role of the interview guide was to help facilitate a discussion where participants could talk about issues and ideas surrounding sexual assault that were most important to them.

Dynamics of Focus Groups

The findings discussed in my research have been generated from five focus groups with 25 participants overall: 10 men, 14 women, and one participant who chose not to identify with a gender label. Two of the focus groups had only women and three of the focus groups were mixed gender. Each focus group had a different dynamic and each concentrated its discussions on different themes relating to men's and women's involvement in preventing sexual assault on campus. I view each focus group as a piece of the puzzle contributing to a larger and more complex understanding of how students both interpret a variety of sexual assault campaigns and discuss sexual assault on campus

amongst their peers (see Appendix I for a detailed list of the organization of groups, with participants referred to by pseudonyms).

The dynamics were dependent on the number of men and women per group and the comfort level of participants. Focus groups that had at least two men generated the most data on men's understanding of sexual assault and the most effective way to engage men in sexual assault public communication campaigns. These focus groups contributed the most useful insights into how sexual assault impacts men's everyday lives, such as men's relationships with their male and female friends. Focus groups that had one or no males were more focused on women's understandings and personal experiences relating to sexual assault discourses on campus. These groups also provided dialogue regarding women's heterosexual dating experiences and their roles in sexual relationships. While there was discussion about men in these focus groups, it was considered in a more indirect way than in those with at least two men; the focus groups with fewer men centered their discussions on types of public communication campaigns with which they thought men were most likely to engage. (Appendix I: Participants Categorized According to Focus Group, is meant to inform readers of the gendered organization of participants into focus groups).

I found that conversations were more free-flowing among groups where the participants were more outspoken. Those attending focus groups with more than one friend seemed to be more open and honest when expressing their ideas. In my view, participants who were outspoken and attended the focus group with friends were more communicative; they tended to dominate the conversation and have their views reinforced by other focus group members. Participants who were visibly less shy typically felt freer

to exchange ideas and question opinions of other participants. For example, people's definitions of sexual assault, perceptions of risk towards sexual assault, and conceptions of masculinity were questioned in focus groups where participants felt more comfortable expressing themselves.

The combination of these focus group dynamics led to rich and nuanced discussions, containing a multitude of interpretations and experiences. The focus group findings discussed in Chapter 4 serve to link these conversations together and bring forth some understanding about how students define and discuss sexual assault in a university setting.

Transcribing the Focus Groups

The tapes from my focus groups were transcribed verbatim, using pseudonyms to identify participants. In the quotes I employed, I had originally kept the person's words in their original form to fully represent the views and opinions of my participants. In the process of analyzing my data, I noticed that some aspects of participants' speech in the focus group discussions detracted from the main messages they were trying to convey. Upon this realization, I decided to edit out words such as some of the "um"s, "like"s and "you know"s from parts of speech for clarity.

I will use an example of Krystal's speech in its original form to show how filler speech can detract from a participant's main points. I will then follow with my edited version to illustrate the importance of editing a participant's speech to convey it in a way that promotes the most clarity and presents that person's point of view in the best possible light. Krystal's speech in its original form is presented here:

Krystal: Because I remember like even like I dunno like growing up like if you've seen a girl, if she was dressed a certain way, then you're like well, she was expecting it, you know what I mean? As opposed to like somebody who wasn't like but like I dunno, you try not to you like, I guess put yourself out in way where you're like, oh you know, um I'm just willing and able all the time, I dunno.

I will now present my edits to Krystal's speech as an example of how and why I found it necessary to edit parts of my focus group participants' speeches. I replace words that, in my view, do not contribute to participants' talk with three dots (. . .):

Krystal: Because I remember . . . even . . . growing up . . . if you've seen a girl, if she was dressed a certain way, then you're like well, she was expecting it, you know what I mean? As opposed to . . . somebody who wasn't . . . but . . . I dunno, you try not to . . . , I guess put yourself out in way where you're . . . just willing and able all the time.

Hyams (2004) writes about the importance of paying attention to silence in focus groups. I also understand the importance of paying attention to the hesitancy in people's speech. Speech fillers such as ones in the example listed above are important to note. These fillers were used more by women when they were expressing an opinion that I interpreted as more original. In my view, these women were not considered the most popular amongst their peers. For this reason, some filler speech is not edited out of select parts of the focus groups conversations in order to convey what speech is socially acceptable in first-year university student circles and what speech is less so.

In this edited speech, I kept in a "you know what I mean" and a "I dunno" to illustrate how expressing certain points of view are considered risky when participants are testing the waters for peer approval. I strove for a balance between clarity in presenting the interview excerpts and listening to participants' interactions and

discussions incorporating certain discourses. Having listened to, transcribed, and analyzed the data myself, I made a judgement call about what speech I considered ‘filler’ and what speech that I felt contributed to participants’ overall messages, interpretations, and feelings. In this particular case, I interpreted that Krystal is surrounded by men who seem to have only a minimal understanding of how women interpret the sexual assault myth discourse as well as the ideologies that affect women’s everyday lives.

3.6 Data Analysis: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a form of analysis that recognizes how unequal power relations contribute to the production of meaning through discourse. Norman Fairclough defines critical discourse analysis as “. . . an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices” (1995a, pp. 16-17). In this definition, each of these elements informs the other in producing, reproducing and negotiating discourses.

In addition, discourse informs social structures, while social structures inform discourse. Discourse can serve as a tool that sustains unequal relations of power within these social structures. Unequal power relations are maintained when discourse becomes tacitly accepted and becomes an ideology or a common sense or taken-for-granted viewpoint. The more a discourse is perceived as common sense, the more effective the discourse is at masking, and therefore supporting, asymmetrical divisions of power (Fairclough, 1989).

Common-sense discourses make it harder for subordinated groups to challenge the ideologies that marginalize them. It is difficult to develop new discourses and actions

to help free them from such subordination. Therefore, the language that shapes discourse can be seen as “both a site of and a stake in . . . struggle” for marginalized groups (Fairclough, 1989, p. 35). Here, analyzing the language used in texts, discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices helps researchers tease out ideological discourses so that such discourses no longer have the power to marginalize social groups. Fairclough views class relations as the most important type of struggle to analyze (Fairclough, 1989). Later in his research career, he adds gender relations as another site of struggle worthy of analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Critiques of Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Lara Karaian and Nancy Mandell (2000), bias in data collection pertains to the choices that researchers make (and do not make) as they conduct their academic work. Put succinctly, bias in data collection involves “what information is sought, from whom and under what circumstances” (Karaian & Mandell, 2000, p. 127). One of the major critiques of critical discourse analysis is that researchers’ biases, such as their political leanings and prejudices, can colour the data analysis (Shegloff, 1997, 1999a,b; Wetherell; 1998, Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In short, researchers can find whatever discourses they set out to find and ignore the rest. As Blommaert (2001, p.3) aptly states, “Even the most mundane talk can be transformed into an instance of vulgar power abuse if framed properly.” Blommaert (2001) suggests defining these power relations *a priori*, before critical discourse analysis begins.

However, while Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) agree with this critique, they do not advocate that researchers stop using this data analysis method. Instead, they propose

that researchers be self-reflexive and self-critical about the ‘institutional positioning’ of their work. The authors conceptualize ‘institutional positioning’ as the ways researchers conduct research, how their research objectives and their predicted outcomes shape their results, and what relationships researchers have with the type of people they are analyzing. Indeed, Bucholtz (2001) argues that a researcher’s political leanings are not the problem: it is how these biases are put into practice throughout the research process that is in need of repair. In the same breath, she champions reflexive discourse analysis as effective research practice (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 179).

The reflexive process of autoethnography, a process I engaged in as I conducted my data analysis, highlights the connections between autobiographical, personal, social, and political experiences (Ellis, 2004). This ‘reflexive turn,’ heralded by Norman Denzin (1997), among others in the sociology field, has helped to demystify the process of theoretical and empirical knowledge construction (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).

It is important to recognize that while researcher bias and the “seek and ye shall find” critique are important issues to discuss in critical discourse analysis, these are also critiques of any other analytic method (Bucholtz, 2001; Goldstein, 2001; Walby, 2007).

Throughout my research process, I have been reflexive and self-critical of my own biases and the ways in which they may influence my work. Yet, following Mauthner and Doucet (2003) I acknowledge the limits of reflexivity at this point in the research process. As noted by Mauthner and Doucet,

... it may be impossible to grasp the unconscious filters through which we experience events. No matter how aware and reflexive we try to be, . . . [t]here may be limits to reflexivity, and to the extent to which we can be aware of the influences on our research . . . at the time of conducting it It may be more useful to think in terms

of ‘degrees of reflexivity’, with some influences being easier to identify and articulate at the time of our work while others may take time, distance and detachment from the research (2003, p. 425).

In the following section, I use reflexivity to outline my positioning in data collection.

Later in this chapter, I address how I was reflexive about my biases during data analysis.

As both of these sections recount personal reflections, they are presented in italic fonts.

Autoethnographic Reflections: Reflexivity in Data Collection

As Mauthner and Doucet (2003) suggest, the works of researchers are influenced by their personal, interpersonal, institutional, pragmatic, emotional, theoretical, epistemological, and ontological experiences and assumptions. Sharing my narrative of a traumatic experience is my effort to be reflexive and to share my assumptions and experiences that have affected the research process. A researcher always has particular experiences and vantage points that colour that person’s point of view. Therefore, I acknowledge through my autoethnographic reflections that context matters and that my personal experiences affect my research. My engagement with the reflexive process is meant to make my research more transparent to my readers, providing insight into the ways I carried out my study and interpreted the findings for my thesis project. More specifically, this section explains how I learned, through a grievous experience, how to interpret and talk about sexual violence. My narrative focuses on my personal experiences with victim-blaming, listening to female sexual assault survivors’ narratives, and listening to men’s responses to talk and media relating to sexual assault awareness. All of these encounters have influenced my thesis work on sexual assault prevention on Canadian university campuses.

In my focus groups, there were times when people made comments that were victim-blaming. These comments are the most salient in my mind perhaps because I have experienced them personally at one point of my life. While I did my best to greet each comment as an “excellent contribution” to the focus group, there is a slight chance that my responses to them were not as positive as to other contributions.

I consider my determination that women’s voices be heard to be a positive aspect of the focus groups. At times, men cut certain women off by interrupting or laughing at what they said. These women seemed to be embarrassed, perhaps thinking they had said something wrong. I alleviated this tension by encouraging them to speak and gently telling the men to give everyone a turn to speak. I found it important to validate what these women were saying and did my best to listen to their voices.

Just like the professor mentioned in my preface—who was able to turn issues pertaining to media, hegemonic masculinities, and sexual assault on and off—I found this happening in a similar situation in my focus groups with men. I became upset that men typically participated on a more superficial level than women. In my view, they kept an emotional distance from the conversation. Their constant joking and outlandish comments made me feel as though they were trying to perform a show for me and the other participants so that they did not have to share their more personal thoughts. Perhaps this is because I am a woman and they felt the need to censor themselves in front of me. These men never talked about feeling vulnerable, scared, or confused. I could not connect to them on the same level that I connected with most of the women in the focus group. Most of the men demonstrated they did not know as much about sexual assault as the women. There were times I became frustrated and impatient when they displayed

their lack of knowledge about sexual assault, especially after telling me that they already knew everything there was to know about the topic.

There were moments when I had to remind myself that what they had to say was interesting because their experiences were so different from my own. For example, I was disappointed with the responses that pointed to male privilege; where men could choose to ignore the topic of sexual assault on campus unless they were given prizes or free food for their participation. Nevertheless, I welcomed suggestions from men, since each suggestion got me closer to my goal of involving more men in preventing sexual assault.

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis examines and critiques the ways in which cultural and institutional settings produce, reproduce, and negotiate the systemic power relations that we often overlook and take for granted (Lazar, 2005). *Feminist* critical discourse analysis takes this notion further by examining social constructions of power and ideology through a gendered lens. More specifically, this form of analysis seeks to uncover how discourse perpetuates the treatment of women as second-class citizens (Lazar, 2005). Since sexual assault is a way for men to assert power over women, it is critical to analyze the ideologies that promote these gendered power dynamics.

Akin to critical discourse analysis, feminist critical discourse analysis theorizes how discourses relate to everyday social practices. Through feminist critical discourse analysis, one can see how discourse has profound consequences for women (Lazar, 2005). Indeed, sexist discourses have held women back in the justice system, media, and university settings. For example, discourses in the justice system have portrayed sexually

assaulted women as responsible for their assault while diminishing the responsibility of the offender in committing such a crime (Coates & Wade, 2004). Newspaper articles across Canada have used language indicating that sexual assaults were mutual sexual interactions instead of violent and non-consensual acts (Sampert, 2009). Discourses also privilege male definitions of consent, masking the power dynamics embedded in heterosexual sexual interactions, especially in cases of sexual assault on campus (Ehrlich, 1998). All of these sexist discourses thwart effective sexual assault intervention (Coates & Wade, 2004).

Similar to critical discourse analysis, feminist critical discourse analysis is a political program in the sense that studying the discursive strategies that produce systemic inequalities can provide the tools for feminists to make social change (Lazar, 2005). Here, discourses are places where “forces of social (re)production and contestation are played out” (Lazar, 2005, p. 4). Using discourse as forms of contestation means that feminist discourses that include men in sexual assault prevention strategies have the opportunity to thrive. For this reason, feminist discourse analysis is an appealing method of analysis for my thesis. The findings generated from my thesis will be used to develop ways to make sexual assault discourse on campus less victim-blaming and more inclusive of men pertaining to sexual assault prevention public education campaigns on campus.

Before I began my feminist critical discourse analysis, I intended to analyze the transcripts from the focus groups that I led. I began my analysis looking for ways in which men’s responsibility to prevent sexual assault against women was concealed through discourse. During my analysis, I looked for such things as passive and agent-less grammatical constructions (Lamb, 1991; Lamb & Keon, 1995). An example of such a

construction is the phrase, “Jane Doe was sexually assaulted” instead of “John Smith sexually assaulted Jane Doe.” I also intended to look for eroticizing discourse that made sexual assault appear mutual such as “John Smith *caressed* Jane Doe’s breasts” instead of “John Smith sexually assaulted Jane Doe” (Sampert, 2009). Eroticizing and mutualizing discourse diminishes the role that violence plays in sexual crime and takes away from the fact that sexual assaults are “unilateral and solely the responsibility of the offender,” making the crime less likely to be perceived as a sexual assault (Coates & Wade, 2004).

Finally, I anticipated examining how alcohol and men’s sex drives appeared in the focus group discourses. More specifically, I wanted to find ways in which alcohol and sexual urges were used to obscure or lessen perpetrator responsibility. Such discourses make perpetrators of sexual assault seem passive; alcohol and male sex drives become personified forces that make the perpetrator appear as if he had no other choice but to sexually assault (Coates & Wade, 2004). In short, the perpetrated sexual assault no longer appears to be a deliberate choice that the offender made for which he should be held responsible.

While I did look for these discourses, I also formed new categories for other discourses and frames that I found more salient in my focus group discussions. After analyzing my data, I realized that discourses about sexual assault were not always about men avoiding responsibility. New discourses focused on *why* men avoid engaging in sexual assault public communication campaigns rather than *how* men avoid engaging with these media. New discourses were also reflected in the fact that both genders discussed sexual assault prevention and gender roles in very similar ways. The new

discourses and frames discussed in Chapter 4 and 5 help to further reflect these research findings.

Framing Analysis

I used framing analysis to complement my feminist critical discourse analysis, as a method of examining “. . . the way that certain ideological or interpretive ‘frames’ dominate institutional interactions while others are suppressed” (Ehrlich, 1998, p. 149). Frames can also be conceptualized as generalized mental representations that help one make sense of the social world. These representations are comprised of experiences, events, and other meaningful categories that form the hegemonic worldviews feminist critical discourse analysis seeks to analyze (Greenberg & Knight, 2004).

There are two different types of framing strategies that will be used in this thesis: diagnostic and prognostic framing; the former involves identifying the problem and its source (Benford & Snow, 2000). In the context of my research, the diagnostic frames will organize and shape my focus group participants’ experiences and discussion and use them to guide action to develop sexual assault prevention campaigns that are more effective than current campaigns at Carleton University (Snow et al., 1986, p. 464). It is of critical importance to examine ways in which ideological perspectives that ignore men’s role in sexual assault prevention are shaped and produced in my focus group discussions. Framing analysis will also help uncover how these ideologies can be challenged and resisted (Ehrlich, 1998).

The second framing strategy, prognostic framing, involves organizing a solution to the problem along with strategies for carrying it out (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Greenberg, May and Elliot (2006) argue that in order for activist groups to deliver effective public communication campaigns, these groups must possess and use cultural resources. The authors define cultural resources as knowledge and experience engaging with the social structures the activist group is fighting against; how to organize a public awareness campaign and how to “‘translate’ complex or technical information into the discourses of . . . everyday life” are a few examples of cultural resources the authors offer (Greenberg, May, & Elliot, 2006).

Such cultural knowledge would enable activist groups to scan the media environment before hosting events that are meant to generate public awareness and develop key messages or ‘frames’ that coincide with the broader socio-cultural context (Ryan, 1991). Ideal frames fit the following two criteria and are thus most likely to shape public discourses and media (Greenberg, May, & Elliot, 2006): (1) they relate to the everyday experiences of diverse social groups (e.g. gender, race and class) and (2) they are viewed as “empirically credible” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 620). One of the purposes of my thesis research is to give activist groups the cultural resources to make effective sexual assault public communication campaigns that fight sexual assault myths and target men using diagnostic and prognostic framing analysis.

My diagnostic framing analysis consisted of looking for metaphors, specifically those that functioned as euphemisms for blaming sexual assault victims and which rendered the agency and actions of the perpetrator invisible. Metaphors enable a person to understand one concept in light of another concept. Metaphors used to describe sexual

assault, typically offer only a partial understanding of sexual assault, obscuring or emphasizing different parts of the concept (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). They are often effective at constructing and maintaining social relationships and power relationships, where men's roles are erased from sexual assault prevention strategies (Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995). For example, some metaphors portray sexual assault as so inevitable that it cannot be prevented. Metaphors that describe sexual assault perpetrators as 'monsters' that cannot be tamed reinforce the myths that sexual assault cannot possibly be prevented by men and that a rapist is a social 'other.' Since the rapist/monster cannot be tamed, it becomes solely the woman's duty to protect herself against such a beast (Anderson and Doherty, 2008).

Autoethnographic Reflections: Data Analysis

One of the most transformative aspects of my thesis was the process of data analysis: I began with one perspective and ended with another. Initially, I had a mission to listen to women's voices and be present for anything they wanted to share with me so that I could help them. Listening to men was simply a vehicle, a tool, to get to women. I only wanted to listen to men so that I could use their comments and opinions to prevent sexual assault against women. I saw them as the other side, the enemy. I remember when I took my masculinities course I wrote "keep your friends close, keep your enemies closer" on the inside cover of the course text. Looking back, I may have taken this course to understand 'the enemy,' to understand whom exactly I was wrestling with if I was hoping to one day end sexual violence on campus.

When I did research for my thesis proposal, my goal was to find discourses that responsabilized women and excused men of playing any role perpetrating or preventing sexual assault. The assumption was that men were sneaky and always trying to avoid responsibility for preventing sexual assault whenever possible. I really felt that men did not care about sexual assault at all. It was not difficult to find feminist research written about discourses men used to avoid responsibility in preventing sexual assault. In short, my original assumptions about men went unchallenged because I sought out research that re-enforced my preconceptions.

On the other hand, I viewed women predominantly as victims or potential victims of sexual assault. I believed that women always thought of sexual assault, no matter the location, and were therefore continually afraid of being sexually assaulted. In short, I believed that the discourses about sexual assault prevention campaigns would be completely gendered. While this was the case for some women, this was certainly not the case for all.

I also thought that women would stand in solidarity with each other by disrupting victim-blaming attitudes. I must have assumed that all women were second-wave feminists, all coming together, holding hands and singing "Kumbaya." I thought men would be the only gender to victim-blame women for their sexual assault. To me, victim-blaming was a logical way for men to avoid caring about sexual assault. I did not see any logical reason for women to victim-blame their female peers. Women victim-blaming women went against my 'all women are feminists' vision. I was therefore completely surprised that there were some women who did not seem to think of sexual assault on campus as much of a social problem. For example, one woman did not know that victim-

blaming attitudes about sexual assault existed. On the other hand, in a different focus group, another woman started a discussion about how women invite sexual assault in the ways they dress and approach men. She got many women and men to agree with her. Those who did not agree with her remained silent and did not counter her argument.

As I conducted my data analysis, I realized that men were not the only ones to reinforce patterns of hegemonic masculinity. I wrongly assumed that men would be the ones to primarily engage in hegemonic masculine discourse; that women had no reason to reinforce the very patterns that would contribute to their inequality. To my surprise, there were certain patterns of masculinity that were reinforced by women more than men! For example, anti-feminist and anti-gay discourses along with discourses about physical strength were mostly initiated by women.

To counter sexual assault discourses that blamed women, the original focus of my thesis was to place more responsibility on men to prevent the crime. At the time, I was angry that my rapist was freely occupying public space when I felt he should be in jail. However, since I did not have the emotional or financial resources to hold him accountable for what he had done, I began to cast these feelings of blame and anger on the male participants in my focus group. While I do believe that emphasizing men's roles in sexual assault prevention is acceptable, I no longer believe that all the blame should go to men. By the end of this thesis, I started to believe that women's attitudes and discourses also needed to be accounted for and changed, along with sexual assault media discourses.

Before my focus groups took place, I picked out media campaigns that put responsibility on men to prevent sexual assault. I thought that these campaigns targeted

men, and that both genders would really like the new campaigns. I felt that these campaigns would be much more effective than the campaigns presented at Carleton University. I anticipated men and women responding to these campaigns with an epiphany. I pictured them wondering why they had never thought of sexual assault in the way these posters framed it.

To my dismay, not all of these new campaigns were popular with men or even women. Men and women both felt that some of the posters portrayed men as monsters, especially a poster that said, “. . . the idea that men can't control themselves is pure myth.” Both men and women got very irritated about this and insisted that many men were good men. This part of the data analysis was the most difficult for me to interpret and analyze. At first, I interpreted this as a way that men used to sneakily avoid responsibility. However, I soon realized that women were part of this discourse as well. This was very hard for me to rationalize. I was concerned that if I discussed these discourses, then my thesis would be a tool to blame women for sexual assault on campus. The campaigns I anticipated that would change discourse and eventually help prevent sexual assault were not meeting any of these objectives. This was very difficult for me to admit and was a great source of cognitive dissonance for me: I was at a crossroads.

In the hopes of reducing my cognitive dissonance, I took a break from my thesis and had time to discuss the results with my friends. I was mostly interested in what the men in my life thought about my results. It was important for me, by asking men that I knew and respected, to understand whether the responses generated from my focus group belonged to immature, sexist teenage men or whether their responses were more representative of men, including more sensitive men who viewed sexual violence as an

important social issue. To my surprise, all of the men to whom I spoke agreed that they interpreted many sexual assault campaigns as targeting all men as sexual assault perpetrators. Despite their knowledge about sexual assault as an important social issue, they (like my focus group participants), felt put off by the sexual assault campaigns that portrayed all men as 'monsters' and 'potential rapists.'

Many of my male friends, however, disagreed with some of the hegemonic gender patterns that men and women in my focus groups seemed comfortable with, but pointed out that these hegemonic masculine patterns were much more salient in their minds when they were in their first year of university. For example, my male friends were more comfortable sharing their feelings than they were in first-year.

After my break from my thesis and my discussions with my male friends, I began to understand and be at peace with the fact that men are not entirely to blame for their lack of engagement with sexual assault public communication campaigns. I no longer categorized discourses by how men avoided responsibility, as if they were slacking purposely. I also came to accept women's roles in reinforcing hegemonic masculine gender patterns, victim-blaming, and their fear of casting all men as rapists. I was not doing a disservice to women by discussing these things. Even feminists acknowledge that not all women are feminists. My thesis shows how prevalent sexual assault myth discourses and hegemonic masculinity discourses include both men and women in university campus culture.

In sum, I stopped looking for differences between genders and began viewing men and women as more similar. I originally divided my analysis into a section on men and a section on women, but these sections eventually blurred together. I also began to analyze

the role of media campaigns in influencing students' discourse about sexual assault. I eventually weaved a section into Chapter 4 and 5 about how sexual assault media campaigns frame sexual assault. This analysis illustrated the impact that sexual assault public communication campaigns have in framing sexual assault discourses for first-year university students.

This section has specifically focused on how I have interpreted and reacted to the comments of first-year students and how being sexually assaulted on campus played a role in the way I responded to my research.

The following chapter will discuss the results of the research study and connect these findings to the academic literature as well as other campus media campaigns.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion—Discourses and Frames

This chapter is an overview of the key findings from first year Carleton University students' talk generated in my focus groups. I use a feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis to analyze two different discourses. Reflections and data analysis led me to the formation of these categories which were the key lenses in interpreting the data. In my view, these discourses and diagnostic frames perpetuate men's absence from sexual assault prevention campaigns on campus and solely responsabilize women as sexual assault preventers. More specifically, the first section addresses sexual assault myth discourses, while the second section takes up hegemonic masculinity discourses. While these discourses overlap and interrelate, each plays a distinct role in shaping participants' interpretations and talk about these campaigns.

According to Connell (2002), media is a shaper of people's beliefs and values about gender roles. Throughout this chapter, I discuss how current sexual assault public communication campaigns frame the issue of sexual assault, as well as how my findings correspond to the current academic literature. While there is very little research conducted on discourses relating to men's and women's talk about men's roles in preventing sexual assault on campus, I found quite a few authors who conducted discourse analyses of media campaigns relating to sexual assault. I have used these academic articles, along with media coverage of sexual assault campaigns, in my discussion of the literature.

4.1 Media Campaigns and Framing Analysis

After reviewing several different types of sexual assault public communication campaigns on campuses and in other communities, I found that sexual assault public communication campaigns fall under three main categories. I chose to structure this section with these categories in mind: (1) women/victim advocacy; (2) men as bystanders; and (3) men and women in relationships. Please refer to the table below to understand which of the posters presented in my focus group fit each category. I will explain each of these categories and make reference to them throughout this chapter.

Table 1: Focus Group Posters According to Campaign Type

Campaign Type	Corresponding Poster Campaign Discussed in Focus Groups	
	Title	Illustration
(1) Women/Victim Advocacy	Task Force	Illustration 1 (iii)
(2) Men as Bystanders	Man Talk	Illustration 1 (v)
	Our Role	Illustration 1 (vi)
	Our Strength	Illustration 2 (i)
	Friend, Stupid	Illustration 2 (ii)
	Control, Myth	Illustration 2 (iii)
(3) Men and Women in Relationships	No Means No	Illustration 1 (i)
	Ask First	Illustration 1 (iv)
	My Strength, Owe Me	Illustration 2 (iv)
	My Strength, We Didn't	Illustration 2 (v)

Women/Victim Advocacy

The first type of prevention campaign advocates for women, especially women who have already suffered from sexual assault. The “Task Force” poster [Illustration 1 (iii)] presented in my focus group fits into this category. The poster has a picture of two women and a man representing the three wise monkeys embodying the principle, “see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.” The poster says, “Task Force on Gender Based Violence—Hosted by the Coalition for a Carleton Sexual Assault Centre: Open Your Eyes, Listen Up, Speak Out”. The poster is advertising a town hall for female sexual assault survivors and those who know them to discuss sexual assault at Carleton University.

In my view, this poster represents the goal of women/victim advocacy group campaigns: to give women the opportunity to freely discuss sexual assault in a safe space. Because there is a man on the poster, I felt that men may feel targeted by this campaign and that this poster would thus fuel men’s conversation in the focus groups.

Men as Bystanders

The second type of campaign is one whose goal is to disrupt the discourse of rape culture. Since the roles that women and men play in perpetuating a discourse of rape culture are gendered, I focus this section on men. There are five examples of posters in my focus group that reflect this message. The first poster (1) is consistently known as the “Man Talk” poster throughout this thesis. The poster is largely text based and says, “Man Talk: What every guy oughta/gotta know about relationships – start a bro-talk, bring a man-date.” This poster is an advertisement for a Carleton University event targeting men

and women. Michael Kauffman, the founder of the White Ribbon Campaign, was the speaker [Illustration 1 (v)]. Posters for this event were displayed throughout the campus hallways and first-year students received a card-sized ad for this event in their frosh goody-bags.

The second poster (2) is an ad for a men's only conference called the "Our Role" conference [Illustration 1 (vi)]. It features a black heterosexual couple embracing. The event was organized by a black fraternity at Carleton University and the poster displays their fraternity crest on the lower left corner. Posters for this event were displayed in first-year student residences and in the University Centre atrium, a prominent meeting place for students.

The third (3) poster says "Our Strength is Not for Hurting: So when men disrespect women we say that's NOT RIGHT—Men can stop rape" [Illustration 2 (i)]. All three posters (which are numbered as posters 3, 4, 5) display photographic headshots of racially and ethnically diverse men arranged in grids of four or eight. The men have masculine features such as short hair and bushy eyebrows. The fourth (4) poster says, "Being a friend means stopping him before he does something stupid: 1 out of 6 women is a victim of rape or attempted rape. Rape is a man's issue too" [Illustration 2 (ii)]. The fifth (5) poster says, "When it comes to sex, the idea that men can't control themselves is just pure myth: 1 out of 6 women is a victim of rape or attempted rape. Rape is a man's issue too" [Illustration 2 (iii)].

Men and Women in Relationships

The third type of campaign focuses on public communication campaigns that frame sexual assault as a miscommunication between men and women in heterosexual intimate relationships. Men and women's gendered roles in sexual relationships will be outlined throughout Chapters 4 and 5. In each of these sections, the critiques of these campaigns will be discussed. There are four examples of posters in my focus group that reflect this message. The first poster (1) is the "No Means No" campaign displayed at Carleton University [Illustration 1 (i)]. The No Means No campaign is a text-based campaign that reads, "No Means No—Date Rape: Not understanding No." The rest of the text consists of phrases that also mean "no" each ending with the words "means no." Among these phrases are, "You've/I've been drinking means no," "Silence means no," and "I really like you but . . . means no."

The second (2) poster is the "Ask First" campaign [Illustration 1 (iv)]. Like the No Means No campaign [Illustration 1 (i)], this campaign is text-based. The background has the phrases that mean "no" such as "Silence means no" and "Drunk means no." The poster's main idea is centered in large text and reads, "Any Form of Sexual Activity without Consent is Sexual Assault: Ask First." This campaign is also displayed at Carleton University.

The third and fourth campaign both focus in on a heterosexual couple. These campaigns are not displayed at Carleton University. The third (3) campaign says, "My Strength is Not for Hurting: so when I paid for our date, she didn't OWE ME. Men can stop rape" [Illustration 2 (iv)]. The couple portrayed in this campaign is black. The fourth campaign says, "My Strength is Not for Hurting: so when I wanted to and she didn't, WE

DIDN'T. Men can stop rape" [Illustration 2 (v)]. The couple portrayed in this campaign is white.

4.2 Sexual Assault Myths

Historically, sexual assault myths have served to mask the responsibility of the sexual assault perpetrator. Instead, responsibility and blame were cast on sexual assault survivors (Roiphe, 1993). The literature discusses a wide variety of sexual assault myths; my feminist critical discourse and framing analysis will focus on two myths that I believe best capture the main focus group findings. The *first* sexual assault myth discourse is the vilification of sexual assault perpetrators (that all perpetrators are 'bad apples'). The subsections pertaining to this discourse (presented in italic headings and lower case letters) represent three of the implications of this discourse: (*i.a*) talk that "Not All Men Rape," (*i.b*) talk about Women Sexually Assaulting Men, and (*i.c*) Anti-Feminist Discourse. The *second* sexual assault myth discourse is the responsabilization and victim-blaming of women. Both of these myths were prevalent in focus group discussions.

Students' discussions of sexual assault were initially framed by a discourse of sexual assault myths. The vilification of sexual assault perpetrators discourse is further explained here. The implications of this discourse for men's engagement with sexual assault public communication campaigns and feminist groups will also be further discussed in this section.

(i) Vilification of Sexual Assault Perpetrators

The vilification of sexual assault perpetrators discourse stems from the first sexual assault myth: a man who sexually assaults a woman is a stranger, is considered completely distant from the sexual assault victim's social network, and is socially othered. The perpetrator is perceived to be a 'bogyman' who lurks in the bushes at night, preying on his next victim. Movies and other pop-culture images help to frame the sexual assault myth discourse. Many men in my focus groups had apparently internalized this myth as evidenced in the way that they described a sexual assault perpetrator.

The stereotypical rapist is described by Jonathan as having "an innate and psychological problem." Sometimes the perpetrator is perceived as 'othered' to the extent that he is not described or made reference to at all in discussion about sexual assault.

The following excerpt, about preventing sexual assault on campus, is an example of how students perceive sexual assault perpetrators as complete strangers from the rest of the university community. Like many of the male participants in my focus groups, Miles has taken up the sexual assault myth discourse that perpetrators are psychotic strangers in an attempt to socially other these men from himself:

Miles: If somebody's gonna rape somebody that's their mentality, it's not like you can convince them otherwise 'cuz if everyone else all their lives have spoken to him and told him it's wrong or at least somebody has, right? It's clearly not what they're thinking about. It's not "Oh, maybe I shouldn't do that."

Miles socially distances himself from the perpetrator by describing the perpetrator and his social environment in an abstract manner; Miles refers to the perpetrator as "somebody" and his peers as "everyone else." By distancing himself from the perpetrator,

Miles views sexual assault as a crime where he is unable to intervene and potentially stop a man from committing a violent act. He views sexual assault perpetrators as out of control and thus unstoppable. He describes a man's desire to sexually assault a woman as a "mentality," a fixed personality trait that cannot be helped: people have tried to tell him rape is wrong, to no effect.

Because sexual assault perpetrators are perceived as far removed from their community, it is easier for men to feel far removed from sexual assault public communication campaigns. The following excerpt is an example of how men do not feel targeted by some of the sexual assault public communication campaigns:

Travis: [T]he people that don't know they're doing it, can see those posters . . . I think that if people are just ignorant or unaware of what they're doing or how they're acting towards a woman. If they see that and it's defined more for them then they can realize that that's [sexual assault is] wrong and if they go to things like the Man Talk and the Our Role men's conference, . . . they [will] know how to change, they just need to be told how.

Travis does not see himself as targeted by these campaigns. Instead, he perceives these campaigns to be targeting sexual assault perpetrators. Travis talks positively about how men's conferences can play a role in preventing sexual assault on campus by involving other men who sexually assault women. He refers to these conferences as if they are meant to target a social other, rather than him. He has no need to participate in such a conference; only a rapist does. Like Miles, Travis speaks in the third-person to distance the perpetrator from himself and his social environment. He refers to the rapist as "they" and "people." Therefore not only do sexual assault myth discourses shape the way participants discuss sexual assault prevention, they also construct a targeted audience for sexual assault communication campaigns: not themselves.

My research shows the reason why men do not see themselves reflected in sexual assault campaigns and/or sexual assault prevention discourses:

- Elana:** [D]o you ever think about these campaigns?
Zachary: Not really.
Mark: Well, like, um.
Zachary: Just try to avoid doing it. (*chuckles*)
Peter: (*chuckles*)

As long as the men in the focus group do not see themselves as sexually assaulting women, they can rest assured that the sexual assault prevention discourse does not involve them. According to these men, sexual assault public communication campaigns are designed for men who sexually assault women. In my view, the laughter among the men in the group reflects how commonplace it is for men not to see themselves playing an active role in preventing sexual assault on campus.

Though these men claimed to avoid sexually assaulting women, some men in the group did not fully understand what circumstances and acts constitute sexual assault. Since sexual assault by a date or acquaintance does not conform to the discourse of sexual assault myths, many men viewed sexual assault within a sexual relationship as a form of miscommunication—even pure stupidity on the man’s part—but not a form of sexual violation. For example:

- Elana:** These posters redefined what you thought of as rape?
Miles: Well no because they say things like
Elana: Or sexual assault[?]
Miles: Yeah. Sexual assault. Not necessarily rape, but things that are sexual assault that I wouldn’t necessarily consider sexual assault and that I know other people wouldn’t necessarily consider sexual assault. But like how far are you going to take the sexual assault to just “you know what, this is like miscommunication” or just “somebody being a dumbass tonight”. Like, you know what? If they do like try physically, force themselves on you, you push away and they do it again then, hell yeah, it’s sexual assault. But

like, I dunno, just from this presentation, . . . what I know is rape is kinda getting sketchier.

Men and women do not think of being sexually assaulted in a sexual relationship.

In fact, most women like Jessica “think of just being assaulted by someone. Not necessarily when you’re in a relationship.” This thought reinforces the first myth in the sense that the perpetrator is not thought to be involved in the sexual assault victim’s community.

Due to the first myth where sexual assaults are viewed as isolated incidents committed by a stranger far from the campus community, sexual assaults by a date or acquaintance are seen as ‘less’ than rape and not taken as seriously as those committed by a stranger.

In N. Tatiana Master’s (2010) analysis of men’s anti-rape websites, she too came across a discourse that socially ‘othered’ sexual assault perpetrators. Jim Hines (2005) makes the connection between discourses that socially other sexual assault perpetrators and men’s lack of involvement in preventing sexual assault. He writes, “When we believe abusers are brutish slimeballs, . . . [w]hen we separate ourselves from the problem because we’re the ‘good guys,’ we stop examining our own attitudes and behaviors.” By distancing themselves from sexual assault perpetrators, men (rapists or not) can stop holding themselves accountable for their role in perpetuating violence against women and prevent sexual assault by, as Zachary says, “just trying to avoid doing it.”

(i.a) “Not all Men Rape”

While the preceding section focuses on how men view sexual assault perpetrators, this section draws attention to how male participants view themselves and men whom they perceive as peers. Although men and women acknowledge that there are men who sexually assault women, male and female focus group participants do not perceive university males to be among these men. The “not all men rape” discourse relates to men being told, and them telling themselves, that men who are similar to them are good, know that sexual assault is wrong, and do not sexually assault women. In the majority of focus group discussions, males were unaffected by campaigns they interpreted as telling them, as Azim says, “things they shouldn’t be doing.” Men perceived this message to be directed at men who need to be told to not sexually assault women, i.e., sexual assault perpetrators, where these men do not commit sexual assault in the first place.

The depiction of all men as potential sexual assault perpetrators put many men in my focus groups on the defensive. These men assume that they are being perceived as a potential sexual assault perpetrator who does not know right from wrong.

The following discussions reflect men’s disengagement from sexual assault campaigns where they perceive themselves as being talked down to as a result of being targeted as potential sexual assault perpetrators:

- Elana:** [H]ave these posters . . . changed the way you think about sexual assault?
David: Mmm no.
Fernanda: Mm no.
Ben: (*angry tone*) ‘Cuz I know it’s not right so. . . I don’t need a poster to tell me it’s not right, personally.

Ben is on the defensive since, in my view he seems to think that the posters accuse him of being a man who sexually assaults women. The campaigns make men in the focus groups feel devalued by assuming that men do not know any better but to sexually assault women and thus need to be told not to do so.

Men are not the only ones to dislike these campaigns. The following discussion shows how women reacted negatively to media campaigns that they thought could possibly construct all men as potential sexual assault perpetrators. The poster discussed says, “The idea that men can’t control themselves is pure myth—men can stop rape. One out of 6 women is a victim of rape or attempted rape” [Illustration 2 (iii)]. The focus of this campaign, as reflected by the discussion, was in very large text. For the participants in my focus groups, this poster was the least popular of the sexual assault media campaigns:

- Elizabeth:** So that paints a bad picture.
Fernanda: It’s, yeah.
Azim: Yeah.
Hayley: Yeah it’s saying like, men can totally control themselves, [so] why don’t they?
Jessica: That’s what I was trying to get at before.
Fernanda: Yeah.
Elizabeth: It’s not.
Elana: Ook.
Elizabeth: It’s not working together.
Fernanda: Yeah.
Hayley: Yeah.
Elana: You don’t think it’s working together. Okay.
Elizabeth: I think it works together, but I think it’s just sending a really negative image.
Fernanda: It’s really accusatory.
Elizabeth: Yeah, mmmm.

(i.b): “[I]t does happen . . . and that should be an issue too”: Women Sexually Assaulting Men

Discussions about the omission of men sexually assaulted by women occurred repeatedly across focus groups. Both women and men felt it was important to remember that men are sexually assaulted as well and that by focusing on sexual assault against women, the focus group was only focusing on the stereotypical cases of sexual assault. In the focus groups it became important for both men and women to give men space as victims.

These types of conversations were often sparked by worries that sexual assault public communication campaigns offer a negative portrayal of all men:

- Ben:** I think they’re kind of offensive because it kind of shows like ordinary guys could possibly also be a rapist, you don’t know, or . . . sexually assault girls.
- David:** Yeah.
- Ben:** But it also doesn’t have like, you don’t see a poster of like, the other way around. Even though it doesn’t happen as much as one out of six, but it does happen like, and that should be an issue too . . .

Campaigns using men that look like their peers make it harder for men to distance themselves from the sexual assault prevention discourse. Men like Ben were threatened by this image. Here, Ben wants to avoid being perceived as a potential sexual assault perpetrator by deflecting the perpetrator role onto women.

Posters that discuss only sexual assault by men are deemed to be so unfair to men that they are interpreted as sexist in the following discussion:

- Rachel:** The men’s-only ones just like, to me they just scream “sexism”. Like this only –
- Anika:** Yeah.
- Rachel:** This is only a result of men.

Denying men space as potential sexual assault victims in this discussion is interpreted as failing to listen to men's experiences surviving sexual assault and unfairly blaming men. In Paul Peace's (2003) focus groups with university men and women, he also found a discourse where students felt that women were just as sexist as men. Peace (2003) considers his participants' views problematic since their language suggests that women have successfully reversed power relations between men and women while excusing men who benefit from sexist behavior toward women.

My findings are analogous to Emily Marchese's (2008) findings generated from her discourse analysis of materials from men's anti-rape campaigns in the United States and Canada. In her work, she notices a discourse that elevates men's experiences at the expense of women. For example, a large amount of space in these campaigns is dedicated to telling men not to feel blamed or defensive when discussing sexual assault. In short, these campaigns tell men that they are not 'bad men' to help engage men in their campaign. In Marchese's discourse analysis (2008), she encounters many anti-rape campaigns for men that discuss sexual assault against women as well as men.

(i.c) Anti-Feminist Discourse

Discourses and campaigns that vilified and socially 'othered' sexual assault perpetrators contributed to an anti-feminist discourse in my focus groups. This excerpt highlights how any campaign associated with feminist groups seems repulsive to both men and women due to the stereotypes associated with feminism:

- Elizabeth:** I'm having an issue with the Task Force one [Illustration 1 (ii)] being sponsored by, like, put on by the Womyn's Centre.
- Hayley:** Yeah.

- Elana:** Okay tell me about that, why is that?
 ...
- Elizabeth:** I kind of associate the Womyn's Centre with, like, very strong feminism.
- Elana:** Okay
- Elizabeth:** Very strong. And so I would feel like that one's more about women empowerment and guys doing wrong.
- David:** Yeah.
- Elizabeth:** And stuff. Only because it is associated with *that*.
- David:** 'Cuz the gender based violence, but it's only by one gender, like sponsoring it.
- Hayley and Sierra:** Yeah.
- Elana:** Okay I see what you're saying. Um, so, so you're saying that the Womyn's Centre, which seems to be a very feminist organization, you think they'd probably be casting blame . . . just on men?
- David:** Mmhmm. (in agreement)
- Elizabeth:** . . . I think it's probably more geared toward women who've been violently approached by men. Like, it does seem to have, lean[ed] more in that direction.

Here, feminist organizations, such as Womyn's Centres, are portrayed as man-hating organizations that exist primarily to listen to only women and point fingers at men. In my interpretation, it is for this reason that the women talk about 'strong feminism' as a terrible thing while the men still agree. Perhaps the men in the group felt comfortable agreeing to this point of view because a woman in the group addressed her criticisms towards feminist groups first.

Feminist groups typically produce women/victim advocacy campaigns. These campaigns support female sexual assault victims or potential sexual assault victims by making the community-at-large aware of the effects of sexual assault. They also provide a safe space for female sexual assault survivors to speak out against their experience. Their goal is to repair social structures that re-victimize women by blaming them for their sexual assault or forcing them to live in fear. Because organizers of these campaigns view

violence against women as a systemic community problem, their goal is to take up and reclaim space in the community-at-large (Bold, Knowles & Leach, 2002; Martell & Avitabile, 1998). For example, one of the goals of the Carleton Coalition for a Sexual Assault Centre is for the administration to recognize that sexual assault is a community problem that requires a campus centre to help sexual assault survivors at Carleton University. One of their successful campaigns was a Task Force on Gender-Based Violence where a mass of people (predominantly women) took up space in the university centre atrium to discuss sexual assault on campus. As mentioned previously, a poster for this event was presented to students in my focus groups [Illustration 1 (iii)]. One of their initiatives during this event was called “Airing Out Carleton’s Dirty Laundry” where paper cut-outs of underwear with messages from Carleton University students (who could choose to remain anonymous) were hung on a clothes-line for all to see.

The following messages demonstrated that the experiences of sexual assault survivors were silenced by the university administration: “I WAS RAPED. I’M NOT KEEPING IT A SECRET . . . SO WHY IS CARLETON?” Other writers made the connection between how sexual assault survivors experience the campus community after their assaults and how their experience affects everyone around them: “The man who sexually assaulted me is walking around this campus. Carleton: sexual assault is your problem too!”

While feminine gender roles often command women to be silent and passive with the belief that sexual assault against them is inevitable, these campaigns are designed to destroy these stereotypes. These messages allow survivors a safe space in which to

express their anger over how the campus community has responded to their sexual assault while fostering community awareness in a public space, the University Centre atrium.

In 2008, the Garneau Sisterhood also disrupted these gender stereotypes by using their anger to help empower women. The Sisterhood is a group of concerned citizens in the Garneau area of Edmonton and the larger Edmonton, Alberta community who organized and mobilized to catch a serial rapist in the neighbourhood, challenged rape culture and reclaimed safe spaces for people in their communities. Their brightly-coloured posters were a response to police warnings suggesting women lock their doors and windows. Female university students in this area lived in constant fear trying to avoid sexual assault. To manage these feelings of fear, women created emergency plans: men and women walked female friends home and allowed them to sleep on their couches so that no woman would be alone (Johnston, 2009).

Through a poster campaign, the Sisterhood formed solidarity with women in the community with poster slogans that recognized the systemic nature of sexual assault. For example, one poster reads, “There is no such thing as an isolated attack on an individual woman. All women are us. When a sister is raped it is a rape of the Sisterhood and cannot go unpunished.” By putting posters in public spaces, the Sisterhood also helped create a space for women to be angry and empowered in the face of sexual violence. For example, another poster posted on a fire hydrant reads, “Dear rapist: I am not changing my life for a pathetic fuck like you!”

Because of negative stereotypes about feminist organizations and feminist women, feminist spaces can be viewed as environments where men *and* women are repelled and become defensive instead of open to talking about their role in preventing

sexual assault on campus. The following discussion, in the second focus group, highlights how these stereotypes make men feel uncomfortable about beginning discussions about sexual assault where feminist groups are present:

- David:** Especially because some guys will just think that it's a feminist event.
- Jessica:** Mmhmm.
- Fernanda:** Yeah.
- David:** So if there's girls there, they think they're just gonna, like, I'm not trying to offend anyone, but like, there's going to be girls talking about like how awful men are and just—
- Hayley:** Yeah.
- David:** And if it's all guys, then they know there's not going to be any women there and like, they're just gonna talk about it as men from a male perspective so they would be more prone to go to those things.
- Fernanda:** Yeah

In the second focus group, stereotypes that associate feminists with blaming and talking down to men are a significant factor in the expressed desires of both men and women to leave feminists out of sexual assault discussions directed towards men.

Participants' critiques of feminist campaigns echo the findings of academics. Diane Martell & Nancy Avitabile, for example, agree that feminists are often stigmatized and thus alienated from the rest of the community (1998). Another downfall to these campaigns is that when men are discussed in these campaigns, they are often viewed solely as rapists or potential rapists.

(ii) Responsibilization/Victim-Blaming

The second sexual assault myth is that it is a woman's responsibility to protect herself from potential sexual assaults. If she fails, she is likely to be blamed for allowing and deserving the sexual assault to occur. Here, *both* men and women, rather than just

men, support sexual assault myths that portray women as exclusively responsible for preventing sexual assault.

Pop-culture images frame the participants' discussions about sexual assault on campus. In the following conversation, the Pussycat Dolls, a pop music group, shapes their understanding of victim-blaming in their talk about sexual assault:

- Elana:** Are there any popular culture images that you've seen, like movies or other popular images that make you think of sexual assault?
- Emma:** Well, like I dunno . . . Pussycat Dolls or whatever.
- Ali:** Yeah.
- Emma:** *(laughs)*
- Ali:** Yeah, it's true.
- Emma:** . . . They're so forward with their image. But it's completely, goes against everything that . . . we've been taught or whatever.
- Ali:** Mmhmm.
- Elana:** Okay. What do you mean?
- Ali:** . . . They just kind of project themselves as . . . being objects of like, you know? They're not really, they're sexual things, they're selling themselves out to boys or to females even, that this is the image that boys want and, so you have to kind of look like this and.
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Ali:** And that idea just kind of leads you into like, "Hey if I find you physically attractive then let's you know, let's have sex" so.
- Emma:** Yeah, but at the same time, then they also go and say, "Well, we're just being strong feminists—
- Ali:** Mhmm
- Emma:** In dressing this way." But like, so many people don't think that.
- Ali:** Yeah.
- Emma:** *(laughs)*
- Elana:** That's really interesting. So what made you connect that to sexual assault?
- Ali:** I dunno I guess kind of like, just the idea as if you're like projecting that image, then it's gonna kind of come for you, you know?

They are saying that the Pussycat Dolls encourage girls to "ask for it" which goes against everything they've been taught. The Pussycat Dolls market themselves as sexually-empowered women. However, the women in this focus group know that if they

ever dressed provocatively they would be presenting the ‘image that boys want.’ That is, men would not consider these women empowered. Instead, men would assume that these women are promiscuous and that they are entitled to sex with these women. In short, these women would be ‘asking for’ sex. These assumptions can possibly put a woman at risk of sexual assault if she is not willing to have sex with men that desire her.

Just as women associate the way they dress with sexual assault, male and female participants associate dark nights with sexual assault prevention:

- Elana:** So firstly, when you think about sexual assault, what comes to mind?
Scott: Rape.
Elana: Rape.
Scott: Women.
Elana: Women. Is there any, any things that you’ve seen or pop culture things that have helped make it clear, . . . or help you think about sexual assault or informed you about . . . ?
Chris: Don’t we have rape alarms on those lights outside?
Elana: Okay. That helped you think about it?
Chris: That.
Rina: *(laughs)* Yeah.

Here, the first thing that comes to mind when students think about sexual assault on campus pertains to women and some of the ways that they can protect themselves from sexual assault. The students are referring to the ‘safe pathways,’ located primarily outside of campus buildings, which are supposed to have superior lighting and emergency phones along the paths. A woman walking along this path who risks being sexually assaulted at night can call the emergency phone, which puts her in contact with campus security. There are also surveillance cameras along these paths, and thus video footage of a sexual assault attempt can be gathered.

The fact that these pathways are the most salient in the previous discussion about

campus sexual assault reinforces the first and second sexual assault myths. The first myth presupposes that the sexual assault perpetrator attacks when women walk outside by themselves, typically at night, when the lighting system is in full operation. The safe pathways are primarily effective for preventing sexual assaults that are physically violent. The lighting system would likely not be helpful if the perpetrator applies threats or verbal pressure. The sexual assault perpetrator is absent from the discussion; there is only talk about an association between women and the security systems available for women to utilize. This discourse hides the responsibility of a sexual assault perpetrator, thereby highlighting the second sexual assault myth which puts the responsibility on women to manage and thus prevent the high risk of sexual assault. Sexual assault becomes framed as a crime that women could avoid if only they protect themselves the right way and are always aware of the risk.

Overall, men are dependent on sexual assault myths to maintain the status quo, while prevention is ultimately women's responsibility. When asked how sexual assault on campus could be prevented, some of the men do not see themselves as part of the solution to end sexual assault on campus.

Miles: Umm I dunno, I think that chicks do a pretty good job of sticking in groups. I mean well, girls always travel in groups like everywhere and that's a pretty good deterrent. Like, I know I've got friends who've been like, "I'd love to go try and talk to this girl but she's got so many other girls around her that I'm not gonna be able to get in there".

By internalizing the sexual assault myth discourse that women are responsible for protecting themselves against a stranger rapist, men do not see themselves as people who could prevent sexual assault from taking place. Since men are not actively helping to

prevent sexual assault, the crime is still women's responsibility to manage alone, in isolation from the campus community.

In my focus groups, I found that women often initiated discussion that served to responsabilize women in preventing sexual assault. The following conversation is an example of women beginning, and for the most part maintaining, a discussion that makes use of the second sexual assault myth: that women are responsible for preventing their sexual assault. In this particular case, the myth serves to blame a sexual assault victim for their sexual assault:

- Jessica:** I think that like I mean, women are, not necessarily, like they're setting their self up for it [sexual assault] but sometimes, like, I hate to say this but like, sometimes some women lead guys on to things and stuff. And it's not all necessarily the men's fault. Like, I mean if they say, "No" it's "no" but like, I dunno. I don't really know. Never mind.
- Hayley:** *(laughs)*
- Elana:** No, you can continue.
- Jessica:** I don't really know what I'm getting at, but.
- Elizabeth:** So like acting like you—
- Jessica:** You want it, but like—
- Elizabeth:** But then right at the last minute saying, "No".
- Jessica:** Yeah and it's just like, these guys are being blamed for it, when really women are kind of asking for it and then—
- Elizabeth:** Leading on.
- Azim:** Being a tease.
- David:** Yeah.
- Jessica:** Yeah, I don't want to say "asking for it" meaning like they're tramping around saying, "Come rape me" but like. *(laughs)*
- Hayley:** *(laughs)*
- Jessica:** I don't really know what other way to say it.
- Elizabeth:** Yeah.
- Fernanda:** Like encouraging it.
- Elizabeth:** Yeah.
- Sierra:** Yeah.

It is important to note that a woman began this victim-blaming conversation. This provided men with the opportunity to fill in the pauses where Jessica left off, completing

the explanation of why women should be blamed for being sexually assaulted.

According to Jessica and a group of female participants, when women are being very sexual, they are egging men on and are often viewed as the type who gets sexually assaulted. When they then say “No” to a sexual interaction, they are being, as Azim says, a “tease.” These students are basically implying that men cannot control themselves when women express their sexuality, making women deserving of sexual violence.

One way women need to prevent sexual assault is to watch the way they present themselves sexually so as not to ‘provoke’ sexual attack. When a woman tempts men sexually and men get too eager, the victim gets what she should have expected all along. This also implies that women's sexuality is meant to serve men who sexually assault women, where women are not allowed to say “No” to an unwanted sexual interaction – at least not if she has ‘invited’ the sexual interaction. If women cannot say “No,” it becomes a woman’s responsibility to make sure she does not accidentally say “Yes” by dressing provocatively and by acting in ways that ‘encourage’ men’s sexual attention.

In another one of my focus groups, students believed that women were primarily responsible for preventing sexual assault by a boyfriend:

- Justin:** Cuz you would never assume, you would never think you were raping your girlfriend if she said “No” or whatever and kind of like, stayed with you.
- Katrina:** That’s true.
- Samantha:** Yeah.

The previous scenario is not considered by both to be a sexual assault even if the woman says “No.” Consistent with the second rape myth, the determining factor of whether a sexual assault takes place is whether the woman decides to stay in a relationship with the man who assaulted her.

(ii.a) Risk/Fear

The discourse of risk and fear with regards to sexual assault by a stranger is something that only the women, and not the men, in my focus groups expressed. In one of the focus groups, I asked the men if they did anything to effectively manage the risk of being sexually assaulted by watching the way they dressed. These men laughed at the thought of their clothing choice affecting their risk of sexual assault:

- Zachary:** I mean, that's something that we never think about.
Chris: Yeah.
Zachary: Is the way we dress, you know, causing sexual assault.
(many men laugh)
Chris: Like Zachary, is this shirt going to get me raped today? *(joke)*
(many men laugh; Krystal laughs too)
Elana: So there seems to be something . . . , that women are really concerned about. And, you know, you guys might think about it, but it doesn't occupy your mind as much as it might for you [girls], right?
Krystal: Ummhmm.
Chris: Yeah.

The very idea of thinking 'Is this shirt going to get me raped today?' seems utterly absurd to them and as far removed from their daily lives. The men in the focus group think the very idea is laughable. However, while they do not experience any risk, they do not communicate any desire to help alleviate this perceived risk.

Clearly there was a gendered difference between men's and women's perceptions of risk and fear about sexual assault. Not only have they internalized the sexual assault myth discourse where they feel at risk for being violently sexually assaulted by 'a man in the bushes,' they must also manage the risk of being sexually assaulted by 'a man whom they know,' which does not fit the sexual assault myth framework. After the women viewed campaigns about sexual assault by a date or acquaintance, a few learned that

sexual assault can be perpetrated by a person they know. Some campaigns in this category were remembered and became part of the focus group discussion even though they were not presented (Illustration 3: Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns Discussed but Not Presented in Focus Group). These women responded to the campaigns by feeling that they are at a higher risk of being sexually assaulted than they previously imagined.

Although there are many different types of campaigns that educate students about sexual assault by a date or acquaintance, a few women (although not all) responded most strongly to date rape campaigns that provoked shock and fear. The following excerpt captures the women's responses of risk and generated by this poster (Illustration 3):

Emma: . . . it [the poster, Illustration 3] shows like a beer mug or whatever

Ali: Yeah. (*pipes right in, knows exactly what Emma is referring to*)
I've seen that one.

Emma: It was like 50% of date rapes happen on the first one [drink], usually it's . . . a good friend.

Ali: Mmhmm.

Emma: That one shocked me.

Ali: Yeah.

Emma: We [my friends and I] discuss it or whatever and like. . .

Elana: Mmhmm. So tell me about the reaction to that poster that you're talking about.

Ali: I just, I thought it was like really interesting. I mean, most people think . . . when there's a sexual assault or when someone's, you know, . . . raped against their will or whatever it's um. It's um, . . .

Emma: . . . it's just going to be some random stranger, it's not going to be your best friend or something like that . . . So I just, I think it was just uh, it added on to the idea that you know, this actually does happen frequently and you have to watch yourself. Especially, even when you are with friends and that, that "keep caution, be warned".

Elana: Mmhmm. Okay so you were talking about how that's different and new.

Ali: Mmhmm.

- Emma:** Yeah. Well, it's just 'cuz . . . you really don't expect it to be someone who, like, you know. 'Cuz then that way, if you're with friends usually you're not watching your drink.
- Ali:** Yeah.
- . . .
- Ali:** . . . So it's just, yeah, or like, you go on a first date, you presume like hey, they're going to be on their best behaviour, you know? So you don't think of them as being, doing anything bad like that so.
- Emma:** Yeah.

The risk of sexual assault forced women to change their expectations of men around them. Their increased perception of risk is expressed when Emma uses words such as “you have to watch yourself,” “keep caution,” and “be warned.” Emma and Ali's sense of risk has led them to monitor and curtail their behavior. Drinking with friends and going to parties were once considered activities involving little risk of sexual assault. They felt safe drinking with friends because there was a sense of trust in the group. However, now that they saw a poster that discusses the high prevalence of date and acquaintance sexual assault, women are no longer sure that men are on their best behavior when they are on dates or with friends.

It is important to note that not all women feel the same sense of fear and risk that result in hyper vigilance. In fact, one of the female participants in the focus group did not feel any sense of risk or fear about being sexually assaulted. In this conversation, she relates her lack of internalized risk and sense of fear about sexual assault to her lack of engagement with sexual assault campaigns:

- Rachel:** I think we're busy and we're oblivious and we don't care.
- Elana:** Why do you think that is?
- Rachel:** Because it hasn't happened to us. So it doesn't, it seems unreal, maybe.
- Elana:** Okay.
- Rachel:** And we have that mentality that it will never happen to us.
- Elana:** Right.

Rachel: So like, who cares, kinda thing.

Rachel distances herself from any feeling of risk or fear about sexual assault because she cannot conceive of sexual assault happening to her.

Once women in the focus group learned that sexual assault is most likely to be perpetrated by someone they know, they see the men in the posters as men who could potentially sexually assault women despite their friendly and attractive appearance. The excerpt below demonstrates how the risk of being sexually assaulted by a man the woman knows is considered to be an important discourse for women:

Fernanda: They're showing really attractive men.

Sierra: I was just gonna say.

Elizabeth: Yeah.

(Women laugh)

Jessica: I was just thinking, I was just like, "Uh, is it bad that I'm checking some of them out?"

(Women laugh)

Fernanda: I'm just looking at these pictures going, "One of these nice guys is a rapist".

(Women laugh)

All of the women in this particular group, especially Fernanda, seem to be aware of the risk of sexual assault by a date or acquaintance. In this conversation, Jessica asks if it is "bad" that she is ogling the attractive men in the posters, since these men could possibly be men who sexually assault women. Earlier in the focus group, Jessica blames women who do not stifle their sexuality as inviting sexual assault. Perhaps if Jessica gazes at an attractive man the way that she gazes at the men in the poster, she would be perceived as sending a sexual invitation to these men, which would be "bad"; especially if there is a high risk these men could respond to that invitation by sexually assaulting her.

My findings where women were solely responsible for preventing sexual assault were supported by key pieces of feminist scholarship. Hall (2004) theorizes that women's responsabilization is caused by a culture of neoliberalism (read: risk management) where women are primarily responsible for managing their risk of sexual assault. Women must live by several rules in order to manage this risk. For example, a woman must never walk alone at night and should avoid talking to men who appear 'strange' (Doe, 2003). Because women are responsible for managing the risk of sexual assault alone, female sexual assault survivors are blamed for not managing their risk carefully enough (Cahill, 2001). As a result, the ideological frame of sexual assault tribunal proceedings at a Canadian university fails to take the (male) perpetrator's responsibility to prevent sexual assault into account (Ehrlich, 1998).

While I found literature that supported men's use of victim-blaming discourses towards women (Beneke, 2006; Boswell and Spade, 2006), there was no literature discussing women victim-blaming other women.

Although many women in the focus group internalized the risk of being sexually assaulted by a stranger, an acquaintance, or a date, a few women argued that they should not be the only ones responsible for preventing sexual assault. A few of the women were aware of the toll that responsabilizing sexual assault takes on women and they consequently wanted men to partake in this responsibility. I noticed, however, that the women who wanted men to actively prevent sexual assault were not the most popular members of the focus group. Throughout, these women's comments went against the more dominant views of the group and were often met with silence, a halting of the discussion, or a change of topic.

The following excerpt is an example of women wanting men to take part in sexual assault prevention. In explaining how men, large contributors to this social problem, are side-lined from discussions about preventing sexual assault on campus, Samantha uses HPV shots as a metaphor:

Samantha: Well, it's like the HPV thing, there was in the Soc[iology] class that I was in, um there was this person talking about HPV and um, you know, just about how many like contraceptives women have and um, you know how it's sort of, like, their duty or their mother's duty to make sure they get the shot. When actually like 97% of um the spread of HPV is through the man. So, sorry I was just.

Elana: No, no. So it seems like you're trying to make a connection so.

Samantha: Yeah.

Elana: How do you—

Samantha: Um I dunno. Just because um, you know a lot of the time, like people, you know if they get sexually assaulted, they, you know they're all ashamed of it or, you know it's seen as a women's problem like "Oh, you tempted him" or something like that, right? "You made him do that". But that way, it's just sort of um, you know giving men responsibility in like saying, "You know what? That's not the way it has to be. You just, you can be a good person and like" . . .

Samantha tentatively goes against the sexual assault myth of women's responsibility to prevent sexual assault to develop a counter-discourse where men should take responsibility for this social problem and speak out against sexual assault on campus. The apology in the middle of her explanation and her constant use of the words "um" indicate that she is nervous about how her point of view will be received by other members in the focus group.

In the following discussion, one man believes that women alone should prevent sexual assault on campus:

Travis: . . . I think they [women] should have more.

Krystal: No but—

- Travis:** Reinforcement for women to go to the police and more solutions for women to help themselves as opposed to just trying to appeal to men.
- Elana:** What do you think? (*towards Krystal*)
- Krystal:** Like, I think it's just saying that, like, instead of putting women in that situation . . . where she has to stop it, it's kind of just like oh maybe as a friend you should just kinda stop the friend before the woman has to be put in that awkward situation where she's kinda like "uh" you know what I mean?
- Elana:** Right.
- Krystal:** So it like, it kinda . . . stops it before it even becomes a problem, that's what I interpreted it as.
- Elana:** So if she's at a party and she says no and she's not being listened to some guys can step in.
- Krystal:** Yeah.
- Elana:** Okay.
- Krystal:** Or like even like before she has to say no, like you can kinda tell with body language if somebody's not interested, you know what I mean?
- Elana:** Ummhmmm.
- Melissa:** You can kinda . . . see it from afar, you can just grab a friend who can go "Hey", you know what I mean?
- Elana:** Okay so it seems like there are some mixed messages on whether it's empowering or not, is that right?
- Miles:** Ummhmm.
- Krystal:** Yeah.
- Miles:** I think . . . the three posters there are much more effective . . .

Krystal disagrees with the notion that sexual assault prevention initiatives should focus predominantly on women helping themselves. She mentions that when their friend is making a woman uncomfortable, men speaking up can alleviate a situation before it gets worse and the woman gets scared. Krystal's response to the men is met with a lull in the discussion and then a change in the topic of conversation. Her statement that men should actively prevent sexual assault is sidelined as Miles diverts to another discussion.

Emma, below, is the only woman who was not sidelined in the focus group discussion when she discusses the idea of men becoming actively involved in preventing sexual assault. While the previous discussions were from mixed gender focus groups with

five participants or more, Emma and Ali's discussion came from a women-only focus group. The women did not know each other beforehand, but bonded immediately. Emma shows how changing the discourse would help women who experience any kind of violence in a dating relationship:

- Emma:** . . . It's good to let guys know that they can prevent this even if it's a friend.
- Elana:** Mmhmm.
- Ali:** Yeah.
- Emma:** That it's the right thing to do.
- Ali:** Like it's not necessarily like they're, it's not that they do it . . . , but their friend, yeah.
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Ali:** . . . [T]hey can recognize that you know, their friend is acting inappropriately so.
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Ali:** They should do something.
- Emma:** . . . I was very, very thankful for my friend being there for me, but I mean not very many people would do something to step in . . . um, my ex-was just, not treating me properly and, my friend saw that, and it got to the point where they stopped him one night and, when we were all out, and he ended up walking all way back home to Ottawa! . . .

Emma's perpetrator was her ex-boyfriend, not a stranger. In telling her story, Emma created an opposing discourse where violence is not just between a victim and a perpetrator who is socially 'othered' by the community, but it is about a victim and perpetrator who are part of the same community. Emma shows how men who do not commit violence against women have a role to play in helping to prevent *other* men from committing such violence. Here, other community members (including men) can better the community by stepping in to prevent violence against women.

A counter-discourse is slowly emerging for some women but not for any men in my focus groups.

4.3 Hegemonic Masculinity

This study exposes the role that men *and women* play in helping to reinforce hegemonic gender patterns—patterns that limit men’s role in preventing sexual assault on campus. Though there are many patterns of hegemonic masculinity, three patterns will be discussed in terms of how they contributed to students’ interpretations and discussions of sexual assault media on campus. The discourses presented are (i) anti-feminine discourse, (ii) anti-gay discourse, and (iii) discourses perpetuating the importance of male physical strength to masculinity.

(i) Anti-Feminine Discourses

A conversation that is considered masculine is one where it differentiates itself somewhat from everyday female conversation (Connell, 2000). The following discussion reflects the importance of using everyday man-to-man vocabulary in campaigns to bolster men’s sense of masculinity:

- Azim:** I think also the Man Talk [Illustration 1 (v)], I think the reason that poster works a lot better ‘cuz it uses a lot of words that you know, guys would use.
- Ben:** Yeah.
- Azim:** You know, like “bro”. Whereas you don’t hear a lot of guys say, “My role”. (*referring to the Our Role Men’s Conference*) [Illustration 1(vi)]
- Ben:** Yeah.
(*everyone laughs*)
- Fernanda:** Yeah.
- Elizabeth:** Yeah.
- Ben:** “What are you doing on Friday night?—I think I’m going to learn about my role.”
- Sierra:** (*laughs*)
- Ben:** As opposed to “I’m going to have a man talk with my bros”.
- Fernanda:** (*laughs*)
- Azim:** Plus it’s more of a relatable, just the way it’s written.

Sierra: Yeah.

These participants discuss the importance of having a poster that speaks in men's language, making it more relatable to their peers. This allows the talk from the Man Talk conference to become part of men's everyday discussion with their peers, building hype about the conference.

The following discussion demonstrates how important it is for men to assert their masculinity by differentiating themselves from women within groups of men:

Justin: I was just gonna say, well I mean, . . . but if there was a, since they're all men, I mean, if there were women there saying "No" maybe a lot of guys would feel, they wouldn't take it the same way. Whereas other guys saying it, like if my mom said something to me about something or my dad said something, depending on what it is.

Katrina: You're just going to tell your mom she's a feminist and go away. *(laughs)*

Justin: Exactly whereas my dad comes and says something to me like, just like the Man Talk kinda thing. *(referring to Man Talk conference)* [Illustration 1 (v)]

Elana: So are you saying that this seems like a man-to-man talk kind of thing?

Justin: Yeah.

Elana: And you think that's effective.

Justin: It's more effective, I would say 'cuz I don't know, a lot of men being said what to do by a, I'm not saying anything, but . . . women saying "Do this or do that". Okay, now I'll just shut my mouth. *(laughs)*.

Elana: Ok, but you can clarify what you're saying.

Justin: I mean that but I just. *(laughs)*

Katrina: Okay, I know what you mean. You mean you'd rather it's, men-to-men, it's more, it's less like being told what to do by women.

Justin: Yeah.

Building on these premises, it is emasculating for men to be talked down to by a woman and men will do their best to avoid being part of a discussion where their masculinity is put into question. Justin and Katrina agree that Justin's reaction to a

woman like his mother, whom he perceives as talking down to him, would be to dismiss her as a “feminist.” The word feminist thus becomes a word used to demean instead of empower women. In demeaning and ignoring his mother’s views, Justin is able to differentiate himself from the women in his life so that he can reassert his masculinity.

Participants identifying as men viewed talking man-to-man as quite different from having discussions with women, feminists, or feminist women: talking and listening to other men could reaffirm their masculinity.

Physical strength becomes a way to shield men from discussion and not share their feelings with other men by both dismissing males who do not have the most physical strength and by showing off their physical strength in front of other men. The following discussion illustrates how women are actively constructing and defining men’s masculinity and how men’s physical strength can, as viewed by women, be protective armor for their feelings when engaging in discussion with other men:

- Elana:** So what would this masculine guy on the poster [you designed] look like?
- Ali:** Like we said, . . . kind of . . . muscular build but not . . .
- Emma:** Like the guy who’s in the top right corner. (*black man, not smiling, steely-eyed gaze into the camera, attractive, girlfriend gazing lovingly at him*) [Illustration 2 (iv)]
- Ali:** Top right, yeah.
- Elana:** Okay. In the first one?
- Emma:** Yeah . . . he can have . . . an almost like intimidating look to the other guy.
- Elana:** Okay.
- Emma:** But still be soft towards the woman.
- Ali:** Yeah.
- Elana:** Ook.
- Emma:** And like, still . . . , he’s not . . . scary-looking by any means.
- Ali:** Yeah, but he has the strength to protect, you know?
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Elana:** Okay.
- Ali:** Like, it doesn’t even like, I mean, visually for the poster, it would

be like we're projecting a physical strength. But it could even be like an emotional like protection [too], you know?

...

Emma: Yeah, Like even . . . having the girl . . . , if she's like upset or something, . . .

Ali: Like him . . . comforting her something, yeah.

Emma: Or her leaning on his shoulder or something and showing that . . .

Ali: Showing that the emotional strength—

Emma: Yeah like “our emotional strength could be their protection”.

Women are constructing and defining masculinity in ways that relate to men's relationships with women. While their 'ideal man' has emotions, character traits often associated with women, the context in which these emotions are displayed still reinforces a gender dichotomy.

In this scenario the women create an example of how men differentiate themselves from women by using toughness and intimidation with their male friends as a way to prevent sexual assault. The emotional support being offered to women by the man does not serve to make the relationships between them equal. In fact, the ideal man these women have constructed still manages to differentiate himself from the woman by playing the role of 'protector,' a role in which the man has more power than the woman.

The following discussion illustrates the link men make between sharing feelings and femininity. This dialogue also demonstrates how certain social contexts that involve talking about emotions or feelings among men prevent discussions about sexual assault:

Zachary: I know I've been in a situation where you know, . . . you're at a party and you see one of your buddies and he's just smashed and he's, you know, hitting on this girl whose just completely not having it, so you just kinda go over and hoard him away from her.

Elana: So you've done that before.

Zachary: Yeah.

Elana: What have you said?

Krystal: *(giggles nervously in preparation of Zachary's response)*

Zachary: Oh I've just, I've probably been like. *(laughs)* I've probably been

like “Hey come grab another beer or something”.

(Everyone laughs)

Zachary: You know, like—

Rina: Get him more drunk. *(sarcastic, then laughs)*

Zachary: Well not like “Oh can I come *talk* to you about something”. *(said in a sweet mocking voice.)*

(Everyone laughs)

Zachary: Because he would probably be like “No I’m *busy*”.

(Everyone laughs)

In this discussion, Zachary speaks out against sexual assault while purposely avoiding talking about feelings which he associates with femininity. He mocks the very idea of talking about feelings by using a high-pitched, feminine voice.

Zachary also avoids talking about feelings because he senses that his friend who is at risk of sexually assaulting someone would not be receptive to this type of discussion. It is positive that Zachary is taking an active role in preventing sexual assault.

Zachary is correct to assume that a party involving heavy drinking is not considered a socially acceptable place for two men to discuss sexual assault prevention. This type of conversation is especially unthinkable when it is perceived as not only unwelcome between friends, but as getting in the way of his friend’s sexual conquest. Thus, in order to immediately stop the woman at the party from potentially being sexually assaulted, he is forced to use any tactic at his disposal to immediately, as Zachary says, “hoard him away from her.” Men like Zachary may wish to share their feelings and emotions to prevent their friends from sexually assaulting a woman.

There is an underlying assumption in the focus group that men do not want to be associated with any campaign that involves sharing too many feelings. While focus group participants had different opinions about what amount of sharing would make men uncomfortable, the idea of men being expecting to share their feelings and becoming

emotionally vulnerable was not well received by men and women. However, most of these conversations were initiated by women, meaning that hegemonic masculine gender roles are not only interpreted and reinforced by men, but that women play a role in shaping this discourse as well.

My findings support Paul Kivel's view that the predominant form of masculinity is a box that confines men's minds and bodies (1999). The box has the power to trap feelings of love, connection, and confusion while harbouring negative feelings such as sadness, resentment, and anger (Kivel, 1999). According to my findings, the views pertaining to hegemonic masculinity are indeed confining. They command men to fear women and gay men; it also forces men to lash out aggressively at women and to distance their own participation and emotions from their aggressive acts.

(ii) Anti-Gay Discourses

In this study, both men and women were concerned that men would not feel targeted by media campaigns that were perceived to put a man's sexual identity into question. For example, men are uncomfortable looking at posters of attractive men in front of their male friends. The following discussion shows a clear link between men's peers, sexuality, and the male gaze:

Jessica: Would most men look at a poster filled with men? I dunno.

Elana: Why don't you ask your friends here?

(Women laugh)

Jessica: Like, I'm just, . . . when I'm walking by it would catch my eye. To be honest, . . . But like, if you, David, were . . . walking by and you saw it would you be like, "Oh what does that say?"

. . .

Elana: *(to Ben)* So would you look at these?

Jessica: I would.

- Ben:** I wouldn't.
(Everyone laughs)
- Fernanda:** I'd see it.
- Elana:** *(to Ben)* You wouldn't look at these.
- Ben:** No.
- Elana:** No?
- Hayley:** That's like kinda what we were saying, 'cuz they're pretty attractive men.
- Fernanda:** Yeah.
(All women giggle)
- Sierra:** So the women look at it and go "Hey! Look there's a thing about rape." But like the guys are going to walk by, so it's targeted at women.
- Elana:** *(to Ben)* Why are you not into it?
- Ben:** I might look at it actually. I don't know.
- Elana:** *(to Ben)* You don't have to.
- Azim:** It depends, I think it depends on who you're with. Like if I'm with a bunch of girls, and they're like, "Oh my god, look at all these men" then I'll look at it be like "Damn, I wish that I looked like that".
(women laugh)
- Azim:** You know, I think it really depends on the group you're with. But if I'm with a bunch of guys, and they see a poster, it's like, you know? So I wouldn't stop to look at it. It depends on the group.

Here, the men say they would hesitate to look at these campaigns if they are around their male friends. The women insinuate that the male models in some of the campaigns looked too attractive and that the men would be worried about being caught looking at a poster with only men or that they would be viewed as gay for doing so. This is likely one of the reasons why campaigns that played on masculine stereotypes and portrayed both men and women were the most successful in getting men's and women's attention. These campaigns were the ones that students have not seen on campus.

Some men are even hesitant to go to discussions in what they perceive to be men's-only spaces. When discussing an all-men's event, one man tries to distance himself from gay men by using humour:

- Zachary:** Usually if it mentions “man” straight off the top I’m kind of avoiding it ‘cuz I’m not looking for men, you know?
Miles: *(laughs)*

Here, Zachary is fearful of men’s-only spaces as it may give off the impression that he is trying to pursue a same-sex partner. Women in the focus groups also view straight men being perceived as gay as detrimental for sexual assault campaigns targeting men. As a solution to the problem, they advocate campaigns and spaces where men do not feel as if they will be pointed out for being gay:

- Elana:** So that being said then, do you think that these poster campaigns can encourage men to play a role in ending sexual assault?
Ben: Yeah I think those are more geared towards men than the other previous set.
Jessica: And they’re also doing like masculine stuff. Like they’re into football so it’s not like they’re gay.
Ben: Play football don’t rape!
(Everyone laughs)
Jessica: No but I mean like, I don’t mean it that way *(laughs)* but . . . I mean, like, remember how I said how some men won’t want to go to these because they may be classified as gay or—
Azim: Yeah.
Jessica: Something along those lines. So they’re still doing masculine things, they’re just typical guys, everyday guys.

From this excerpt, being gay is considered so emasculating that gay men would have to compensate for their emasculating sexuality by having hyper-masculine traits such as athleticism (playing football) to be perceived as “just typical guys, everyday guys.”

While some men and women are afraid to go to men’s-only conferences about violence against women in fear of being perceived as gay, there was a group of men and women in one of my focus groups who, when asked to design or discuss the elements of an effective sexual assault media campaign, developed a counter-discourse to this

hegemonic gender pattern by redefining what it means to be a “real man”:

- Sierra:** If you showed up and talked, you could be this guy.
Fernanda: You could be cool like him!
Elana: *(laughs)* What does it say there? *(looking at their poster design)* “Awesome Conference”?
- Sierra and Fernanda:** Yeah.
Elana: And it has an arrow, okay, saying “You could be this man”.
Azim: You can be awesome like that guy who attends the conference.
Fernanda: Pretty much. But there’d be a better graphic (The man shown on their poster is hand drawn) like—
Elana: . . . This is just a rough draft.
Azim: It would be a cool looking guy.
Fernanda: Yeah.
Azim: The guy is happy to be there.
Sierra: Just some guy who’s confident in his sexuality to come to this conference.
- Hayley:** Yeah.
Elana: He’s a man.
Azim: They’re going to look down on sexual assault.
Sierra: *(imitating a future male Awesome Conference participant)* “I’m a man. I’m going to talk”.

When asked to design or discuss the elements of an effective sexual assault media campaign, this group created a poster for a men’s conference that they named the “Awesome Conference.” The man they display in the poster is their type of man that every man can strive to be like. This ideal man is, as Hayley says “. . . confident in his sexuality to come to this conference.” In the discussion of this campaign, the men and women implicitly understand that men who are not as confident in their sexuality may hesitate to go to these conferences for fear of being perceived as gay.

While there is literature that supports men’s anti-gay discourse backing hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2002), I could not find literature that supports women’s participation in this discourse. Connell (2000; 2002) argues that men’s engagement with anti-gay discourses serves as a way for men to bond with their male friends without

having to be emotionally intimate with them; men's deep fear of intimacy stems from their fear of being branded by their friends as gay—the most subordinated form of masculinities. Women are likely aware of the stigma that a gay man in their communities might receive, and their talk may be a reflection of how they have seen the men around them interact with other men or their own homophobia.

(iii) Male Physical Strength Discourses: “If there’s a big guy . . . protecting me, I know that . . . he’s gonna save my ass”

The women in the focus groups were particularly keen on incorporating campaigns where men's strength was a key issue in targeting men and addressing discussions about violence against women.

Because physical strength is so valued by men, it becomes important to display these campaigns in spaces that men consider to be masculine. The following campaign utilizes men's idealization of physical strength when discussing sexual assault. The poster reads, “My Strength is Not for Hurting: So when I wanted to and she didn't, WE DIDN'T.” The poster shows a man who looks physically strong standing beside a woman who appears to be his girlfriend. The majority of male and female participants supported the message behind this campaign and wanted this poster to be displayed in the gym, a place where men strive for hegemonic masculinity:

Jessica: Are any of these [posters, Illustrations 2 (i)-(v)] in the gym facilities?

Elana: No.

Jessica: Maybe that would be a place.

Elizabeth: They should be.

Fernanda: Yeah.

...

Jessica: ‘Cuz that would be something . . . that people would see when

they walk in or like, in the workout room or something . . . being up. While you're doing your work out you look over, something like that.

David: *(reciting slogan from Illustrations 2 (iv) and (v))* "My strength is not for hurting".

(Women laugh)

Jessica: Okay, that's good.

David: Well no, it's about strength you know, it's true.

Ben: You can use you strength and—

Fernanda: Yeah I like that.

Elana: So then, then would you look at it Ben? If it was at the gym while you were pumping iron?

Ben: Yeah. *(laughs)*

(Women laugh)

David: He does it a lot.

Jessica: As you can see.

Ben: I do!

Elizabeth: So just when you're pumping iron you're like, "What is this for?"

Ben: Yeah.

It seems very important for Ben to be viewed by his peers as physically strong. He becomes defensive in response to the comment insinuating that he does not visit the gym. These campaigns play to the egos of men who frequent the gym, giving these men permission to care about sexual assault and still be perceived as men.

Women also play a role perpetuating this hegemonic masculinity pattern. It is important to note that only certain men's egos are affected when targeting men of physical strength in sexual assault campaigns. For women, physical strength is important for their protection from sexual assault. Therefore, the importance of having men with physical strength represented in these campaigns reinforces gender roles where men are strong and aggressive and women are weak and passive. When two female participants discuss men protecting them from sexual assault by emphasizing their physical strength, they altogether dismiss non-physically strong-appearing men as men:

Emma: Well, because women don't exactly look at a scrawny guy and

- say, “Yeah, he can protect me, no problem!”
- Ali:** Yeah like most women go for someone who physically looks like they can protect you. Like, I mean—
- Emma:** Like, even with the whole, like um, Darwin, his theory there of like um, survivor of the fittest, so to speak.
- Ali:** Ah yeah. Like it’s, you know, I mean. If there’s a big guy . . . protecting me, . . . he’s gonna save my ass, type thing and—
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Ali:** In comparison to someone, who like you said is a bit scrawny or not like, doesn’t maybe go to the gym, he’s just like sort of athletic but doesn’t really do anything. You’re just like, “I’m screwed”
- Emma:** Yeah. (*laughs*)
- Ali:** If someone goes to beat this kid up, like we’re dead.
- Emma:** It’s like, I could probably hold my own better, type thing.
- Ali:** Yeah.

Their use of the “survival of the fittest” metaphor indicates that these women view the importance of physical strength as biologically determined, rather than socially constructed. When using biological evidence to support their claim, their opinions are able to continue unquestioned. Women express that they want a man who looks like he can protect them and they dismiss other forms of masculinity that do not play into this. When they talk about scrawny men, they laugh at them, dismissing the power of these men to help women and speak out against sexual assault on campus. There is an assumption that this type of sexual assault is the only type that exists.

A popular campaign shown in my focus groups that targets men in relationships (the third type of campaign mentioned in Section 4.2) is a poster that says, “My Strength is Not for Hurting: So when I wanted to and she didn’t, WE DIDN’T. Men can stop rape.” [Illustration 2 (v)]. It shows that it is possible to promote positive, nonviolent models of male strength (Men Can Stop Rape, 2007). In this campaign, hegemonic masculinity is represented. Here, a tough and intimidating man is represented. Keeping

up an appearance of toughness and intimidation is one of the ways boys become socialized to act like men (Kivel, 1999). However, the poster suggests that acting like a man and being tough should not be used to violate women. This hegemonic trait is reinforced, but used in a constructive manner to reject violence against women. Here, men's strength is used to stop rape. Men are required to use their masculine body to "stand up, speak out" (Men Can Stop Rape, 2007). One of the aspects of strength advocated in this poster is communication, an act of mental strength. The act of communication shows respect for the woman. As well, when men communicate to women, they are not using their physical strength to express power over another.

One of the critiques of this approach is that women's and men's gender roles in these campaigns are still stereotyped and heavily differentiated (Murphy, 2009). For example, in one of the "My Strength" campaigns mentioned [Illustration 2 (iv)], men are viewed as active and women are viewed as passive, shown by the woman draped around the man in the poster. Murphy (2009) argues that according to the poster, the motivation for men not to rape is that they will be able to date and/or have sexual encounters with more women.

While this chapter explained reasons for men's lack of engagement with campus sexual assault public education campaigns, the following chapter discusses elements of a campaign that could be effective in targeting and engaging men.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion—Counter-Discourses and Counter-Frames

This chapter is a continuation of the discussion and results in Chapter 4 using feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis. Rather than focusing on the discourses that reinforce men's lack of involvement with sexual assault campaigns, this chapter discusses discourses and prescriptive frames that can help men actively engage with sexual assault campaigns. The first section (5.1) centers on a knowledge discourse focusing on accessibility and empowerment as it relates to knowledge. The second (5.2) and final section of this chapter addresses the implications of my research findings. Here, I argue that sexual assault myths are both a discourse *and* an ideology.

5.1 Knowledge: Empowerment and Accessibility

This section, divided into three sub-sections, discusses how media campaigns can make knowledge about sexual assault prevention accessible and empowering to women and men. The first two sub-sections are divided by gender: Sub-section (i) is about media campaigns that make knowledge about sexual assault prevention accessible while empowering women. Sub-section (ii) will explore accessible and empowering types of media campaigns for men. Drawing upon campaign ideas produced from participants in my focus groups, Sub-section (iii) explores media campaigns that are accessible and empowering to both men and women.

(i) Women

Many women in the focus groups view self-defence programs in university as a positive source of empowerment and a necessary tool to gain control over men who may attempt to sexually assault them. Nevertheless, none of the participants in any of the focus groups received any self-defence instruction offered by Campus Safety at Carleton University. Many women do remember the compulsory self-defence class they took during high school. At the same time, they noted that they forgot most of the important lessons learned and considered a refresher course in university to make them feel as empowered and intimidating to men as they had felt in high school.

- Ali:** Well yeah, in my health class or whatever, there was like that, I think it was the DARE program, or something along those lines that had . . . , it was. . . a self-defence program for the girls and what we did was we learned all these different techniques, like “grab, twist, pull”, if you know.
- Emma:** Yeah. *(laughs)*
- Ali:** If they get their penis out.
- Elana:** Wow.
- Emma:** Yeah so, yeah.
- Elana:** That’s pretty progressive!
- ...
- Ali:** . . . I’ve lost all of what I’ve learned from that class except for the “grab, twist, pull” ‘cuz I thought.
- Emma:** Yeah.
- Ali:** Honestly, I thought it was kinda funny, like, I mean *(laughs)* Like I know it would be really painful for the guy so I mean, that’s the only thing I’ve remembered from all of it so I mean, if let’s say I was to get, you know, [get] sexually assaulted or raped, it would just, like, I wouldn’t know what to do. And so, I dunno, it kind of worries me I guess, . . .
- Elana:** Right, okay. So now that you’re in university, would you think of taking this? Or have you taken it?
- Ali:** Um I haven’t taken it, no. But, I mean, I would definitely be, like I know obviously I have a boyfriend, he . . . protects me from what he can, but I mean, if let’s say I’m walking late at night on campus, or whatever, and he’s not there, what am I going to do, you know? So, I mean, I think it would be, I would like to take a

course like that, for sure.

While Ali agrees with the principles of a self-defence program for women, she primarily relies on her boyfriend as her ‘protector.’ However, when her boyfriend is not there, she would be confident in her own abilities to defend herself. In line with the myth that a perpetrator is a stranger and only attacks at night, she believes that the program will most benefit her in lessening her risk of sexual assault when she is walking late at night on campus. The participants had a sense of pride and a feeling of control while reminiscing about learning moves that would put men who attacked them in a great degree of pain. When describing what they would write on a new and improved poster for a campus self-defence program and how the course would benefit them, they used words such as “boost confidence” and “be more in control.” The course appeals to these women to regain the sense of control that they once felt in the face of the risk of sexual assault.

Self-defence is a positive skill women can give to themselves. In the following discussion, rape aggression self-defence programs seem like an obvious choice in preventing sexual assault on campus:

- Sierra:** I asked a friend about the rape aggression defence one.
Fernanda: The course?
Sierra: Yeah and I think she and I are going to go check it out together sometime.
Elana: Oh okay.
Sierra: Yeah we talked about that, we were going to sign up for the self-defence course.
Elana: So what would motivate you to sign up for these?
Sierra: Seems like a good tool to have.
(Many women laugh as if I have just asked a completely obvious question)
Fernanda: Not wanting to get raped.
(Many women laugh again, this is so obvious to them. This class will prevent sexual assault as they know it)
Elana: Okay, . . . that makes sense.

Sierra: Yeah if something happened to you before, in the past and you wanna kinda prevent it.

Rape self-defence programs are a great conversation starter among women. They seem to be an obvious choice for women in preventing sexual assault. There is an underlying assumption in this conversation that taking this class will prevent them from being sexually assaulted. Sierra mentions that these courses can lessen a sexual assault survivor's perceived risk of being sexually assaulted again, and can make her feel more at ease.

The self-defence campaigns were perceived as a way for women to feel more in control and less fearful about the risk of being sexually assaulted. Because the majority of the women in the focus group perceive themselves to be at a high risk for an inevitable sexual assault, as well as being held responsible and blamed for it, self-defence classes are seen as a way to lessen that risk, responsibility and blame.

The women did not perceive these classes as responsabilizing and victim-blaming. Instead, they found a way to reframe the risk they already internalized. In light of the risks that women face, women can still become strong and powerful in the face of possible sexual assault perpetrators. According to these women, self-defence programs are ways that women can have more agency over their bodies and feel safe in the campus environment.

The women's positive reactions were surprising to me because their views contrasted with the more recent feminist literature about women's self-defence classes and their relationship to sexual assault (Mardorrosian, 2002). I read that self-defence programs were another way to responsabilize women in lessening their risk and

preventing sexual assault. By focusing on women as responsible for managing the risk of sexual assault, perpetrators (and bystanders in university communities) are seldom constructed as responsible for managing this risk. Thus, if a woman does not defend herself because she reacted to her sexual assault in shock or trauma, she could be blamed for her sexual assault, since she has failed in the responsibility that is hers alone.

Mardorrosian's (2002) theorization of women's self-defence classes is consistent with my research findings. Indeed, most of the female participants in my focus group responsabilized women and victim-blamed female sexual assault survivors when discussing sexual assault prevention. Women's support of rape self-defence classes is a logical extension of a discourse where women are required to manage the fear and risk of sexual assault alone.

The "No Means No" campaign is similar to the "Rape Aggression Defense" campaign such that it capitalizes on women's internalized fear to give women more agency and empowerment in the face of this risk. The following excerpt demonstrates how women and a non-gender identified participant (Morgan) interpret the "No Means No" poster [Illustration 1 (i)]:

- Morgan:** Because I think in a sense . . . , bringing awareness to the fact that, you know, sexual assault is more—
- Samantha:** Yeah.
- Morgan:** It's a broad term; it's more than just being raped.
- Samantha:** Yeah.
- Morgan:** So you understand that when you're assaulted in all these ways, that you're still being violated and that you have a right to say "No" and you have a right, um, to your own body and to what happens.

A broader effect of sexual assault that goes beyond the limiting discourse of sexual assault myths is finding ways to empower women, since it gives them permission

to speak out against sexually-violating experiences.

Part of the success of the “No Means No” campaign [Illustration 1 (i)] is because it makes women aware that date rape exists and can happen to them, but instead of making women fearful, the following conversation shows how the “No Means No” campaign [Illustration 1 (i)] message helped Katrina navigate her sexual relationships with familiar men:

Katrina: When you’re in a situation, like sometimes the . . . “not now [means no]” thing or the “silence [means no]” like, you can be persuaded sometimes and when you’re like, “oh” and you kinda change your mind. (*laughs*) Um but, it just . . . really reinforces that . . . if you say “not now” . . . stick to it, don’t always, give in, kind of helps you.

In the previous excerpt, Katrina is explicitly talking about the pressure that women face when dating. She uses the words “persuaded” to talk about the pressure women receive on dates. It seems as though women concede because they receive so much pressure from partners that they feel they have no other choice. The focus group discussion led me to believe that posters such as “No Means No” [Illustration 1 (i)] seem to be better for women than men because they expand the choices within the dating script and enhance women’s sexual agency within it. That is, women resisting pressure can be a new option in their sexual relationships.

Campaigns like these, in turn, help to develop a counter-discourse where male perpetrators, possibly known to the woman, use verbal pressure or threats to sexually assault women (not necessarily using physical violence). With this new discourse, women assert themselves in sexual contexts that are more representative of the experiences of university women.

Campaigns that target women in relationships (the third type of campaign mentioned in Section 4.2) view sexual assault as a sexual miscommunication between men and women. Either the man has not listened to a woman saying no to sex, or the woman has not been clear to the man about whether or not she would like to engage in sexual activity.

Campaigns targeting men address circumstances where men should ascertain consent from their partner. The following campaign at University of California Davis facilitates dialogue about sexual communication and sexual boundaries between students (Chrismer, 2001). This campaign portrays a young man kissing his girlfriend's bare stomach. The poster reads, "You are laughing. You are touching. She tenses up. Is she shy or afraid to say, 'stop'? What seems like your cue to continue is really your cue to ask" (Voices Not Victims, 2009). This poster helps to illustrate the importance of 'checking in' with a partner as a step to obtaining consent. The poster also shows that sexual consent is not guaranteed just because a woman is in a relationship. The campaign also demonstrates the importance of women being clear to themselves and their partners about "how far" they would like to go sexually.

In a similar vein, the "No Means No" poster [Illustration 1 (i)] discusses all of the ways women can say "No" (verbally and non-verbally) to sexual activities in which they do not want to partake. This poster helps women understand that they have the right to say "No" and expect men to understand the different ways women do so.

(ii) Men

Similar to sexual assault public communication campaigns for women, one of the steps leading up to a successful sexual assault campaign is making sexual assault a socially acceptable topic of discussion. All of the participants, particularly the men, have not yet reached a stage where they feel fully comfortable talking about sexual assault. The following discussion illustrates how we are still at the beginning stages in making sexual assault a socially-acceptable and -accessible topic of conversation in which men can engage:

- Elana:** [I]s there any other ways that you can think of that we can involve men in preventing sexual assault on campus?
- Salma:** Communication.
- Elana:** Communication.
- Morgan:** Making it alright to talk about it [sexual assault].
- Samantha:** Yeah.
- Katrina:** Mhm.
- Samantha:** That would help.
- Elana:** Okay, how do you think we could do that?
- Samantha:** . . . having those group meetings and stuff?
- Morgan:** Mhm.
- Samantha:** . . . just because women sit down, they talk about everything all the time, right? But guys don't tend to do that quite so much so if we could somehow foster, like, a relationship where, you know, . . . if everybody's in rez, . . . sometimes the guys just go, they talk about something. It doesn't have to be about sexual assault, it just be about anything. But just to get the communication lines flowing. Like, I dunno, I'm not a guy, I don't know how much they talk or don't talk, but . . . my brother doesn't talk about anything.

Samantha talks about fostering a community in university residences where men feel comfortable discussing issues with their peers. When men develop relationships with their fellow male students, it will be easier to, as Samantha says, “. . . get the communication lines flowing” and for them to talk about sexual assault with greater ease.

Samantha perpetuates the stereotype that men do not talk about their thoughts and feelings as a reason for why men would not talk about sexual assault.

In the following discussion from the second focus group, some of the men and women feel that the way for men to feel comfortable discussing sexual assault with their university peers is without the presence of women:

- Jessica:** I don't wanna be like mean towards men or anything but I think more events that have to have—well not that have to but have more men, just men only going to.
- Ben:** Yeah.
- Elana:** Mmhmm.
- Jessica:** Just because I know there's a lot that women, like there's a Womyn's Centre, and then there's this and that but there's not really . . . a men's centre where you can go and talk about this stuff, right?
- David:** Yeah.

A men's-only group could make sexual assault on campus an accessible topic of conversation for men. The Men's Program is an example of an anti-rape campaign designed by men and intended for a men's-only audience (Foubert, 2005). This particular anti-rape campaign physically excludes women and has been heavily criticized by feminists such as Marchese (2010). According to Marchese (2010), Foubert's work ignores feminist bodies of work on sexual assault, fails to put the needs of sexual assault survivors first and speaks for women rather than involving them in the discussion. Furthermore, a meta-analysis of sexual assault prevention programs shows no evidence that men's-only programs are better for men than mixed gender discussion groups (Anderson & Whitson, 2005).

Posters targeting men in groups were the most effective. One of the most popular posters was about men stopping friends from sexually assaulting women. The poster

reads: “Being a friend means stopping him before he does something stupid: 1 in 6 women is a victim of rape or attempted rape” [Illustration 2 (ii)]. Campaigns that portray preventing sexual assault as a way for a man to be a good friend can be an effective way to engage men.

Being a good friend is an identity that goes beyond targeting sexual assault perpetrators exclusively. In fact, a good friend is a valued identity among the majority of men. In choosing a role appealing to most men’s identities, the majority of men feel comfortable identifying with the campaign. In addition, these campaigns help men envision active ways of preventing sexual assault on campus. In the following discussion, Azim discusses how the Man Talk campaign [Illustration 1 (v)] empowers men to play a role in sexual assault prevention on campus:

- Azim:** It’s kinda like in the last set of posters, like the bro one, like the Man Talk thing [Illustration 1 (v)]. ‘Cuz it’s just, I dunno, It’s more of like a man-to-man thing rather than like an affected group-to-man thing? You know, you’re not being talked down to, it’s just like, if you see a friend in trouble, you know, you do what any friend would do. Like, I can relate to that.
- Salma:** Yeah and it puts faith in like the strength of a man in general. Like, one man can say to another man. It’s not, like all men are stupid. (*laughs*)

Azim articulates how putting men in a friend role (“man-to-man”) rather than a blaming role (“affected group-to-man”) makes a huge difference in men’s response to campaigns. Azim associates being talked down to in the “affected group-to-man” approach but not when he views campaigns that use a “man-to-man” approach. Such an approach fits more comfortably with men’s identity than the former approach. In fact, Stephen Whitehead shows that men’s friendships with other men are viewed as crucial to sustaining men’s sense of identity as men (Whitehead, 2002). The “man-to-man”

approach therefore makes sexual assault an issue which men can relate to and prevent while still maintaining their own sense of masculinity. In this approach men can actively prevent sexual assault by being a good friend—an identity that men already value.

All of the men in my focus groups were most attracted to campaigns that viewed men as capable and credible and as being good friends to other men. Rather than sexual assault prevention campaigns claiming that, as Salma said, “[A]ll men are stupid” and will sexually assault women, these campaigns appeal to more men by assuming that not all men sexually assault women and that they can still do things to prevent sexual assault.

The next two dialogues show how a conversation about sexual assault can be more positive when the focus of the campaign is about discussing and speaking out against sexual assault amongst male groups of friends. Posters that relate to men on a social change level are more successful because they are less likely to make men feel blamed or devalued:

- Elana:** So, do you think that these campaigns [that are not shown on campus, Illustration 2 (i-v)] target you?
- Mark:** Yeah.
- Travis:** Yeah.
- Chris:** Absolutely.
- Peter:** They relate more to the society rather than, you know, the relationship between a man and a woman. You know, this more, the top middle [“Being a friend means stopping him before he does something stupid”, Illustration 2 (ii)] is one is more umm in terms of the groups of men and groups of friends.
- Elana:** Mmmhmmm.
- Zachary:** As opposed to you know, just like, “Hey, you’re about to rape her, don’t do it ‘cuz she’s saying no.” It’s more like, you know, “It’s wrong, this is happening, it’s our role as a society to change it” rather than, you know, “You shouldn’t be doing that”.
- Elana:** Okay.
- Zachary:** It’s a more, I dunno, I think it’s a more effective method than just saying “don’t do it” so.

Sexual assault campaigns are more effective when they target many groups of men, not only sexual assault perpetrators. Men respond more readily to campaigns that talk about what they can actively do to prevent sexual assault than to those that tell them not to commit sexual assault. Zachary sums up the idea of this approach more concretely when he states that “. . . [I]t is our role as a society to change it.”

Like the groups that advocate for female sexual assault survivors, posters targeted towards men and women as bystanders (the second type of campaign mentioned in Section 4.2) view sexual assault as a community issue. However, these campaigns target men much more than posters advocating for female sexual assault survivors. Instead of using anger, these campaigns focus on teaching men and women to be critical of a culture that makes non-consensual sex “sexy” in music videos and ads or part of the punch line of a joke. In one workshop at the University of Minnesota, for example, a violence education prevention centre coordinator presented men with mainstream media that supported sexual assault such as the lyrics to the hit Eminem song *Shake That* with Nate Dogg singing, “Pop a little champagne and a couple of E’s. Slip it in her bubbly” (Mathers, 2005); the coordinator then asked participants to think about if these media are really selling sex or rape that is disguised as sex (Louwagie, 2008, November 9). The media she used helps illustrate the wide acceptance of these sexual assault supportive messages. In response to rape jokes, the facilitator got the students to think about the messages they are supporting when men tell a joke about sexual assault. “How do you think perpetrators talk about sex?” By supporting sexual assault jokes, men are supporting the way that sexual assault perpetrators think about sexual assault.

The White Ribbon Campaign has a handout that discusses ways men can respond

to jokes that support sexual assault; men can, for example, challenge another man who is abusing his partner, or they can tell a friend who has already committed sexual assault that his behaviour is not acceptable (White Ribbon Campaign, 2010). The handout emphasizes the role and responsibility that men have in confronting violence against women in their community. If men are hesitant about confronting this issue, they are told to “Imagine that the girl or woman was your future wife, your daughter, sister, niece or mother. You would want someone to say something!”

Media campaigns help men see their role in preventing sexual assault by seeing themselves as active community members who help people they know and care about in their community. The hope of these campaigns is to change the way men think and talk about sexual assault. In doing so, men acknowledge the part they play in preventing sexual assault and view sexual assault as a way to help others.

(iii) Women and Men

By the end of my focus groups, a discourse that counters the perpetrator/non-perpetrator binary slowly emerged for some of the participants. This counter-discourse goes beyond the notion that only sexual assault perpetrators could prevent sexual assault. Instead, this discourse supports sexual assault prevention that fosters a sense of community on campus. To conclude each focus group, the participants were asked to come up with two or three elements of an ideal sexual assault campaign (or design their own campaign if they chose) in groups of three or four people. From all of the focus groups, there were a total of eight sub-groups.

Only one group portrays sexual assault as a campus problem where every student on campus has a role to play in preventing sexual assault. This group explains their campaign:

Jessica: Okay we thought we'd put . . . a mix of men and women together and then have a girl who's . . . been assaulted or something in front, so it's like we're all in this together. Like the people in the back are there to support her and there's a bunch of men and a bunch of women. It's not just all men, not [just all] women.

Ben: It's like the Verizon wireless commercials.

Elana: Okay.

Ben: They're like your network or whatever, there's all those people following you around.

(Women laugh)

Ben: But it could be like that, and it's her support system so it could be like a guy trying to assault her and there's like all these people behind her.

Jessica: Or . . . have a slogan saying like "We won't stand for that" or something. Something like "We won't put up with that. We'll stand for her" or something along those lines.

Elana: So . . . what were you trying to do when you put together your campaign, . . . what was your—

. . .

David: Putting men into the role of support.

Elana: Okay.

Jessica: [so] That it was almost acceptable in a sense.

Elana: To support someone who's [sexually assaulted] —

Jessica: Yeah. So that . . . more men will say "Oh, there's a bunch of men there too" . . .

Elana: All the cool people are doing it?

Jessica: Yeah . . .

The campaign described above uses intertextuality to get students thinking about sexual assault as an issue that merits community prevention. Mary Talbot (2005) discusses how discourses serve to link two texts together, especially two texts that differ in theme and social context. Verizon is a telecommunications company associated with a network of support. In their commercials, there is a large group of people, meant to resemble the thousands of support staff at Verizon. The support staff group comprises

both men and women and they are following the Verizon consumer, ready and willing to assist the consumer whenever needed. The support network is shown in both public and private spaces, such as in a bar or the backyard of a home where a child's birthday party is taking place.

The participants constructing this campaign use students' familiarity with this support imagery to get students thinking about sexual assault as an issue that merits community support for a sexual assault survivor. Just like the support network that is there in the consumer's private and public life, the campaign serves to remind students that sexual assaults do not just occur in open social environments, such as a back-alley, but can occur at a party in a victim's own home. Both of these situations merit community support from university students. In making sexual assault a community issue in their campaigns, sexual assault is a crime that can become less of a social stigma, where every student, including students who are men, can speak out by saying, as Jessica says, ". . . [W]e won't stand for that."

As mentioned, participants who were outspoken and who brought friends to the focus groups were more likely to have their views reinforced in the focus group discussions. Jessica, for example, fit this personality type: she was the most talkative member of the focus group and was the only one to bring friends with her (Ben and David).

Participants arriving to focus groups alone were less likely to have their views reinforced by others. For example, the idea of sexual assault prevention through community involvement was discussed in only one other focus group by a male participant. Mark discusses the idea of making campuses a safe community as a way to

help prevent sexual assault on campus. His suggestion was met with silence from his peers. Mark was the only person in this focus group who did not come with a friend or group of friends. He made the following comment:

Mark: I think the best you can hope to do is to crack down on repeat occurrences of it, fostering a greater sense of community and openness.

Elana: Okay.

Mark: So while we proportionally can't stop the first instance of it especially in a relationship setting, you can foster a community in a sense you might encourage women to seek out help and leave the abusive relationship and uh get assistance you'll get the problem by making community events, understanding, and I guess some level of trust.

Elana: Oh okay so events and community were some key points. What do you guys think about that?

(Everyone is silent)

Mark counters a discourse in which only women are responsible for preventing sexual assault. Mark's solution to help end sexual assault is that everyone be responsible for making sure women feel comfortable speaking out about their abusive experiences. Unfortunately, his response is met with silence by the rest of the participants. In my view, the silence that confronts Mark indicates that community sexual assault prevention does not readily fit with students' sexual assault discourses and frames, and therefore is not a type of prevention that participants thought to consider.

In the following focus group, a group of men designed a campaign to prevent sexual assault on campus:

Miles: We wanted to try something that includes women and empowers and appeals to men as well.

Elana: Okay

Miles: So we drew a woman holding a condom and mace and it says "When she's ready you'll know".

Rina: They stole the mace idea from us.

(Many men laugh)

Krystal: Aaah. (*intrigued by the poster*)
Mark: Mixed messages, isn't it?
Krystal: I like that. (*referring to the poster being presented*)
Miles: So depending on whether she says yes . . .
Rina: Is she half smiling, half-?
Chris: No no if she's ready. (*points to condom on the poster*)
(Everyone laughs)
Elana: So what inspired this?
Miles: Well we were thinking, I'm not sure it was just—
Chris: It kinda shows that women can, like, . . . scare men away.
Paul: What? (*laughs in disbelief*)
Krystal: (*laughs*)
Chris: Well if she's not into then he's pretty much not into it.

In this campaign, women are portrayed as strong and able to refuse men's sexual advances using a can of mace. The goal of this campaign is to empower women while being accessible to men. Although this particular campaign reinforces the two sexual assault myths discussed earlier and is most applicable to stranger rape, the men who created this poster want to give women an empowering role where she calls the shots in any sexual encounter. In the same vein, these men feel the campaign slogan, "When she's ready, you'll know" would be so funny to university men that the line would be repeated in men's everyday conversations with their friends.

Sharyn Potter and her colleagues argue that university-wide discussion about sexual assault, including women *and* men, on campus through public communication campaigns is a logical step to treating sexual assault as a community issue (Potter, Monihan, Stapleton, & Banyard, 2009). My results indicate that although campaigns targeting both men and women may be helpful in engaging both genders in sexual assault prevention, men and women engage with campaigns in different ways. More specifically, the ways in which men and women empower themselves to make social change and interpret knowledge as accessible are gendered. As mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the

criteria for an ideal frame that is most likely to shape public discourses and media is that it relates to the everyday experiences of diverse social groups (Greenberg, May, & Elliot, 2006). The campaigns mentioned in Section 4.1 fit this criteria in the sense that each of these campaigns relates to the everyday lives of the gender they target. My findings show that campaigns that effectively target women typically capitalize on women's experience in navigating the risk of sexual assault as well as women's sense of pressure from men to go farther in a heterosexual sexual relationship. Campaigns that effectively target men reaffirm their sense of masculinity and portray men as they wish to see themselves—not as sexual assault perpetrators.

5.2 Implications for Sexual Assault Myths: Discourse and Ideology

Trevor Purvis and Alan Hunt (1993) argue that discourse and ideology are interconnected. From the data presented, I argue that the sexual assault myth discourses are also an ideology. While sexual assault myths are shaped by the language and social practices that make up discourse, they also have what Purvis and Hunt (1993) term 'ideological effects.' Akin to the authors' example of men opening doors for women as a discourse with ideological effects, sexual assault myth discourses have ideological effects in the sense that sexual assault myths shape and perpetuate relations of power (patriarchal social relations) between men and women, while masking the social inequalities arising from and supported by these social structures (Purvis & Hunt, 1993).

The sexual assault myths described in this study simultaneously shape and mask the sexual assault prevention discourse in terms of who can and cannot be a preventer. This ideology shapes the way we view who is responsible for preventing sexual assault

and the consequences associated with not preventing it. The sexual assault myths make the sexual assault discourse a gendered discourse, where the internalizations of risk and responsibility associated with preventing sexual assault are exclusively internalized by women. Due to the internalization of risk and responsibility reflected in campus sexual assault campaigns, women often blame themselves for their sexual assault.

The sexual assault myth ideology sets up a script for who is able to participate in the sexual assault prevention discourse. Currently, men who do not sexually assault women are not given a space in which to engage in this discourse and therefore do not see themselves as having a role in its prevention on campus. The script has limited characters where only sexual assault perpetrators and potential sexual assault victims (i.e. all women) are part of this discourse.

Since all power relations are discursive, ideologies can become ‘denaturalized.’ Norman Fairclough (1995) conceptualizes denaturalizing as exposing the influence of social structures on discourses and vice versa; he views the process of denaturalizing as an objective of critical discourse analysis. While the sexual assault myth ideology is not completely dismantled, new texts (sexual assault public communication campaigns) have the power to question the myth ideology in new and innovative ways. Many new sexual assault campaigns (e.g. “Friends don’t let friends do something stupid”) and some old ones (“No Means No”) make the sexual assault prevention discourse more inclusive. Although hegemonic masculinity is a gender constraint that may hinder men’s participation and support patriarchal social relations, participants in my focus groups are beginning to realize the importance of giving men who do not sexually assault women roles that are active and positive, while also reinforcing men’s sense of self. New

campaigns, slowly but surely, have the capability of planting seeds to promote discussion and reshape the sexual assault prevention discourse in ways that are not bound by the sexual assault myth ideology.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter summarized my thesis project results and highlights its limitations and strengths. In addition, the chapter discusses avenues to move forward with future research and sexual assault communication campaigns.

6.1 Summary of Research Project

Intrigued by sexual assault poster campaigns that exclusively targeted and responsabilized women to prevent this crime—and informed by my own experiences and reflections on gender and sexual assault—I decided to write a thesis on sexual assault media campaigns on campus. The goal of my thesis research was to understand why men do not identify with sexual assault prevention campaigns on campus; moreover, I wanted to find out what type of sexual assault campaign would help to get men involved in preventing sexual assault in ways other than not committing the crime.

In order to explore these issues, I conducted focus groups and analyzed my data using feminist critical discourse analysis and framing analysis. For my focus groups, I recruited 25 first-year university students as participants: 10 men, 14 women and one participant who did not identify with a gender. Two of the focus groups had only women and three of the focus groups were mixed gender.

During the first half of the focus groups, I presented participants with sexual assault prevention posters displayed and distributed at Carleton University. These were Canadian posters which are similar to sexual assault campaigns on other Canadian campuses (Lalonde, personal communication, December 12, 2010). For the second half, I

displayed prevention campaigns from American schools. These campaigns have made their way to Canadian campuses but they have *not* been displayed at Carleton University. These campaigns made it a priority to target men. My focus group questions were based on the participants' interpretations and discussions about these media.

I used feminist critical discourse analysis to study the connections between texts (sexual assault poster campaigns), discourses (the discussions among students), and social structures (in this case, the university setting). I also used this method of analysis to denaturalize ideologies that support unequal power relationships between men and women, such as the responsabilization of women in sexual assault prevention campaigns. When ideologies such as these are questioned, it becomes easier for men and women to resist unequal power relationships, helping to carve new spaces for men in discourses about sexual assault prevention.

I also used framing analysis to understand how student discussions about sexual assault prevention are shaped and how they inform student action/inaction. Framing analysis also helped me gain a fuller understanding of what frameworks were necessary for public communication campaigns to set the stage for meaningful discussions about sexual assault prevention on campus involving men.

6.2 Findings that Surprised Me

In order to find ways for sexual assault campaigns to involve men, my research led to a number of findings that surprised me. One such result was that men do not feel that sexual assault campaigns are targeted towards them. This surprised me because I was aware that the sexual assault service provider from Equity Services was making an effort

to involve men in sexual assault campaigns. The coordinator had already created a new poster, the “Ask First” poster [Illustration 1 (iv)] that was meant to target men, and she had just begun to put the women’s “Rape Aggression Defense” posters [Illustration 1 (ii)] in men’s washrooms so that men could inform their female friends about sexual assault services on campus. I did not expect these posters to yield raving reviews, but I did think that the posters would be a first step in targeting the male half of the campus population.

I was also surprised by the reason that men did not respond to the majority of sexual assault communication campaigns on campus. I initially thought that if men did not feel targeted, it was because they were not concerned about sexual assault happening on campus. I did not expect the majority of men in all my focus groups to feel unaffected by these campaigns as a result of feeling blamed and talked down to as potential sexual assault perpetrators. A sexual assault perpetrator is considered to be a socially ‘othered’ identity by the male participants in my focus group. Men do not identify with this negative role in which the “Ask First” [Illustration 1 (iv)] and “No Means No” [Illustration 1 (i)] poster campaigns cast them. For this reason, many of the current sexual assault poster campaigns are not effective in involving men in a conversation about sexual assault prevention on campus.

Another result that surprised me was how the majority of women in the focus groups interpreted rape self-defence classes on campus as a tool to gain empowerment. Self-defence campaigns were perceived as a way for women to feel more in control and less fearful about the risk of being sexually assaulted. The women in my focus groups perceived the risk of sexual assault as inevitable and they viewed self-defence programs as a way for them to feel more in control and empowered in light of this risk.

Women's positive reactions to self-defence classes were surprising to me because their views contrasted with the more recent feminist literature about women's self-defence classes and their relationship to sexual assault (Mardorrosian, 2002) wherein self-defence programs were another way to responsabilize women in lessening their risk of sexual assault. Instead of sexual assault campaigns being perceived as responsabilizing and victim-blaming, women perceived these classes as a way to put a positive spin on the risk they have already internalized. In light of the risks women face, women can still become strong and powerful in the face of sexual assault. According to these women, self-defence programs are ways that women can have greater agency over their bodies and feel safe in the campus environment.

I was also surprised by the fact that feminism and the campus organizations affiliated with feminism have such a bad reputation on campus. While I assumed that feminist organizations on campus would not be the most popular with students, I did not think that their poster campaign advertising the "Task Force" [Illustration 1 (iii)] would be dismissed and ridiculed in two of my largest focus groups.

While I originally assumed, before I led my focus groups, that men would be the only ones to have anti-feminist views, this was not the case. In fact, women were often participating in, and sometimes even leading, conversations against feminists and their activism on campus. Women's response to feminism surprised me since I assumed that women have more to gain from feminism than men.

I had also not fully understood the scope of feminist stereotypes which were internalized by both genders. Many of the women made and contributed to these stereotypes, which advocated for men and did not portray them as potential rapists. The

majority of members in one of my focus groups felt that all feminists were man-haters and that feminists view all men as potential rapists.

Furthermore, I found the extent that women participated in discourses that reinforced hegemonic masculinity to be surprising. Since the roles pertaining to hegemonic masculinity are known to oppress women, I assumed that women would not want to reinforce this type of performance of masculinity. Yet, in two of the focus groups when women were discussing possible campaign ideas for men, women were entrenched in the assumption that the only type of masculinity that would appeal to men in such a campaign would be hegemonic masculinity. For example, women were careful not to portray effeminate men, men who appeared physically weak or men who looked gay. Men who expressed their feelings and men who did not appear physically strong enough to protect a woman were dismissed for not being 'real men.' Women were typically more sceptical than men about men being able to discuss sexual assault prevention with their friends.

In a similar vein, I was also surprised that women participated in victim-blaming discourses. Analogous to my thoughts regarding women's participation in discourses reinforcing hegemonic masculinity, I did not expect women to be part of a discourse that served to marginalize women.

6.3 Elements of an Effective Sexual Assault Prevention Media Campaign

My research findings demonstrate that poster campaigns need to be a catalyst for men's-only discussion. In this way, posters can help make men *part of the conversation* in preventing sexual assault on campus. My thesis provides a number of ways to improve

public communication campaigns that are meant to target and engage men in helping to prevent sexual assault on campus. None of the campaigns presented in the focus groups had all of the elements discussed below. Rather, each of the posters mentioned was a piece of the puzzle, helping to inform what an ideal sexual assault prevention campaign may look like for both genders.

Successful sexual assault public communication campaigns have two basic elements: (1) they are accessible; and (2) they empower men and women to make social change. My results show that these campaigns would be accessible and empowering to men and women in gendered ways.

Accessibility

My findings indicate that sexual assault campaigns that involve group discussions on campus help to frame sexual assault as a social issue that affects a campus community rather than just potential victims and perpetrators of sexual assault. Portraying sexual assault in this light would help make sexual assault prevention a responsibility for every university student, not just female students.

The first characteristic of a successful sexual assault prevention media campaign is that the message is accessible to university students. These campaigns, accessible to male university students, use language that can be integrated easily into their conversations with their friends, such as the poster for the “Man Talk” conference. Campaigns that are funny or give away free food or prizes are most likely to get groups of men together.

An environment where men are free to discuss their feelings and views can help

to form a tighter community. These discussions can take on many different forms: formal, in a physical community space on campus (e.g. male residence), or informal and more intimate, between a small group of friends. These types of discussions can strengthen social bonds between male university students on campus.

Unfortunately, the majority of male and female participants in my focus groups perceived the social spaces available to discuss sexual assault as unapproachable for men. This is due to the fact that men fear that these groups (especially feminist groups such as the Womyn's Centre) will not be open to men's perspectives and feelings about sexual assault and instead will talk down to men as potential sexual assault perpetrators. It is, thus, important for men to have a social space where they feel that their views and experiences are welcome and accepted.

Even though discussion among men about sexual assault is an important step to take in getting men to play an active role in preventing sexual assault, men are not yet ready to begin these conversations; talking about sexual assault is not considered socially acceptable among men. Since both men and women engage in discourses that perpetuate hegemonic masculinity, my discussions with first-year students reveal the importance of sexual assault campaigns on campus targeting both men and women in ways that eventually recognize the multiplicities of masculinities and femininities. Men and women's recognition of the many forms of masculinities and femininities would help men and women understand the role they play in perpetuating a rape culture. As my focus groups indicated, there is resistance to such an approach. There are people, such as Michael Kauffman who are taking on this task.

Kauffman, a founder of the White Ribbon Campaign, helps to tackle this problem

at the beginning of his talks with both genders. First, he acknowledges the role that hegemonic masculinity plays in men's lives. Later, he leads men to question these hegemonic patterns and shows men how these patterns relate to preventing violence against women.

Similar to Kauffman's approach, I argue that hegemonic masculine views must be considered when producing social spaces for sexual assault prevention campaigns. To create such a space where men feel comfortable discussing sexual assault on campus, these campaigns should appeal to men's sense of masculinity. Since sexual assault is currently not considered to be a men's issue, it is important to change this perception. My findings imply that men will also feel more comfortable asking their male friends to join such a discussion if such an event does not risk calling a man's sense of masculinity, sexuality, and physical strength into question. Clearly, this is an inherent contradiction. Yet, in order to deconstruct hegemonic masculinity it becomes important, as Kauffman's work demonstrates, to work on the terrain of hegemonic masculinity. Only once men feel comfortable talking in a room together can their hegemonic masculine patterns be discussed and questioned.

Campaigns, such as the "No Means No" poster [Illustration 1 (i)] and the "Rape Aggression Defense" class [Illustration 1 (ii)] are accessible to women because they relate to women's everyday experiences in heterosexual sexual relationships or their internalization of fear and perceived risk of being sexually assaulted.

The "My Strength is Not for Hurting" campaigns [Illustration 2 (iv)-(v)] helped men and women frame sexual assault as a crime that could happen in a heterosexual dating relationship, a relationship that university students experience or strive to

experience in their everyday lives.

Empowerment

The second characteristic of an ideal campus sexual assault campaign is that it empowers university students to make social change. Campaigns that empower men encourage them to step in when a woman is violated and to be a good friend by stopping their friend from sexually assaulting a woman. The “Being a Friend Means Stopping Him Before He Does Something Stupid” campaign [Illustration 2 (ii)] allows men to associate discussing sexual assault as striving for and achieving value in their relationships with other men. This campaign portrays men in roles in which men can feel comfortable identifying themselves. Campaigns associating being a good friend with sexual assault prevention, give men a positive and constructive role to play in the sexual assault prevention discourse.

Another reason the “Being a Friend Means Stopping Him Before He Does Something Stupid” campaign [Illustration 2 (ii)] is effective in that it investigates sexual assault myth ideologies so that men can begin to understand the varying forms of sexual assault that their female peers experience, particularly sexual assault by a date or acquaintance on campus. In this campaign, men indirectly get the message that sexual assault can happen in their university community to their friends.

Framing sexual assault as a social problem where men can actively be part of the solution to end sexual assault on campus is a direct contrast to campaigns that place men in a negative role such as sexual assault perpetrator. Portraying sexual assault as a social problem where men can make a positive and active contribution is a key element of a

successful campaign for first-year university men. By framing sexual assault as a social problem that men can help prevent, more men will feel included in these campaigns, thus targeting more members of the university community to help prevent sexual assault on campus in an active way.

Campaigns that are empowering for women, such as the “No Means No” campaign, encourage women to increase their confidence in saying “No” when they do not want to participate in a sexual activity.

An empowering campaign, such as the poster for the “Rape Aggression Defense” class, can also help women feel confident in their physical strength and agility to fend off a sexual assault perpetrator. Accessibility and empowerment are interconnected components of a sexual assault campaign in the sense that they respond to men’s and women’s everyday experiences: men’s fear of being talked down to as rapists and women’s risk and fear of being sexually assaulted.

6.4 Research Limitations

One of my research limitations is that my research results are based on a small sample size of 25 participants. Therefore, a different sample population of students between the ages of 17–24, with a diverse race/ethnicity, gender, and/or sexual orientation might have generated different results. In addition, with a more diverse sample I could have done an intersectional analysis of the differences between different groups of women. Notwithstanding such limitations, my research provides valuable insight into how first-year university students interpret and discuss sexual assault media campaigns and how future sexual assault campaigns can target and engage university

men in discussion and encourage men to be actively involved in the campus community through active sexual assault prevention.

6.5 Key Contributions of Research

My sample population illustrates the discourses and frames that women and men use which hinder men's involvement in sexual assault campaigns. This population also highlights the counter-discourses and counter-frames that could be used in future successful campaigns that target and engage men. My research makes six key contributions to the fields of Sociology, Communication Studies, Gender Studies, and Education, as well as to sexual health and media campaigns. These six contributions are explored below:

(1) While I initially agreed with Marchese's (2008) strong criticism of men's anti-rape campaigns reassuring men they are not the cause of sexual assault, I argue that these campaigns are echoing the talk of university men and women in my focus groups. My research justifies the need to tease apart the relationship between talk discourses and text discourses as well as the relationship between discourses and ideologies.

(2) Sexual assault on university campuses is a topic of vital interest to administrations at Canadian universities who devote time and energy towards trying to raise student awareness about campus safety, along with changing and writing new human rights policies to accommodate members of the university community. My findings can be of direct relevance to these efforts by University administrators. In addition, the findings detailed here would be useful to clubs and other volunteer groups on campus whose goal it is to end violence against women on campus.

(3) Feminist groups, such as the Womyn's Centre and the Carleton Coalition for a Sexual Assault Centre, would benefit from my findings to better relate their campaigns to men's and women's everyday experiences. The group founded by men called Men for Equality and Non-Violence, whose goal is to involve men in the quest to prevent violence against women, would also benefit from these findings in order to design campaigns that attract new group members and retain old members.

(4) A broader contribution of my thesis is that these findings would be relevant to sexual assault centres across Canada. Sexual assault centres would be better able to understand and serve the needs of survivors in their communities by gaining further comprehension of students' contexts, their interpretation of current sexual assault campaigns, and their ideas for better campaigns.

(5) My findings would also benefit high school administrators and students. Many of the participants in my focus groups discussed a lack of education in their high school sex-education classes surrounding sexual communication, consent, and sexual assault. Because of confusion due to this lack of knowledge, a few of the female participants were forced to navigate through heterosexual sexual relationships on their own without an understanding that they had a right to say "No" to sexual activities in which they did not want to engage. Men in my focus groups did not have a thorough understanding of sexual consent, particularly in romantic dating relationships.

(6) Finally, my findings support the call for high school sex-education classes that are sex-positive; these classes should go beyond discussing protection from pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) to a discussion of sexual pleasure and the respect, consent, and communication that comes with it in a healthy sexual relationship.

6.6 Future Projects

Due to the small sample size of my study, I did not recruit a high percentage of people in racial and ethnic minorities or people who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, and queer (LGBTQ). Future projects could include a wide range of race/ethnicity and sexuality differences.

Pertaining to sexuality differences, more research is needed to determine whether my findings could extend to queer-identified university students. Since queer culture is known to disrupt the gender/sex binary system, samples with a high percentage of LGBTQ participants may challenge findings relating to gender norms such as hegemonic masculinity and 'emphasized femininity' (Connell, 2000).

Further research should be done to investigate whether these findings can be extended to high schools as well as places outside of educational institutions such as bus stops, gyms, parks, malls, and billboards.

In conclusion, the road to involving men in sexual assault prevention campaigns and in getting men to actively prevent sexual assault on campus is a long and complex one. My hope is that my findings act as a roughly drawn map so that women *and men* are part of the quest to end sexual violence on Canadian university campuses.

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Appendix A

Email to First-Year Course Instructors- Request to Recruit Students

Dear Mr./Ms./Dr. _____,

I am currently working on my M.A. thesis in Sociology and my thesis project examines the way young first year students interpret and discuss campus media about sexual assault. My study has received ethics approval from the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee and I am looking to recruit first year university students between the ages of 17-24 to fill out a quick background form and to be part of a focus group. Both men and women would be welcome to be part of this research project and would receive pizza and pop for their participation.

Since you are teaching a first year course, I feel that your class would be an appropriate place to recruit first year students to participate in my research study. I would really appreciate the opportunity to come to your class to ask students for their participation.

This would involve me making a quick, five minute announcement about the purpose of my study and the type of people I am looking to recruit, what their participation would entail and the compensation they would receive. I would then pass around a sign-up sheet for students to fill out throughout your class, which will be collected when the class is finished so as not to interrupt your lecture.

Please let me know if you are willing to have me recruit students in your class for their participation in my research. You would be helping your students play a constructive role in shaping the media tools used on our campus, changing the portrayal of sexual assault in a positive way that promotes campus safety. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. I can be reached via e-mail at efinesto@connect.carleton.ca.

Sincerely,
Elana Finestone

Appendix B

Recruitment Script for First-Year Classes

Hi Everyone. My name is Elana Finestone and I am a Master's Student in the Sociology department here at Carleton. I'm conducting a study which looks at how first year students such as yourselves interpret and discuss the public communication media they see on campus that has to do with sexual assault.

To do this, I need your help. If you are between the ages of 17-24 and you are a Carleton student in your first year of university, you are the type of person I need to participate in my study.

Your participation would involve you filling out a quick two - four minute background form about yourself and you participating in a focus group lasting 60-70 minutes about campus media and sexual assault. Basically, I would be asking for approximately 75 minutes of your time.

For your time, you would receive free pizza and pop.

If you are interested in taking part of my study and getting free pizza and pop AND you are the type of participant I am looking for, you should sign up to take part in my study. I'm going to pass a few sign-up sheets around the classroom where you can write down your name (please print) and an email address to contact you. I will collect the sign-up sheets at the end of the class. Those that sign the sheet will receive an email from me, the researcher, to arrange a time that is convenient for you to take part in the focus group.

If you have any questions about my study, please do not be shy to ask me. I'll be free to answer any questions at the end of the class or you can always email me. My email address is on the bottom of the sign-up sheet and I would happy to answer any questions you may have.



This research has received ethics approval from the Carleton University Ethics Committee

Appendix C

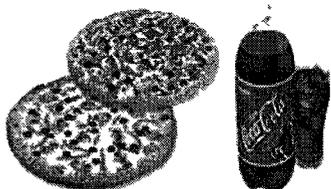
Student Sign-Up Sheet

Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

I am looking to recruit **first year Carleton University students** who are between the ages of **17-24**. Both **women** and **men** are welcome to participate. If you fit this description and you are interested in taking part in this study please fill out the sign-up sheet below:

NAME		E-mail	Tick Date(s) When Available										
			12 - 2 PM					4:30 - 6:30 PM					
First	Last		M	T	W	R	F	M	T	W	R	F	
Random	Student	rstudent@connect.carleton.ca	✓								✓		✓

You will receive pizza and pop for your participation!



Appendix D

Focus Group Guide

Project – Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

Key Themes:

- A. Recognition of media campaigns
- B. Interpreting media campaigns:
 - *discussion* with peers about media campaigns
 - *understanding* messages
- C. Acting on messages
- D. Prevention messages
- E. Involving men in and out of campus

I. Housekeeping Issues

1. Introduce myself
2. Welcome everyone to the focus group discussion
3. Explain what a focus group is and what the focus group is about
 - conversation style
 - no wrong answers
 - respect others: no woman hating, racist, homophobic remarks
 - pizza is on the way!**
4. Read consent forms and sign consent forms
5. Explain what confidentiality agreement means
6. Fill out background forms and explain the purpose of them
 - students should not put their name on them, they are anonymous
7. Get students to write their name on piece of paper to make a placard

II. Ask more general questions to spark discussion

1. When you think about sexual assault, what comes to mind?

- (a) What popular images have you seen that represent sexual assault to you?

III. Show participants posters of media campaigns on campus

2. What are your immediate reactions to these media campaigns?

3. Do you recognize any of these media campaigns? A

- (a) Where have you seen these media campaigns?

(b) Have you seen any of these media campaigns on campus?

4. Do you ever think about these campaigns? **B**

(a) If you do, when do you think about it?

(b) If you do, what do you think about?

(c) If you do not think about these campaigns, why don't you?

5. Have you discussed the campus media shown in this focus group with friends? **B**

(a) For example, has one of these campaigns ever come up in a conversation between you and a friend?

(b) For example, has one of these campaigns inspired you to talk about sexual assault on campus with a friend?

6. Do you feel that campus media about sexual assault is being targeted towards you? **B**

(a) For example, do you feel that this campaign is only targeting women?

(b) Do you think these campaigns are also directed towards men?

7. *For focus groups with just women or for focus groups with mixed genders:*
Do you feel that these campaigns target men? **B, E**

(a) What type of men do you feel are targeted in these campaigns?

8. Has one of these sexual assault media campaigns ever caused you to think about sexual assault on campus? **B**

9. Has one of these sexual assault media campaigns ever given you information about sexual assault? **B**

10. Do you think that these campaigns challenge the idea that sexual assault is only a women's issue? **B, D, E**

IV. Show participants posters of public education campaigns outside of campus

11. What are your immediate reactions to these media campaigns?

12. Do you feel that these campaigns are being targeted towards you? **B**
- (a) For example, do you feel that this campaign is only targeting women?
 - (b) Do you think these campaigns are also directed towards men?
13. *(For focus groups with just women or for focus groups with mixed genders)* Do you feel that these campaigns target men? **B, E**
14. **Do you think that these campaigns challenge the idea that sexual assault is only a women's issue? B, D, E**
15. Do you think that sexual poster campaigns can help encourage men to play a role in ending sexual assault on campus? **B, C, D, E**

V. Reflections

16. A few of the posters I showed you (Gender based violence taskforce, Man – Talk conference) are **advertisements for events on campus. Do you think that these events could be helpful in getting men involved in ending sexual assault on campus? B, D, E**
- (a) **Have you ever been to any of these events? C**
17. Is there anything else about sexual assault media campaigns on campus that you would like to bring up?
18. **Divide up into groups of three or four people. I'm going to give you five minutes to discuss what elements an effective sexual assault media campaign would have. If you want, you can even create a draft of your very own poster campaign!**

Appendix E

Informed Consent Form for Participants



LETTER OF INFORMATION

Project – Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

Dear Student,

I am Elana Finestone, an M.A. candidate at Carleton University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. I am conducting a research study for the purpose of my Master's thesis. The study is being overseen by my M.A. supervisor, Dr. Andrea Doucet, Professor of Sociology at Carleton University.

The goal of my research is to explore young first year Carleton University students' interpretations of campus media about sexual assault. This project will involve qualitative data collected through focus groups. Through this research I hope to learn more about how campus media shapes and negotiates students' discussions about sexual assault and how gender impacts these discussions.

The background form, to be filled out before the focus group begins, will take two – four minutes to fill out and will require you to fill out demographic information such as your age, gender, and sexual orientation. The information you provide on this survey is completely anonymous. By agreeing to participate you agree to have the demographic information listed in your background form used as part of my analysis, but these will not be attached to your real name or any other characteristics that could be used to identify you.

The focus group will last 60-70 minutes and will take place one time. Questions will centre on your interpretation of media on Carleton campus that addresses the topic of sexual assault. During the focus group, an audio recorder will be used to ensure all comments raised in the focus group have the possibility of being analyzed. A note-taker will also be present during the group for this purpose.

Anonymity and confidentiality cannot be assured because of the nature of the focus group.

However, All information provided for the purpose of the focus group will be kept strictly confidential by the researcher and her supervisor. A fictitious name will be used



in place of your real name and all characteristics that could be used to identify you will be changed so that the comments you raise in the focus group will be non-attributable. In addition, each participant in the focus group, including the note-taker, will sign a form indicating their agreement to keep all discussions in the focus group confidential.

There is a slight chance that the topic of sexual assault might make you feel uncomfortable or remind you of negative experiences i.e. for instance a memory of a sexual assault that you or someone else experienced. *However, this study is not meant to focus on the experience of sexual assault and every effort will be used by the researcher to steer the discussion in the direction of*

how campus media messages about sexual assault are interpreted by first year university students.

Your participation will give you the opportunity to play a constructive role in shaping the way the media tools used on your campus can change the portrayal of sexual assault in a positive way that promotes campus safety. This means that your participation in the focus group can indirectly make your school a safer community for you to live in.

If at any time during the survey or focus group you do not wish to answer a question, feel free to decline. You may withdraw from the study if you wish at any time, for any reason, without any explanation. There is no consequence to withdrawing your participation in this study. If you choose to withdraw, none of the comments you made in the focus group will be directly quoted in the final project. You also have the right to have your data destroyed if you so choose. April 9th, 2010 will be the deadline for which participants can withdraw from the study and have sections removed from the dissertation. After this date, my thesis will be complete and there will be no opportunity to remove sections. However, should you withdraw after April 9th, 2010 any direct quotation will not be included in any further aspects of this project.

For your participation in this study you will receive pizza and a soft drink, valued at approximately five dollars (\$5.00), which will be given at the beginning of the focus group.

After transcribing the background form and focus group discussion, the electronic data will be saved to a password protected computer drive, to which nobody else has access. The background forms, audio recordings and notes from the focus group will be destroyed after transcription; all paper copies will be shredded and electronic data erased.



The transcribed data will be kept indefinitely and will be used by the principal researcher (Elana Finestone) for academic presentations, journal articles, a book and/or book chapters and/or as a sample of written work for graduate school applications. Information will be kept for future research purposes. The primary researcher intends to securely maintain the data indefinitely for the purposes of future analysis, comparison and writing. The primary researcher intends to continue exploring campus sexual assault in future projects and will use this data for the basis of analysis and comparison with future research done on other groups. Upper year students and university administration are examples of such comparison groups. In the event that the transcribed data is destroyed, all paper copies will be shredded and electronic data erased.

If you are interested in the research findings, please feel free to contact me for an electronic copy of my thesis at: efinesto@connect.carleton.ca

My research project was reviewed and approved by my supervisor, Dr. Doucet, and received ethics clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee. If there are any further questions about the ethics process/expectations, or any concerns about the ethical conduct of the researcher please feel free to contact the Chair of the Committee. The contact information for the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee is:

Professor Antonio Gualtieri, Chair
Carleton University Research Ethics Committee
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
Tel: 613-520-2517
E-mail: ethics@carleton.ca

Please indicate to me if you have any problems with or questions about the nature of this research project. If you agree with the terms of this research project as I have explained them, both above and as follows, please provide your signature on the following consent form, indicating that you agree to participate according to the conditions outlined below.



 Researcher
 Elana Finestone
 Department of Sociology and
 Anthropology
 Phone: (613) 794-2244
 E-mail:
 efinesto@connect.carleton.ca

 Thesis Supervisor:
 Dr. Andrea Doucet
 Department of Sociology and
 Anthropology
 Phone: (613) 520-2582
 E-mail:
 andrea_doucet@carleton.ca

CONSENT FORM

I, _____ have read the above letter and understand that I am participating in a research project and I voluntarily agree to participate.

I agree to have a note-taker present during the focus group: YES _____ NO _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Name of Researcher: Elana Finestone Signature: _____

Appendix F

Note-Taker Confidentiality Agreement



NOTE-TAKER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Project – Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

I, _____, agree to keep all discussion in this focus group confidential. I understand that all remarks made in this group will not be repeated outside the focus group room.

I understand that the contents of the notes I take will not be discussed or shared with anybody besides the primary researcher (Elana Finestone), her supervisor (Dr. Andrea Doucet) and her second readers (Dr. Josh Greenberg and Dr. Diana Majury). After each focus group is complete, I will give all my notes to Elana Finestone so that they can be immediately stored in a filing cabinet for which only Elana has the key.

I understand that in my agreement to keep all focus group discussion and notes confidential I am helping to protect the privacy of the focus group participants.

Signature of Note-Taker: _____ Date: _____

Name of Researcher: Elana Finestone Signature: _____

Appendix G

Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement



FOCUS GROUP CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Project – Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

I _____, agree to keep all discussion in this focus group confidential. I understand that all remarks made in this group will not be repeated outside the focus group room. I understand that in my agreement to keep all focus group discussion confidential I am helping to protect the privacy of the participants in my focus group.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Name of Researcher: Elana Finestone Signature: _____

Appendix H

Background Form

Project – Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your gender? (woman, man, transgender, etc.): _____
3. What is your sexual orientation? (heterosexual, gay, bisexual, etc.): _____
4. What is your current relationship status? (single, dating, married): _____
5. What is your racial/ethnic background? _____
6. Is this your first year of study at Carleton University? (YES or NO) _____
7. What is your major at Carleton? (Sociology, Business, Law, etc.): _____

Appendix I

Participants Categorized According to Focus Groups

Focus Group #	Date	Total # Men Participants	Names of Men Participants	Total # Women Participants	Names of Women Participants	Names of Non-Gender Identified Participants	Total # of Non-Gender Identified Participants	Total # of Participants in Group
1	24-Nov-09	6	Chris Mark Miles Paul Travis Zachary	2	Krystal Rina			8
2	25-Nov-09	3	Azim Ben David	5	Elizabeth Fernanda Hayley Jessica Sierra			8
3	26-Nov-09	0	N.A.	2	Ali Emma			2
4	02-Dec-09	1	Justin	3	Katrina Salma Samantha	Morgan	1	5
5	04-Dec-09	0	N.A.	2	Anika Rachel			2
Total		10		15			1	25

Appendix J: Ethics Clearance Form



Carleton University Research Office
 5th Floor Tory Building
 1125 Colonel By Drive
 Ottawa, ON K1S 8B6 Canada
 Tel: (613) 520-2516
 Fax: (613) 520-2521
www.carleton.ca/cu/research/curo/

Ethics Clearance Form

This is to certify that the Carleton University Research Ethics Board has examined the application for ethical clearance. The REB found the research project to meet appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* and, the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research*.

New clearance

Renewal of original clearance

Original date of clearance:

Date of clearance **7 October 2009**
 Researcher **Elana Finestone**
 Status **M.A. student**
 Department **Department of Sociology and Anthropology**
 Supervisor **Professor Andrea Doucet**
 Title of project **Exploring Gendered Approaches to Campus Media Messages about Sexual Assault**

Ethics approval expires on: **31 May 2010**

All researchers are governed by the following conditions:

Annual Status Report: You are required to submit an Annual Status Report to either renew clearance or close the file. Failure to submit the Annual Status Report will result in the immediate suspension of the project. Funded projects will have accounts suspended until the report is submitted and approved.

Changes to the project: Any changes to the project must be submitted to the Carleton University Research Ethics Board for approval. All changes must be approved prior to the continuance of the research.

Adverse events: Should any participant suffer adversely from their participation in the project you are required to report the matter to the Carleton University Research Ethics Board. You must submit a written record of the event and indicate what steps you have taken to resolve the situation.

Suspension or termination of clearance: Failure to conduct the research in accordance with the principles of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* and the *Carleton University Policies and Procedures for the Ethical Conduct of Research* may result in the suspension or termination of the research project.

Leslie J. MacDonald-Hicks
 Research Ethics Board Coordinator
 For the Chair of the Carleton University Research Ethics Board
 Prof. Antonio Gualtieri

Illustration 1 (i)

**Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups**

No means . Not now means .
 I have a boy/girlfriend means .
 Maybe later means . No
 thanks means . You're not
 my type means . \$#@!!! off
 means . I'd rather be alone
 right now means . Don't touch me
 means . I really like you
 but ... means . Let's just go
 to sleep means . I'm not sure
 means . You've/I've been
 drinking means . Silence
 means . [REDACTED] means .

Not understanding

Canadian Federation of Students www.cfs-fcee.ca

Illustration 1 (ii)

**Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups**

R.A.D. RAPE SYSTEMS

R.A.D. WOMEN'S SELF DEFENSE

Offered by the Department of University Safety

The R.A.D. class is taught over a period of 12 hours that consists of 2 classes. The first class is an overview and discussion on risk reduction and prevention. The second class consists of learning and practicing physical defence moves and the option of participating in a simulated attack.

Complete the registration form today and register for the next scheduled R.A.D. class sponsored by the Department of University Safety.

www.carleton.ca/safety (Campus Programs)
203 Robertson Hall
Phone: 613-520-3612

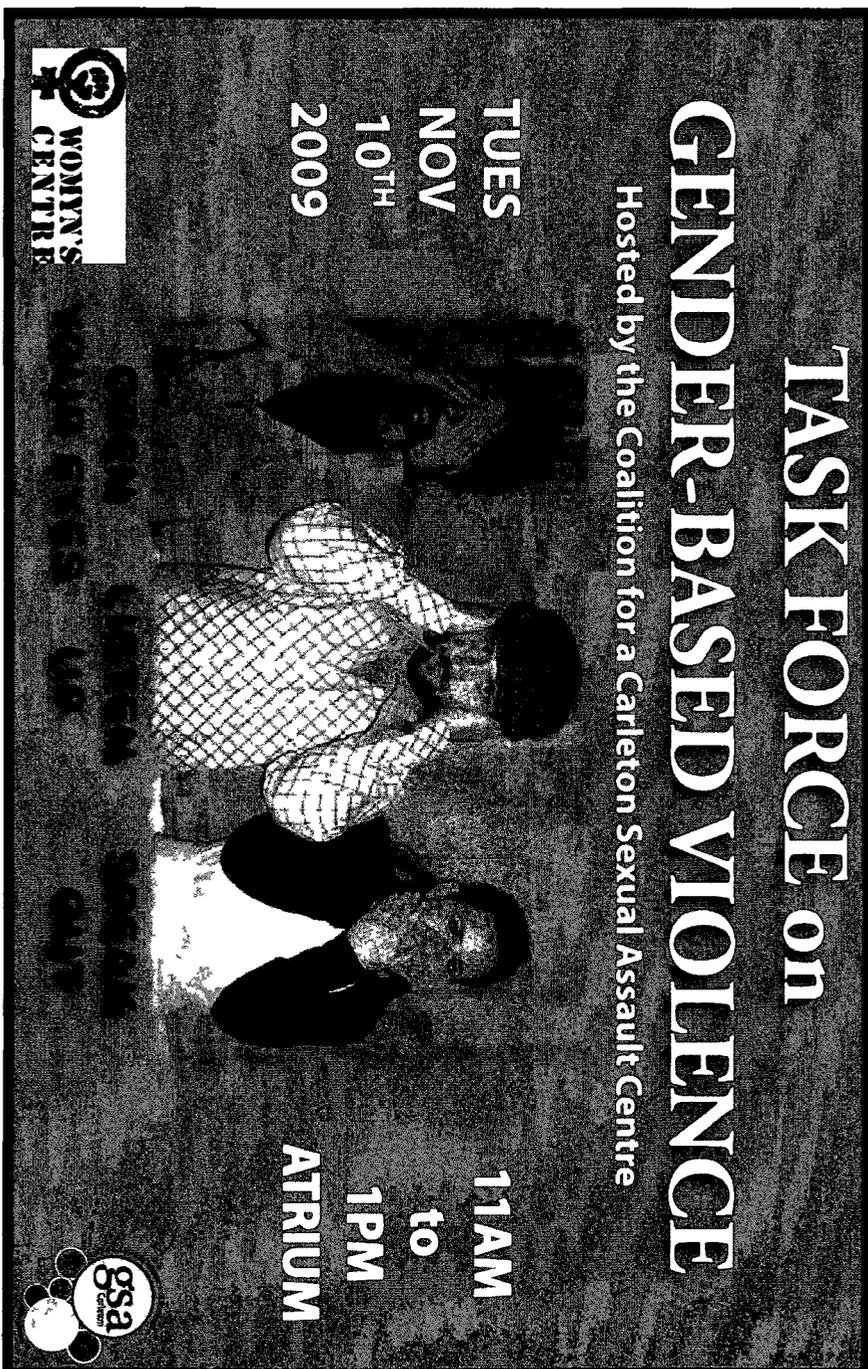
All attendees must be registered prior to the first class. Information outlining the training location is sent via email once the registration form and deposit has been received.

**SAFETY AND SURVIVAL IN TODAY'S WORLD
REQUIRES A DEFINITIVE COURSE OF ACTION.**

 **Carleton**
UNIVERSITY
Canada's Capital University

Illustration 1 (iii)

Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups



TASK FORCE on
GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE
Hosted by the Coalition for a Carleton Sexual Assault Centre

TUES
NOV
10TH
2009

11AM
to
1PM
ATRIUM


WOMEN'S
CENTRE


CSA
Coalition for a Carleton Sexual Assault Centre

Illustration 1 (iv)

Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups

SILENCE MEANS NO

DRUNK MEANS NO

**ANY FORM OF
SEXUAL ACTIVITY
WITHOUT CONSENT
IS SEXUAL ASSAULT
ASK FIRST**

NOT NOW MEANS NO

NO MEANS NO



Equity Services
503 Robertson Hall
(613) 520-5622

Dignity, Equality, Respect

Acknowledgements adapted from the University of Toronto

Illustration 1 (v)

Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups

OCTEVAW COCVFF

OTTAWA COALITION TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

SEXUAL ASSAULT NETWORK PRESENTS

"MAN TALK"

What Every Guy Oughta / Gotta Know About Good Relationships
with **Michael Kaufman**
Special Guest Bill Weikertel from A Morning

Friday, October 16th, 8:30am to 12:30pm
Carleton University, Porter Hall

Students, youth leaders & other young people
Lunch included
FREE STUFF!

Start a bro-talk, bring a man-date!

Students & Youth **FREE**
REGISTER AT WWW.OCTEVAW-COCVFF.CA

SAN

RUE

COCVFF

Carleton University

www.carleton.ca

Illustration 1 (vi)

**Carleton University Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups**

my strength is not for hurting

so when i wanted to and she didnt,
WE DIDN'T

**OUR ROLE MEN'S
CONFERENCE**
Men's role in ending
violence against women

**SO WHEN SHE SAID NO
I SAID OK**

November 4th 2009,
Fenn Young, Residence Commons
Carleton University
6:30pm - 9:30pm

**This is a mens only event!
Free entry
Pre-register by email at ottawa.ques@gmail.com**

Alpha Delta Xi
Gamma Gamma

Illustration 2 (i)

Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University



Illustration 2 (ii)

Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University

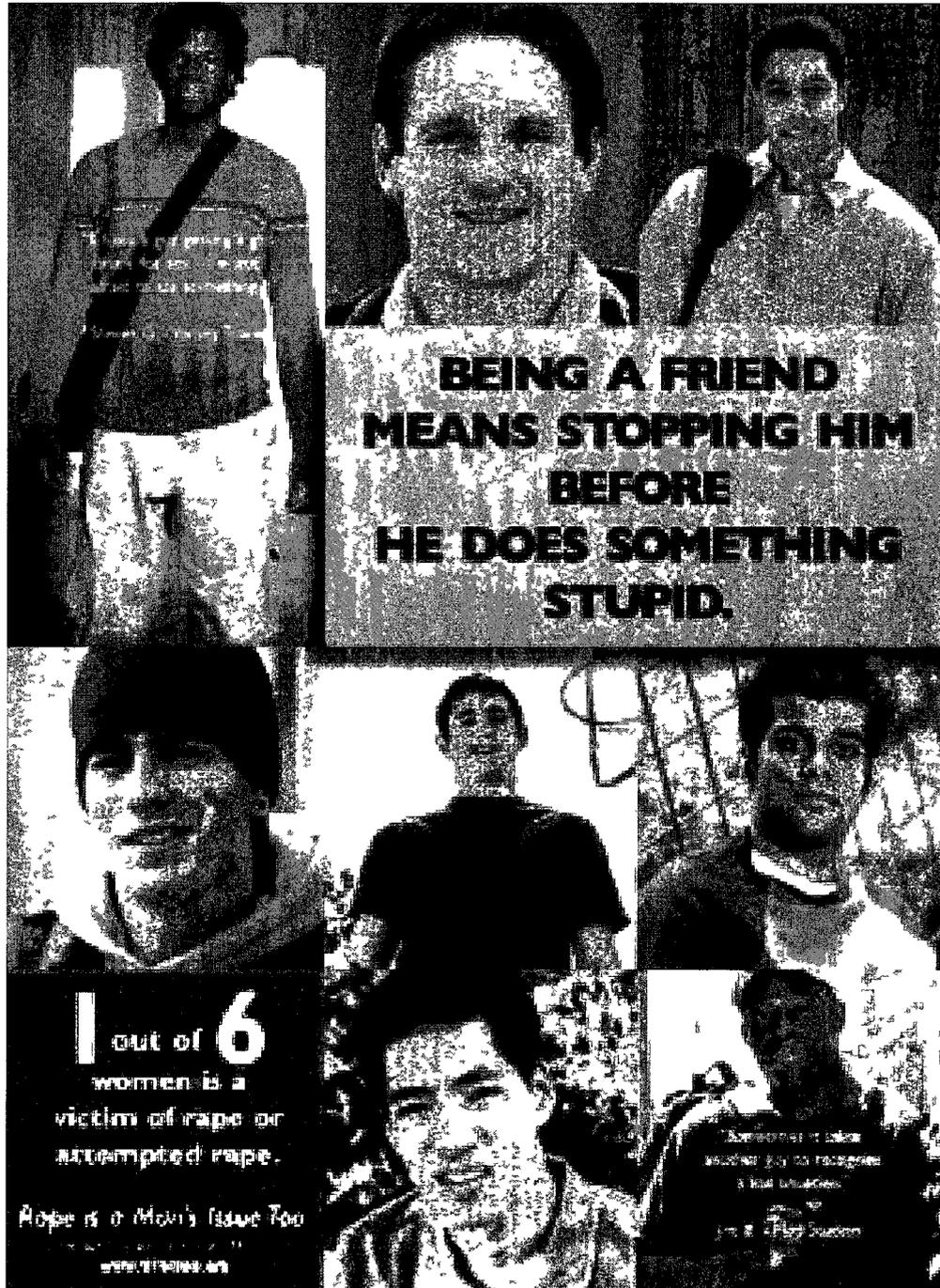
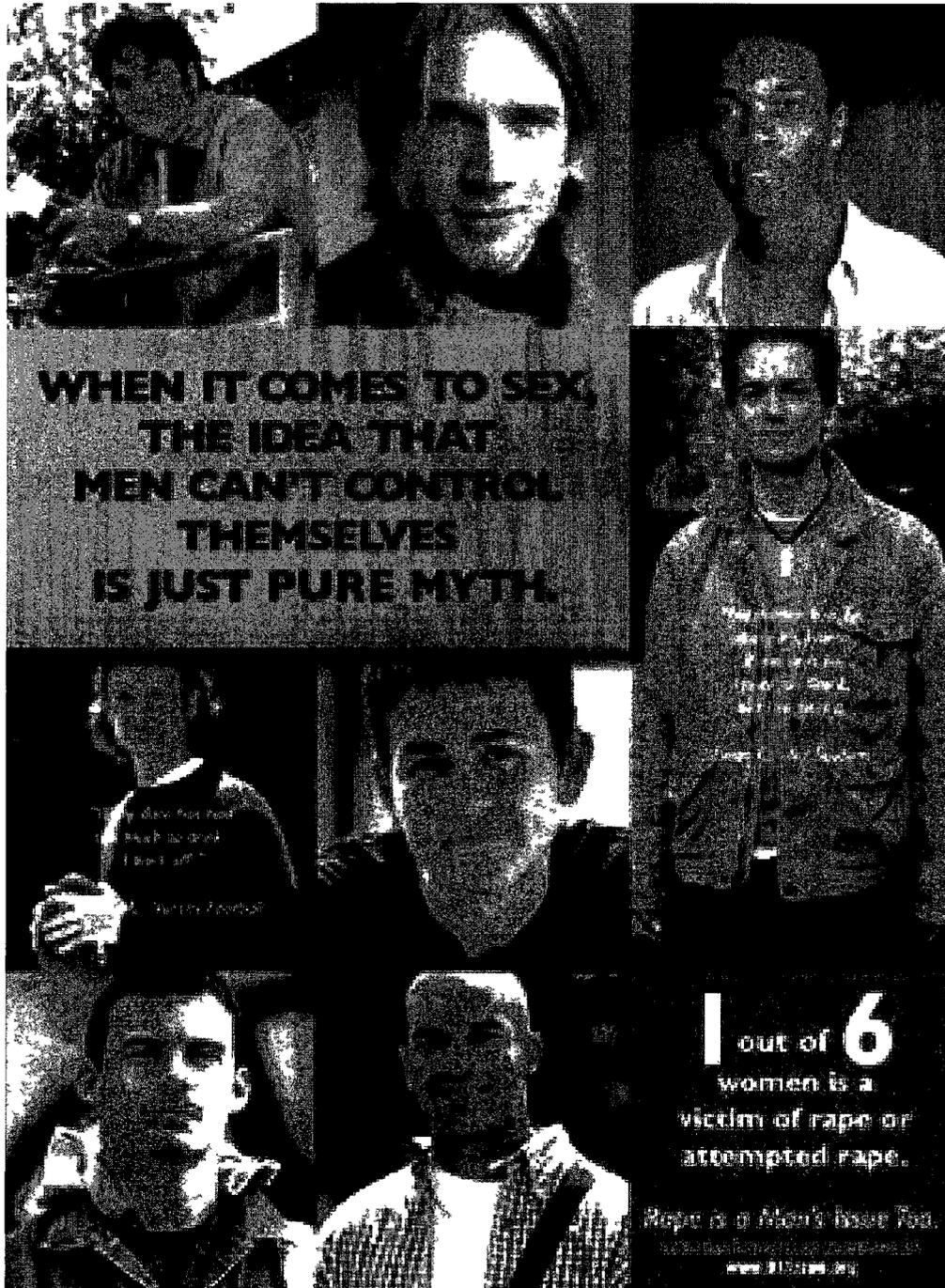
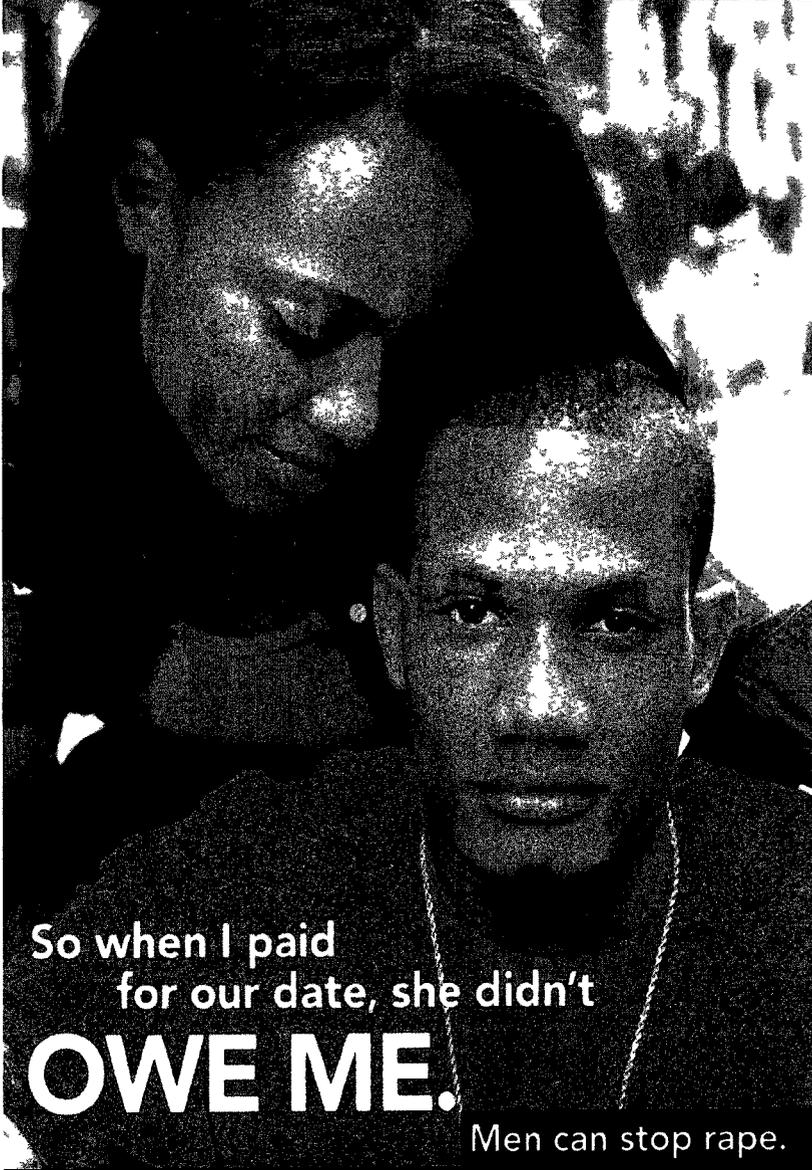


Illustration 2 (iii)

**Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University**



**Illustration 2 (iv): Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University**



MY STRENGTH IS NOT FOR HURTING.

So when I paid
for our date, she didn't
OWE ME.

Men can stop rape.
MyStrength.org

 CALGARY

Illustration 2 (v)

Other Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns
Presented in Focus Groups Not at Carleton University



MY STRENGTH IS NOT FOR HURTING.

So when I wanted to and she didn't, **WE DIDN'T.**

Men can stop rape.

MyStrength.org

ALCSA

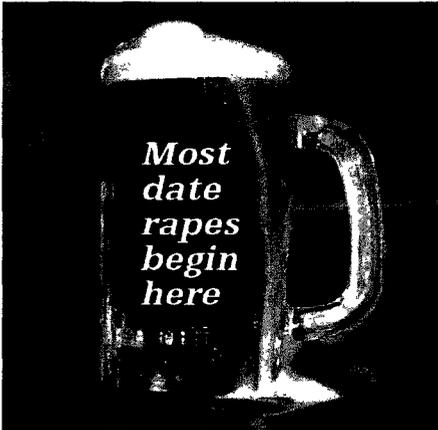
Illustration 3

Sexual Assault Public Education Campaigns Discussed but Not Presented in Focus Groups

*Most date rapes
occur during
the first*

8

weeks of classes



Most
date
rapes
begin
here

Date/acquaintance rape is sexual intercourse that is forced, manipulated, or coerced by a partner, friend or acquaintance.

Sobering Statistics

- About 75% of men and at least 55% of women involved in acquaintance rape have been drinking or taking drugs before the attack.
- One out of every four women surveyed was a victim of rape or attempted rape.
- 94% of those raped knew their attacker.
- 57% of those rapes happened on dates.
- Only 27% of the women whose sexual assault met the legal definition of rape thought of themselves as victims of rape.
- 42% of the rape victims told no one about their assault.
- Only 5% reported their rape to the police.

Source: Robin Warshaw "I Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape", 1994.

Some Sober Advice

- Don't put pressure on your date to have sex or assume you know what your date wants.
- Set clear sexual limits before the date and communicate those limits. Be clear, honest and consistent in your verbal and non-verbal communication about sexual desire and limits.
- Speak up if you feel you're getting a double message from your date. If you are still confused, don't have sex.
- Get out of any situation as soon as you sense possible danger. Trust your instincts.
- Keep in mind that alcohol and drugs impair judgement.
- Remember, someone under the influence of alcohol or drugs cannot "consent" to having sex.
- Know what kinds of behaviour constitute sexual assault.
- Realize drugs and alcohol are not a legal defence for rape.

What to do if date rape happens to you

- Believe in yourself. What happened to you was wrong and you are not to blame. No one deserves to be sexually assaulted.
- Tell someone you trust.
- Get the medical attention you need.
- Decide whether you want to report the assault to the police or Campus Safety.
- Take the time to recover and talk to a counsellor for support. Your emotional and physical health is important.

Rape Crisis Centre.....562-2333

Women's Anti-Violence Organization / Survivors of Abuse Support Centre234-2266

Carleton Health and Counselling Services.....520-6674

University Safety.....520-3612

(adapted from London Rape Crisis Centre)

Need Advice? Equity Services provides confidential, impartial advice and services to all members of the University Community.



**Carleton
UNIVERSITY**
Canada's Capital University

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Know your rights
and responsibilities