

THE CULTURE OF RAPE:
EXAMINING CAUSES AND EDUCATING FOR A RAPE-FREE SOCIETY



American Girl in Italy, Ruth Orkin, 1951

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Trigger Warning: This thesis contains graphic language pertaining to rape and sexual assault

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Abstract

This thesis explores factors, influences, and causes of rape through social constructivist and feminist lenses, and makes recommendations for improving sex education to address and challenge rape myths and rape culture in general. The ultimate aim is to promote education in order to reduce rape. I review the literature related to rape and rape culture in order to identify factors and influences contributing to rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours in society at large, including the ways in which women's lives are impacted by the constant threat of rape and how male socialization contributes to and normalizes this threat. Based on discourse and content analyses of online comments on articles related to rape and rape culture, and with reference to Ontario's most recent Health and Physical Education curriculum documents for grades 9 and 10 (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), I make specific recommendations for how to better-educate boys and men about their roles and responsibilities in ending rape and mitigating rape culture.

**The Culture of Rape:
Examining Causes and Educating for a Rape-Free Society**

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Terminology

In the course of this work, I employ these terms with the following definitions in mind:

Rape: Jessica Valenti (2012b) points out that there is “still widespread ignorance about what rape is” (para. 2), because inconvenient definitions have been “whittled down by racism, misogyny, classism and the pervasive wink-wink-nudge-nudge belief that all women really want to be forced anyway” (para. 8). In fact, Ben Atherton-Zeman (2006) notes that while many young men claim to find rape deplorable, they define it “as using physical force” (para. 5), which excludes the use of “verbal or emotional force, manipulation or the *threat* of physical force” (para. 5).

“Rape” generally refers to “penetration, however slight, of any bodily orifice, obtained against the victim’s will by using force or threat of force, of any part of the assailant’s body or any object used by the assailant in the course of the assault” (Burt, 1991, p. 26). This definition is very similar to that finally adopted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Russo, 2012), but it is also important to recognize that penetration itself is not necessarily a requirement (Smith, 2004). In short, as Zerlina Maxwell (2012) puts it, “consent is necessary for sex to not be rape” (para. 3).

Sexual Assault: Somewhat confusingly, the term “sexual assault” is often used as a broader term that includes rape, but it is also distinct from rape in that “rape requires the use or threat of force, whereas sexual assault refers of any act of intercourse without consent” (Palmer, 2011, para. 2)—which *is* rape, as noted above (Maxwell, 2012). Reports and mentions of sexual assault in the following Literature Review, therefore, are not *necessarily* distinct from reports and mentions of rape. Given the seeming interchangeability of these terms in literature, penal codes, and statistics (Palmer, 2011), I will use whichever term is used in the context of the

citation at hand. When I use the term “rape” more generally, this will usually refer to any sex without consent, because this definition logically includes the use or threat of force to obtain sex against the victim’s will.

Rape Culture: Though specific definitions of this term vary, the reality the term describes is clear. Clementine Ford (2012) describes rape culture as “a social system that has slowly normalised rape and sexual assault through the bombardment of images, language, laws and social attitudes” (para. 2), and Sarah Jackson (2011) refers to rape as “an act of terrorism” (para. 2). Rape culture is a social culture in which rape is excused or minimized, and rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours go unchallenged, permeating television shows, films, and other media. This definition relates to an anthropological definition of culture, which is “a system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artifacts” (University of Manitoba, n.d., para. 2) and the institutional arrangements that express them.

Rape Myths: I use the general definition of “rape myth” provided by Martha R. Burt (1991), which is “prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, or rapists” (p. 26). These can include beliefs that victims are “somehow responsible for, or contribute to, their own victimization, which in turn decreases the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator” (Tatum, 2008, p. 25). Myths such as these are, as noted in the above definition of “rape” itself, “the mechanism that people use to justify dismissing an incident of sexual assault from the category of ‘real’ rape” (Burt, 1991, p. 27).

Chapter 1: Introduction

While Andrea Dworkin (1993) estimated a woman is raped every three minutes in the United States alone, recent projections suggest it may be closer to a rape every minute (Solnit, 2013). In a survey of over 6,000 college students across 32 colleges and universities, 54% of women interviewed were found to be survivors of an attempted or completed rape (Koss, 1988), and many studies have reported similar findings (Russell, 1982; Schiffman, 2010). While people with disabilities are disproportionately victimized (Johnson & Sigler, 2000; Statistics Canada, 1995), it is also the case that “one in five women will be raped in her lifetime” (Solnit, 2013, para. 1). These are frightening statistics, to be sure, but more frightening is the fact that, as recently as 1991, 76% of high-school-age boys interviewed believed “forced sex” was totally acceptable under certain circumstances (White & Humphrey, 1991), and in 2003, the FBI found that, although the overall rate of serious crime had decreased over the previous year, rape was the sole violent crime that had increased significantly across the country (Schiffman, 2010).

Although the rate of *reported* rape itself has decreased over the years, it remains unclear whether this is a result of fewer people reporting their rape (Fahrenthold, 2006). Even more disconcerting is that phrasing the problem in the usual way—“women are raped”—entirely ignores the people responsible. In effect, the perpetrator is made invisible (Katz, 2012). It would be more accurate and more honest to say: “A *man* rapes a woman every minute.”

It is important to note this fact. To ignore it—or to frame the issue as “us vs. them,” “normal people” vs. “the rapists”—is to at once shift the blame from the perpetrator to the victim and misdiagnose the problem by refusing to acknowledge the gendered aspect of rape (Ford, 2012; Katz, 2012; Penny, 2012). For this reason, when I refer to “rapists” in this thesis, I am referring to male rapists, who statistically commit between 98% and 99% of all reported rapes

(De Santis, 2012; Greenfeld, 1997; Jenny, 2009; Tatum, 2008), while 9 out of 10 victims are girls and women, 80% of whom are under the age of 30 (RAINN, 2009; Valenti, 2007). Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis, this does mean that a percentage of rape victims are men. Even in these cases, though, the perpetrator is usually another boy or man, suggesting that an analysis of this gendered element is vital.

Many rapes and sexual assaults go unreported. According to the Bureau of Justice Special Report in 2003 (cited in Indiana Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2011), there are an estimated 5 rapes for every 1 reported, while SexAssault.ca (2012) suggests only 6 out of every 100 sexual assaults are reported. Furthermore, the reality of prevalent and systemic racism adds to this problem for People of Colour; for example, due in large part to a history of violent racism in Canada, 57% of Aboriginal women have been sexually assaulted (Sexual Assault, 2012). Similarly, due to racism in the United States, African-American women report roughly 1 out of every 15 rapes (INCASA, 2011; McKinstry, 2013). The problem of rape and sexual assault, therefore, is larger than can be competently assessed. Concomitantly, while white men commit the vast majority of rapes, African-American men are much more likely to be charged, convicted, and incarcerated for rape (Weinberg & Biernbaum, 1993). Although anti-rape education in schools in general and as a specific element of sex education is obviously needed, it is also apparent that social justice education (involving anti-racist and anti-ableist pedagogy) must be included in core curricula as well.

Rape is not restricted to North America, of course. Despite an abundance of occurrences in the United States, recently a Supreme Court candidate in Indonesia (Halper, 2013) claimed that rape is unlike other crimes, because “in a rape case both the rapist and the victim enjoy it” (para. 3), while a Saudi cleric raised the bar for offensive victim-blaming by suggesting having

babies wear burkas would put an end to child rape (McClain, 2013). Rape is about power, though, not sex (Filipovic, 2013), so it is perhaps unsurprising that rape also manifests as a “weapon of war” (DelVecchio, 2011). In Africa, Kosovo, and Iraq, for example, invading forces routinely rape women (DelVecchio, 2011) in an effort to demoralize the home troops (Seifert, 1992). Adding to the tragedy is that these facts are often manipulated by people at home in order to dismiss domestic sexism by pointing to places such as Iraq as examples of “real” rape cultures, a habit that says more about this culture than Iraq’s, since the practice effectively conveys the following: “You think forced flirting is bad, but there’s worse things we could force on you” (Marcotte, 2012b, para. 6). In this way, everyday misogyny is excused and normalized. Looking at the wider culture—the beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and the institutions that express them—in which rape not only exists but flourishes, rape culture is demonstrated in a variety of ways, such as in the values and assumptions about women’s and men’s “natural” propensities and in the stereotypes about women’s sexual desire (or lack thereof) in comparison to men’s. These stereotypes are often based upon assumptions about biology and its function as a supposed explanation for the act of rape as an evolutionary imperative. As well, the different valuing of women’s and men’s experiences in society when it comes to arguing the existence of rape culture has allowed men to deny its existence while framing the common occurrence of rape as an aberration committed by “evil” people (rather than by otherwise “normal” men). Rape culture is also demonstrated in the norms that govern interactions and that are then the foundation for disputes between women and men, and in the institutions such as courts and police enforcement that reinforce these norms (such as blaming women for their own victimization).

Author Barbara Kay (2013), for example, posits that it is, in fact, a cultural obsession with rape culture that has led to widespread and blind condemnations of alleged rapists (in direct contradiction of the reality that only 12 to 13% of all reported rapes result in a conviction (Bancroft, 2012; Elliott, 2011)). Kay, who is far from alone in her views (see also Boesveld, 2013; Yoffe, 2013), frames rape culture as a myth, stating, “In fact, we do not live in a ‘rape culture’ today. Women on campus do not, as is often asserted, face a one in four chance of being sexually assaulted. (If that were really the case, what responsible parent would send a daughter to university?)” (pg. 1). In the wider context of the discussion of rape, authors like Kay serve to excuse and minimize the issue and the occurrence of rape and to completely dismiss the notion that rape is a culturally supported behaviour. Her suggestion that only irresponsible parents would allow their daughters to go to university and face the culture of rape on campuses actually confirms the aim of a rape and rape culture: to keep women from participating in the public sphere. The fact that some women defy this daily terrorism, in Kay’s view, only proves there is no threat at all. Furthermore, she cites “responsible drinking” and “prudent sexual behaviour” (pg. 2) as the real cures to this supposedly non-existent rape culture.

Kay makes the usual mistake of focusing on young women’s behaviours. In my view, it is much more prudent to educate boys and men about factors contributing to, and ways to stop, rape. Too often, anti-rape education amounts to putting the onus on girls and women to protect themselves from rape—don’t go out after dark, don’t leave the house alone, don’t wear a short skirt, don’t put on so much makeup, don’t leave your drink unattended—and when they fail to protect themselves to this deliberately vague, impossibly high standard, every minute of every day of their lives, they will invariably be the ones blamed for not having taken every possible precaution (Valenti, 2010). Given that most rapes are not committed by strangers, but by friends,

acquaintances, and relatives (Bechhofer & Parrot, 1991), this narrative further serves to obfuscate the nature and role of rape in society. Rape is normalized, the threat of rape is taken as a given, and women and girls are held responsible for what men and boys do to them. As a result, survivors of rape often blame themselves (Littleton & Bretkopf, 2006) and are likely to experience Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, depression, sleep disorders, nightmares, anxiety, and suicidal ideation, among other issues (Sarkar, 2005; Schnurr, Friedman, & Bernardy, 2002). I seek to examine the underlying social and cultural factors contributing to this “rape culture” and ultimately offer suggestions for how to better educate boys and men to take responsibility for ending what has been incorrectly isolated as a “women’s issue.”

While several scholars have looked at factors that influence and contribute to rape-supportive behaviours and beliefs in men and boys as well as society as a whole (Dworkin, 1993; Filipovic, 2008; Katz, 2006; Kimmel, 2005; Tanenbaum, 2000; Valenti, 2010), the publication rate of peer-reviewed articles about rape and sexual assault has steadily declined since 1989 (Tatum, 2008). Importantly, methods of addressing these issues in terms of sex education are sorely lacking, and more specifically, sex education continues to deal mainly with sexual anatomy while ignoring behaviours, as well as social politics and influences (Brod, 2010; Froth, 2010; Kulwicki, 2008; Markham, 2011; Perry, 2008). Boys are given (minimal) information about the physical body, but not on *how* to act appropriately (Rhymes, 2013). Although there is diversity of opinion with regards to what is “appropriate” education in this context, the baseline for appropriate sexual behaviour *must* include explicit, affirmative, enthusiastic consent (Brod, 2010), as any sex without consent is rape. As long as sex education does not explicitly address and deconstruct rape myths, no matter how comprehensive the education might be, it can only complement, not challenge, the beliefs and assumptions that have been drilled into boys and girls

their entire lives by rape culture. Heather Corinna (2007) argues that quality sex education must not enable or promote gender roles and stereotypes—something current sex education often facilitates by failing to adequately teach boys about consent while girls are taught to beware, that sex is dangerous (Valenti, 2010)—but must empower survivors of sexual assault by actively educating against rape and making it clear that rape is entirely the fault of the perpetrator.

Given that statistically significant numbers of boys as young as 11 believe rape is acceptable if a boy spends money on a girl, or if the girl has past sexual experience, or if the boy and girl have been dating for over 6 months (White & Humphrey, 1991), and, in one survey, 46% of men aged 18 to 25 disagreed with the notion that it is rape if a man continues to penetrate a woman even after she has changed her mind (Harrison, 2010), it is important that this particular area of sex education is addressed as early as possible and that boys are not solely instructed on anatomy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and safer sex. Anti-rape education, in fact, has a marked effect on decreasing one's tendency to endorse rape myths (Globe and Mail, 2013; Murnen et al., 2002; Schiffman, 2010). John Stoltenberg (1993) has argued that a major step towards a rape-free society is “comprehensive curricula that teach[es] not just the facts of life, not just information about safer sex, but also the meaning of informed consent and bodily integrity” (p. 221). This, of course, would not, in itself, eradicate rape culture, but it would be the first step towards doing so. The larger aim must therefore be to not only educate boys and men to stop rape, but to educate boys and men to embrace a version of masculinity that does not rely on the model of coercive and aggressive sexuality provided by a patriarchal rape culture. Furthermore, girls and women need to be similarly empowered through education that deconstructs rape myths such as victim-blaming and woman-hating (sometimes referred to as “slut-shaming”).

The central aims of my research are to summarize and analyze existing factors contributing to rape culture and, in combination with previous research and analysis of comments on online articles related to rape and rape culture and analysis of the current documents for *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Health and Physical Education* (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), make specific recommendations for how best to address these issues in a high school-level sex education classroom.

Self-Positioning

As a man engaging with these issues through what is arguably an inherently feminist lens (see, for instance, Corinna, 2007; hooks, 2000; Jackson, 2011; McKay, 1998; Stoltenberg, 1993), I must first say that while I support feminism, I also subscribe to the view that I am not and cannot identify as a feminist (Funk, 1997; Maxam, 2012). As I am necessarily a party and beneficiary to the power structures of patriarchy and resulting violence by virtue of my male privilege—as well as my white, straight privilege—to call myself a feminist would be to use status garnered from being aligned with an oppressive group to insert myself into a space specifically designated for marginalized people who oppose said oppression. This would be a problematic act to say the least, especially given that women who identify as feminists are often mocked or threatened (Plank, 2013b). In any case, I must take this opportunity to acknowledge that all of this work, including the work of the many men referenced in this study, would be literally impossible without the work of women who identified these problems long before any men were willing to listen, and especially the work of Women of Colour, upon whose backs the modern feminist movement was undeniably built (Crenshaw, 1989; Ortega, 2006). I hope this thesis acts as an opportunity to collect, acknowledge, and make further suggestions for adopting many of the ideas presented by these theorists on the subjects of rape and rape culture.

Ultimately, if implemented in practice, this research seeks to bring these issues to the attention of other boys and men so that they will grow to better understand them, and to help boys and men address their own roles and responsibilities in ending the oppression of women and crafting masculinities that do not necessitate violence and emotional numbness.

My interaction with feminist theory and research, then, requires me to be vigilant not only of my own privilege, but of representing these women effectively and truthfully. I must defer to their knowledge of sexism and patriarchal apparatuses and in this way, I hope not to dismiss or downplay the work of feminists by using it to my own professional advantage, but to instead take full responsibility for the luxuries I enjoy in a patriarchal society. Furthermore, as feminist research is concerned in particular with reflexivity (Doucet & Mauther, 2005), or with “openly reflect[ing] on, acknowledge[ing], and document[ing]” (p. 41) the researcher’s “social location and the roles they play in co-creating data and in constructing knowledge” (p. 41), it is important to consider how race, sexual orientation, and other social factors might influence the ways in which I engage with the theory at hand. It is, therefore, vital for me to note my privileged position as a white, straight, middle-class, and gender normative man. In fact, as a straight, white man, I am the type of man most likely to commit rape (Greenfeld, 1997).

Attention to feminist criticism, though, has led me to researching just how prevalent the issue of rape could *really* be, given that the only time I, as a man, had ever encountered it was in what I considered at the time to be a “humorous” way (for example, during a video game session, one player might yell, “I’m gonna rape you” while killing your character on-screen) or in films, for example, wherein rapists were punished severely, generally by death, such as in *The Last House on the Left* (2009) and *Kill Bill, Vol. 1* (2003). The fact that these jokes made light of rape itself, or that rapes on film often serve the sole purpose of staining the “honour” of the lead

character so he has a reason to get revenge—such as in *Straw Dogs* (2011), *Lawless* (2012), and *Seeking Justice* (2011)—had never occurred to me. I believe this exposure to women’s points of view and women’s writing on the topic was an important point in acknowledging and challenging rape culture. This is not to say it was not a process—acknowledging my privilege and unlearning casual misogyny is still a process—but this is also part of the reason I am so optimistic about the potential of anti-rape education. The first step is to make other boys and men aware of the reality we are conditioned not to notice and in which women are made to live: a rape culture.

Research Questions and Organization of the Thesis

The following research questions guided this study:

1. Based on analysis of comments on online articles relating to rape and rape culture and, to a lesser extent, feminism in general, what rape myths are prevalent in these views and how do these views contribute to (or challenge) rape culture?
2. Based on analysis of *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Health and Physical Education* (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), what further specific and explicit education is required on the topics of rape, rape culture, and consent?

In Chapter 2, I review the literature related to rape and rape culture in order to identify factors and influences contributing to rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours in North American society at large. In Chapter 3, I outline the methodology and methods employed to answer the above research questions. With reference to the themes identified in the Literature Review, Chapter 4 is devoted to analyzing online comments on articles relating to rape, rape culture, and feminism, to examine prevalent and potentially problematic views on these subjects. Finally, Chapter 5 focuses on analyzing Health and Education curriculum documents (Ontario Ministry

of Education and Training, 1999) in order to make specific recommendations for how to address in class the trends identified in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I analyze scholarship on sexism and misogyny and identify several cultural factors and patterns that contribute to rape culture, including gender roles, woman-hating (or “slut-shaming”), racism, victim-blaming, media and politics, humour, male socialization, jock culture, coercive sexuality, and education. In addition, I explore the ignorance surrounding and need for increased awareness regarding consent.

Gender Roles

Gender roles contribute to rape culture by presenting rigid behaviours for men and women that normalize rape and coercive sexuality, including the assumption that, because women are non-sexual and men cannot control their sexual urges, it is up to women to not “tempt” men into sexual situations. This leads into woman-hating, by which women who defy these gendered scripts by exhibiting even the remotest sexual interest are deemed “sluts,” a slur that contributes to rape myths such as the notion that a woman who enjoys sex cannot “really” be raped. This is only one such example of the beliefs, values, and assumptions present in the definition of “culture.” In this case, there are clear and common stereotypes about the “natural” sexual drives and desires of men in contrast to those of women.

Racism complicates such narratives for Women of Colour; Black women, for example, are characterized as “hypersexual” and, therefore, “non-rapeable” (Jackson, 2011). This is merely one manifestation of victim-blaming, a tactic that seeks to excuse rape by making women responsible for the violence that men inflict upon them. Media and politics normalize these views in a variety of ways, such as in how men and women’s sexuality are portrayed on film, and the use of humour is also a way of minimizing the effect and seriousness of rape. These trends speak to discomfiting patterns in male socialization, which emphasizes sexual aggression and

the use of women as objects to garner status among other men. Homosocial, competitive circles, such as what is termed “jock culture,” are subcultures where such coercive sexual practices thrive, although these practices extend to men in general. These norms, in fact, govern interactions between men and women and are, therefore, the foundation for generally aggressive behaviour by men toward women.

Through personal interactions, socialization, and the influence of pop culture and entertainment media, people in contemporary society are socialized to conform to masculine or feminine behaviours stereotypically associated with maleness and femaleness, respectively (Hyde et al., 2006). These behaviours and traits are known as gendered or sexual scripts (Hyde et al., 2006). For boys, this script requires the adoption and presentation of such traits as being aggressively sexual, independent, strong, emotionless, insensitive, leaders, and to not accept “no” for an answer, while girls are taught to be nice, obedient, submissive, sexually reluctant (except in the context of a committed relationship), and are monitored against “inappropriate” sexual advances (Espinosa, 2003; Hyde et al., 2006; Tatum, 2008).

Terms that students tend to link to manliness include: don’t cry, like sports, violence, responsible, seriousness, tough, and hard workers, while “girly” behaviours include: being nice, helpful, having catfights, gossiping, shopping, wearing makeup, liking guys, and crying, among others (Espinosa, 2003). Clearly, these scripts are also value-laden, as evidenced by the fact that one common way of policing boys into avoiding stereotypically feminine behaviours is to insult them with terms that impugn their masculinity, such as fag, bitch, pussy, or girl, or by telling them outright to “man up” (Buchwald, 1993; Espinosa, 2003; Glickman, 2010; Valenti, 2007). As such, it is clear that homophobia is linked to a fear and hatred of that which is attributed as

feminine (Glickman, 2010; Pharr, 1997). This socialization is so effective and subtle that children are, by age six, aware of “boy” behaviours and “girl” behaviours (Hyde et al., 2006).

As Hyde et al. (2006) indicate, this binary model—the assumption that sex equals and determines gender—is problematic, but in no way necessary, natural, or impervious to change. For this reason, it is important to note that it is largely cisgender (cis) men (men who identify with the gender assigned to them at birth) who make up roughly 98% of rapists (De Santis, 2012; Tatum, 2008). While women make up the overwhelming majority of victims of rape (RAINN, 2009), the statistics presented here likely do not always include the experiences of transgender (trans) women. As these women are living in the same rape culture, though, much of this literature may apply to them as well, although it obviously cannot be taken as a comprehensive account of their oppression in a rabidly transmisogynistic society (Kacere, 2014). All of this is not to deny the possibility or the reality of violence done by women against men, or abusive behaviours within the trans community, but to admit that rape culture itself is largely perpetuated by heterosexual cis men as they are the privileged group in contemporary culture. Cis men, therefore, have the power to enact oppression and dictate the dominant discourse surrounding rape on a societal level, while trans people and cis women are ultimately victimized by said discourse.

Jill Filipovic (2008) argues that conservative gender norms (women as feminine, submissive, sexually reluctant, and over-emotional; men as masculine, aggressively sexual, tough, and emotionless) support rape culture in and of themselves. For example, John Stoltenberg (1995) notes that these roles assume that men and women necessarily have different, yet “complementary” sets of skills, and for women, these include being doting wives and enthusiastic mothers while men are meant to bring home the money and are, therefore, entitled to

the sex they apparently so endlessly crave. These gender norms, according to Filipovic, also hold that women, as members of the less sexual gender, should remain chaste until their virginity “can be exchanged for a wedding ring” (p. 17), at which time they will “give sex, housework, and reproduction in exchange for financial security and social status” (p. 17). It is for reasons such as these that rape within marriage was not made illegal in most American states and in Canada until the 1980s (Filipovic, 2008; Sampson, 2010) and many people continue to consider rape within marriage to be something of a “grey area” (Adams, 1993; Jervis, 2008). The ways in which our notions of “man” and “woman” are constructed, therefore, contribute to a culture in which rape is acceptable.

Woman-Hating (or “Slut-Shaming”)

Filipovic (2008) notes that “while male sexuality is aggressive” (p. 18), female sexuality “is portrayed as passive” (p. 18), and these portrayals necessitate that sex is something men “do” to women, never something in which women willingly, mutually participate. As a result, women are expected to “pump the brakes,” so to speak, and corral men who are out of their minds with lust. However, as men are also aware that women need to say “no” in order to preserve the perception chastity and purity, they believe women secretly want sex (SIECUS, 2009; Valenti, 2010). Women, in the minds of these men, simply play “hard to get” so as not to give the impression that they enjoy sex, a quality associated with being a “slut.” This further facilitates rape culture, because, as Jessica Valenti (2010) points out, when “it’s the girls’ job to keep the boys at bay” (p. 107), then women and girls are at fault if they are raped. After all, they failed at their job while “men just can’t help themselves, so their ethics are safe from criticism” (p. 109). Murnen et al. (2002) similarly argue that when aggressive sexual behaviours are seen as a natural part of boyhood, this excuses boys’ actions when girls inevitably become victims of these

behaviours. Not only is there an obvious double-standard here, but women and girls who do approach boys, express the assumedly male traits of “leadership” and “strength” (Espinosa, 2003, p. 1), or go against script by “defy[ing] authority” (p. 1) and taking their sexuality into their own hands are considered “less pure” than women who play their traditionally assigned role of sexual “gatekeeper.”

These stereotypes are often justified by arguments from biological essentialism, which seek to provide an evolutionary perspective that explains women’s supposedly inherent lack of sexuality and makes clear the “real” reason men are so prone to rape. In theory, rape is the result of the male imperative to blindly spread his seed anywhere he can (Miller & Kanazawa, 2007; Pinker, 2002). Notwithstanding the various critiques of the lax standards and unreliable methodology often employed in evolutionary psychology in comparison to other scientific fields, and specifically with regards to this theory of rape and the idea that women are naturally less sexual than men (Allen Orr, 2003; Coyne & Berry, 2006; Goldacre, 2007; Gould, 1997; McKie, 2002; Myers, 2011; Schlinger, 2002; Wolfthal, 2001), Natalie Angier (1999) offers a compelling case for why the opposite may be true. Women, if they are “less sexual,” are so because they are taught and pressured to be:

Women are said to have lower sex drives than men, yet they are universally punished if they display evidence to the contrary—if they disobey their “natural” inclination toward a stifled libido... Men have the naturally higher sex drive, yet all the laws, customs, punishments, shame, strictures, mystiques and antimystiques are aimed with full hominid fury at that tepid, sleepy, hypoactive creature, the female libido. (para. 19)

This perspective on the vilification of women who do enjoy sex, or who freely choose when and with whom they have sex, regardless of society’s expectation that they remain as

virginal as possible, is corroborated by several theorists (Filipovic, 2008; Heist Moss, 2011; Jackson, 2011; Ketterling, 2011; Nair, 2012; O'Sullivan, 2012) and is, again, demonstrative of a widespread cultural value or norm regarding the sexuality and biology of women, in particular. Women are highly policed by men, each other, and themselves with words such as slut, whore, bitch, cunt, and skank (Valenti, 2007; Wong, 2012). Benedict (1993, p. 103) notes that, "there are 220 words for a sexually promiscuous woman" while Joseph Weinberg and Michael Biernbaum (1993, p. 97) have identified "more than a thousand negative words for a sexually active woman." What is sometimes known as "slut-shaming" is essentially used as a mode of social control to keep women from being fully autonomous individuals (Chemaly, 2013; Filipovic, 2008; O'Sullivan, 2012; Tanenbaum, 2000; Weinberg & Biernbaum, 1993). Other women also police each other in these ways (Marcotte, 2012b), because "one reliable way of earning positive attention from men is to bash other women, especially women who speak out against sexism" (para. 10).

For reasons explored below, instead of the term "slut-shaming," I use the advocated term "woman-hating," because, for one, the term is used to label women in general, regardless of how sexually active they may be (Murphy, 2012). I use this term instead of "misogyny" in this instance because it is distinct in that "woman-hating" (or slut-shaming) is a very specific manifestation of broader misogynistic beliefs. Such woman-hating is itself a rape-supportive act, as women and girls who acquire the reputation as a "slut" may become, in the words of Leora Tanenbaum (2000), "a target for other forms of harassment and even rape, since her peers see her as 'easy' and therefore not entitled to say 'no'" (p. 229). This sentiment contributes to a variety of rape myths—"prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, or rapists" (Burt, 1991, p. 26), which "people use to justify dismissing an incident of sexual assault from the

category of ‘real’ rape” (p. 27)—including the idea that a promiscuous woman is, in some way, “asking to be raped,” that once she has said “yes” to someone, she can no longer say “no” to anyone (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Klein, 2012; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Shapiro, 2010; Solnit, 2013; Valenti, 2010). This is rape culture.

Racism

Issues such as woman-hating are further complicated, though, by word-reclaiming whereby many feminists have sought to disempower “slut” as a slur. The SlutWalks, which were sparked in response to women “being judged by [their] sexuality and feeling unsafe as a result” (SlutWalk Toronto, 2012, para. 4), are a prominent example of this. In contrast, consider the “Open Letter from Black Women to the SlutWalk” (2011), in which the signatories explain that because the construction of Black girls’ and women’s sexuality has historically been dictated by slavery, “‘slut’ has different associations” (para. 3) for Black women and, therefore, Black women “do not have the privilege or the space to call ourselves ‘slut’ without validating the already historically entrenched ideology and recurring messages about what and who the Black woman is” (para. 4). Lutze B (2013) provides the example of Miley Cyrus, who, while indeed receiving mainstream criticism for her risqué performances (which involve the use of Black women as props), is nonetheless “hailed [by feminists] as a woman who is in control and liberated, unlike her black counterpart Rihanna” who “gets pity, scathing criticism, and popular feminist magazines wanting to ‘save’ her from exercising choices they do not agree with” (para. 4). Black women, and Women of Colour generally, are often excluded from and fetishized in not only society at large, but also within feminist communities, as well as being ignored in historical accounts of contributions to modern feminism (Harris-Perry, 2011; hooks, 2000; O’Sullivan, 2012; Salem, 2013).

Meghan Murphy (2012) echoes these arguments to an extent, agreeing that the solution to “slut shaming” is not to keep pretending “sluts” even exist, because the word itself necessitates by definition the idea that there is an appropriate limit to the amount of sex one should have, a concept that needs to be abolished entirely for women to be able to own their sexuality and expression without someone else labeling them (Murphy, 2012).

Men are also statistically more likely to rape Black women and women of Mixed Race than white women (NIJ&CDCP, 2000; Valenti, 2010), but for every rape a Black woman reports, it is estimated, as a result of woman-hating, victim blaming, and racism, at least 15 rapes go unreported (INCASA, 2011). There is also a significantly increased margin here for First Nations and Alaskan Native women, who are 17% more likely to be raped than white women (NIJ&CDCP, 2000; Valenti, 2010). Just last year in Thunder Bay (Solnit, 2013), several white men, “whose remarks framed the crime as a retaliation against Idle No More” (para. 39), kidnapped, raped, assaulted, and left a First Nations woman to die. She survived a four-hour walk through the freezing winter only to be threatened again. Even when this issue is highlighted, though, such as through a United Nations report emphasizing Canada’s need to address sexualized violence against First Nations women, it is only ignored (Blanchfield, 2013).

A jarring, recent example of this intersection between misogyny and racism is the public reaction to and threats against Black academic Zerlina Maxwell, who said,

Telling every woman to get a gun is not rape prevention. The reality is that we need to be changing how we train and teach young men. We need to teach them to see women as human beings and respect their bodily autonomy. We need to teach them about consent and to hold themselves accountable. (Williams, 2013, para. 6)

Maxwell was subjected to an abundance of explicitly racist and sexist vitriol, including public tweets using racial slurs and threats of gang-rape and throat-slitting (Millhiser, 2013). This is rape culture, but in a racist society—which bell hooks identifies more specifically as an “imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy” (Jackson, 2011, para. 4)—even the ideal of the chaste virgin is exemplified by a white woman (Jackson, 2011; Valenti, 2010). Sarah Jackson (2011) notes that these women are constructed as “always-helpless soon-to-be victims” (para. 4) who need protection of white men, which further plays into the myth of stranger rape, keeping women afraid to go out and participate in society, despite the fact they are much more likely to be raped by a close friend, acquaintance, or relative (Kamen, 1996; Katz, 1991; Mandoki & Burkhardt, 1991; Parrot, 1991; RAINN, 2009; Richardson & Hammock, 1991). In contrast, young Women of Colour are hypersexualized in society (B, 2013; Harris-Perry, 2011; Jackson, 2011; Mukhopadhyay, 2008), and they are considered “always sexually available” (Friedman, 2011b) and, therefore, “non-rapeable” (Jackson, 2011). Jackson further explains that “popular stereotypes and ideologies have suggested that women of color are always-willing sexual partners, their assaults often dismissed as a reflection of sexual deviance or other forms of immorality” (para. 6).

Victim-Blaming

Filipovic (2008) explains that the threat and reality of rape itself is similarly a tool of control: “Rape and other assaults on women’s bodies... serve as unique punishments for women who step out of line” (p. 19), women who “step out of the traditionally female private sphere and into the traditionally male-dominated public one” (p. 22). Jessica Schiffman (2010) notes that women live constantly with the knowledge that if they attempt to exist “outside an ill-defined sphere of safety they will be held responsible for whatever happens to them” (p. 14). Holly Kearl

(2009) argues that, for women, the threat of rape is “part of the background” of their lives. Therefore, many women live with this subconscious awareness and take hundreds of daily precautions, such as not going out alone after dark, carrying mace, buying a dog for defense, not wearing headphones in public (so as to better hear if anyone is approaching), parking only in well-lit areas, and even having to guard their beverages to ensure they are not “spiked” (Dickson, 1996; Kearl, 2009; Starling, 2009). Phaedra Starling (2009) likewise notes, “You may or may not be a man who would commit rape. I won’t know for sure unless you start sexually assaulting me” (para. 10). Contrary to popular belief, there is no easy way to identify a rapist, so each and every man is a risk, and, as Megan Carpentier (2012) notes, “the friend who you let stay in your extra bed [can become] the man who shoves his fingers in you when you’re too drunk to know” (para. 6). Furthermore, several rape myths suggest it is not “really” rape if the woman was drunk, but rather post-sex regret, or if she was wearing revealing clothing, or if she willingly kissed the man first, or if he bought her dinner, or if the man was “too attractive” to resort to rape, or if the woman was “ugly” or “too fat to be raped” and should, therefore, be happy to have gotten the action (Carpentier, 2012; Penny, 2012; Shapiro, 2010; Solnit, 2013; Tatum, 2008; Valenti, 2007; White & Humphrey, 1991), all of which amount to blaming the victim.

This control of and assumed entitlement to women’s bodies extends to each aspect of women’s lives (Filipovic, 2008; Heist Moss, 2012). Even men who are not rapists themselves may, knowingly or unknowingly, behave in ways that support rape culture, such as through common practices like catcalling and other forms of street harassment (Finn, 1993; Goodwin, 2012; Heist Moss, 2012; Marcotte, 2012a; Medea & Thompson, 1974; O’Sullivan, 2012; Steinmetz, 2012). Canadian sociologists Ross MacMillan, Annette Nierobisz, and Sandy Welch surveyed over 12,000 women and found that this type of harassment has a consistent, significant

impact on women's fears (cited in Kearl, 2009). Each and every time a man yells what he considers to be a compliment from a passing car, ranging from "Hey, sexy" to "telling me he wanted to suck on my tits in the street in broad daylight" (Bates, 2012, para. 3), he accomplishes two things: women are reminded of their vulnerability and the threat of rape, and the man has asserted what he believes is his right to comment on, examine, gawk at, dominate, or otherwise control a woman's body, at least to some degree (Chemaly, 2013; Clark & Lewis, 1977; Heist Moss, 2012; Goodwin, 2012; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Steinmetz, 2012). Boys' and men's sense of entitlement to women and ignorance of women's need for self-preservation tactics—such as attempting to evaluate the level of risk a given man poses by piecing together what information they can (Carpentier, 2012; Starling, 2009)—is rape culture.

Media and Politics

We can see further evidence of such entitlement to and assumed ownership over women's bodies in the ways women are portrayed in media. For example, David Wong (2012) notes that women are portrayed in films as something that is "owed" to the protagonist, and cites films such as *The Karate Kid*, *Matrix*, *Avatar*, and *Shrek*. In each of these films, the protagonist is attracted to a seemingly perfect woman for little reason other than her physical appearance, goes on a journey or a quest or completes some other sort of challenge, and is "rewarded" with the woman at the end (Wong, 2012). There are other rather disturbing trends in the film industry. The film *Sucker Punch*, which features a cast comprised almost entirely of women, was meant to contain a consensual sex scene between the film's lead, Emily Browning, and a character portrayed by Jon Hamm. As Browning describes it in an article from *Celeb Stink* (2011, para. 3):

I had a very tame and mild love scene with Jon Hamm. It was like heavy breathing and making out. It was hardly a sex scene... So essentially, [The Motion Picture Association

of America] got [director] Zack [Snyder] to edit the scene and make it look less like she's into it. And Zack said he edited it down to the point where it looked like [Hamm] was taking advantage of her. That's the only way he could get a PG-13 [rating].

Essentially, a consensual sex scene was censored in favour of a rape scene. This is, in no uncertain terms, rape culture. All the more troubling is that this occurs alongside the harsh censorship of Oscar-nominated films such as *Blue Valentine*, which was given the rating of NC-17 due to its inclusion of a scene featuring a consensual act of cunnilingus performed by a husband on his wife (Masters, 2011). One of the film's leads, Canadian treasure Ryan Gosling, analyzed the issue succinctly (Robles, 2010):

There is something very distorted about this reality that they've created, which is that it is OK to torture women on screen—'Sure, they probably deserved it,' you know? Any kind of violence towards women in a sexual scenario is fine. But give a woman pleasure? No way. Not a chance. That's 'pornography.' (para. 5)

In these circumstances, women and girls have to navigate a culture that tells them sexual violence against them is not only commonplace, but not even worth censoring, although their sexual expression is simply unacceptable. According to Burt (1991), this environment teaches "young women that sex is likely to be violent and violence is frequently the price one pays for being sexual" (p. 34). This is rape culture, but it does not stop here. This comfort with—or even pleasure from—the vulnerability of girls and women is everywhere in popular media. For one example (see Figure 1): "Belvedere Vodka posted an ad on their Facebook page with a photo of a man apparently trying to sexually assault a startled, frightened woman. The ad copy read, 'Unlike some people, Belvedere always goes down smoothly'" (bostonboomer, 2012).



Figure 1. Belvedere Vodka

Music, of course, is not exempt from analysis in this respect. For example, Robin Thicke’s recent hit, “Blurred Lines,” is about what Thicke considers to be the “blurred line” between consent and rape. Some commentators (Lai, 2013) have argued that, because the lyrics contain no reference to “forcing her to do anything” (para. 10), it is more likely that the “blurred lines” in question refer simply to the “good-girl-with-a-freaky-streak-fantasy” or “getting mixed signals from a lady who you think might be interested in doing the deed” (para. 11). This may well be the case, but the commentator’s emphasis on this point mistakes the larger issue: Thicke does not have to sing about explicitly “forcing” a woman to have sex (a statement that incorrectly suggests rape requires force) in order to promote rape-supportive behaviours. Thicke’s chosen vernacular, the phrase “I know you want it,” is a well-worn excuse offered by rapists and is, in fact, a prevalent rape myth: the idea that women secretly “want” to be raped, regardless of the “mixed signals” they seem to be giving off. Combined with the myth that rape requires physical force and the popular notion that a “no” is a “yes” that requires convincing (or even that a lack of a “no” *is* consent), Thicke’s song contributes to rape culture. Whether this is

intentional or not, a recent project demonstrates how this is still more than a harmless dance tune, pairing the lyrics with quotations from actual rapists to their victims (Koehler, 2013). These include, unsurprisingly, the statement, “I know you want it.” It is absurd, then, to see people defending Thicke (and the very concept of “blurred lines”) as “just a song.” Clearly, it is more than just a song—it is an anthem for a rape-supportive mindset that is quite evidently prevalent in modern society (Romano, 2013).

Rape culture also extends to the political sphere where, after having lived in constant danger in a society that condones rape, a woman will be blamed for her own rape, perhaps denied access to abortion, and may well be forced to carry her rapist’s child to term (Gloria Ryan, 2012; Harris-Perry, 2012; Lieb, 2012; Murray, 2012; Scalzi, 2012; Valenti, 2013). Politicians like Todd Akin and Ron Paul respectively use terms like “legitimate rape” (Frumin, 2013) and “honest rape” (Wakeman, 2012) to differentiate between rapes that would justify an abortion. This discourse continues to mythologize the “violent stranger rape” as the only “real” rape (Burt, 1991). Such a viewpoint also ignores the reality that women are conditioned to be seen, not heard, to be objects of beauty, and that asserting themselves is rude. Women are governed by rules for social interaction that are, in Harriet J’s (2009) words, “grease for the patriarchy wheel” (para. 16). As a result of these social codes, women often will not physically fight back until it is too late, if at all (J, 2009). Even worse, women might then be told, as Senate candidate Richard Mourdock put it, that this child is “a gift from god” (Scalzi, 2012).

This normalization of rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours in young men is similarly accomplished through media, sport, and male socialization. Pornography is the first and most obvious example of male sexuality being packaged and portrayed as excessively violent and

aggressive (Dines, 2010). Admittedly, though, “porn” cannot be broadly painted with a single brush. As Martin Robbins (2012) asks:

[W]ould we see the same impact [on young people] from Maggie Mayhem’s feminist porn that we would from *Playboy*? Lumping the two together is like trying to ask, ‘do video games make people violent,’ without bothering to differentiate between the *Grand Theft Auto* series and *Pacman*. (para. 18-19)

It is nonetheless true that mainstream porn has recently become considerably more misogynistic and abusive. In her book *Pornland* (2010), Gail Dines randomly selected an image on a porn site offering a free tour, the type of online porn anyone under 18 can access. She quotes from one such site:

Do you know what we say to things like romance and foreplay? We say fuck off! This is not another site with half-erect weenies trying to impress bold sluts. We take gorgeous young bitches and do what every man would REALLY like to do. We make them gag till their makeup starts running, and then they get all other holes sore—vaginal, anal, double penetrations, anything brutal involving a cock and an orifice. (p. xix)

Given that four out of five teenagers view pornography on a regular basis (Robbins, 2012), this is not only likely to influence their mental benchmark for what sex “should be like,” but this may well be the first explicit sexual imagery these teens ever see. To say that this does not, in some way, contribute to an already aggressively sexual, misogynistic conception of masculinity and an already sexist, objectifying, abusive conception of female sexuality ignores the role such conceptions play in perpetuating rape culture. For example, a recent study had men and women, in separate groups, presented with two sets of quotations: one selection was from the men’s magazines *FHM*, *Loaded*, *Nuts*, and *Zoo*, while the other were transcripts of views

expressed by convicted rapists (Satherley, 2011). The men “found themselves identifying more with the views of the sex offender than those espoused by the magazines” (para. 2). Separately, the women “found the magazine descriptions more demeaning than those from sex offenders” (para. 7). The researchers concluded that these magazines “support the legitimization of sexist attitudes and behaviours” (Wheeler, Hayward, Horvarth, & Hegarty, 2011, para. 9) and “there is clearly something wrong when people feel the sort of language used in a lads’ mag could have come from a convicted rapist” (para. 9).

Humour

Language itself is used as a mode of rape normalization, further accomplished by characterizing rape as an act of comedy rather than violence (Benedict, 1993; Burt, 1991; Newsfeed, 2012; Science Daily, 2007; Time-Machine, 2011). These “rape jokes” mock and dismiss the reality of violence against women (Newsfeed, 2012; Science Daily, 2007) and implicitly incorporate many rape myths, specifically the idea that women like rape and, therefore, cannot be “really” raped (Burt, 1991). Most disturbingly, contemporary media-saturated society is where jokes such as these are not only applauded, but defended, as evidenced by comedians such as Kurt Metzger—who, in a stand-up album titled *Talks to Young People About Sex*, asked an audience member who had been silently displeased with one of his many rape jokes to “rate her rape”—as well as Daniel Tosh’s more recent rape joke controversy (Corneau, 2012). According to one audience member, Tosh made a rape joke, at which point a woman in the audience called out that such jokes are inappropriate and, in fact, support rape. Tosh allegedly replied, “Wouldn’t it be funny if that girl got raped by, like, 5 guys right now? Like, *right* now? What if a bunch of guys just raped her?” (para. 2). In the context of a society in which women are constantly vigilant of the possibility of rape, these comments are, in every

sense of the word, a threat. Tosh essentially said—albeit in a tone that he presented as joking—that if five men were to stand up at that moment and rape that woman in public, it would not only be acceptable, but it would be humorous. As Elissa Bassist (2012) put it, “[Tosh] used humor to cut her down, to remind her of her own vulnerability, to emphasize who was in control” (para. 6). Tosh later apologized via Twitter, but fellow professional comedian Dane Cook (Corneau, 2012) also tweeted publicly for all to read: “If you journey through this life easily offended by other people’s words I think it’s best for everyone if you just kill yourself” (para. 5). This is a blatant misrepresentation of the issue, which is not about offense, but about literal and potential harm. A study at the Western Carolina University, for example, showed that “exposure to sexist humor can create conditions that allow men—especially those who have antagonistic attitudes toward women—to express those attitudes in their behavior” and “leads men to believe that sexist behavior falls within the bounds of social acceptability” (Science Daily, 2007, para. 4). In fact, the researchers determined that “sexist humor acts as a ‘releaser’ of prejudice” (para. 2) against women.

This is not to say *all* rape jokes are necessarily “wrong” or that there is no such thing as a feminist rape joke (Valenti, 2012a). Wanda Sykes’ famous rape joke, for instance, is often pointed out for tackling the subject by satirizing how men only value women for sex. When male comedians in particular joke about the act of rape without deconstructing it and by mocking survivors, though, it is safe to say such jokes are harmful. As a blogger known as Shaker Time-Machine (2011) explains, we live in a society in which over 1 in 20 college-aged men will *admit* to raping someone, so joking about their actions is not without consequence, particularly when many rapists believe *all* men are rapists—but some men just hide it better. Time-Machine writes,

in a sobering example of the harm rape jokes can do when it is a statistical certainty that everyone knows and interacts with rapists, whether they are aware or not:

It's very likely that in some of these interactions with these guys, at some point or another, someone told a rape joke. You understood that they didn't *mean it*, and it was just a joke... [but] when you laughed? When you were silent? That rapist who was in the group with you, that rapist *thought that you were on his side*. That rapist *knew* that you were a rapist like him. (para. 12)

Male Socialization

The prevalence and use of rape jokes in social situations is merely one troubling example of the fact that it is the way in which boys and men are socialized that breeds sexism and perpetuates rape culture (Katz, 2006; Newsfeed, 2012; O'Sullivan, 1991, 1993; Pappas, McKenry, & Skilken Catlett, 2001; Warshaw & Parrot, 1991). Whereas women are shamed for their sexual desires, men use stories of sexual "conquest" and other acts of misogyny, such as sexually harassing women together, to bond with each other (Katz, 2006; Kimmel, 2005; Newsfeed, 2012; Pappas et al., 2001). When women have sex for the first time, they "lose" their virginity; men "get" laid, "get" lucky, "get" some (Maguire, 2010). Buying into sexualized gender roles increases one's likelihood to accept rape myths and consider rape a normal act (Katz, 2006; O'Sullivan, 1991, 1993; Schiffman, 2010), and swallowing the immutability of these gender roles is facilitated strongly by an emphasis on homosocial interactions (O'Sullivan, 1993; Schiffman, 2010). Qwo-Li Driskill (2003) also explains that "[i]t is no accident that white masculinity is constructed the way it is in the United States" (p. 53), and argues that the roots of the problem go as far back as the invasion and colonization of North America, which

required a masculinity that murders, rapes, and enslaves Native and African peoples. It is a masculinity that requires men to be soldiers and conquerors in every aspect of their lives. A masculinity rooted in genocide breeds a culture of sexual abuse. (p. 53)

In this way, rape is not a deviant act, but a deed that proves one conforms to an assumedly ideal and culturally supported standard of masculinity, one which normalizes sexual coercion and “conquest” (Kimmel, 2005, p. 189).

Masculinity, in heavy contrast to the earlier characterization, sexualization, and demonization of women and femininity, is portrayed as dominant, tough, aggressive, and emotionless (Espinosa, 2003; Hyde et al., 2006; Katz, 1999; Tatum, 2008), and yet it is impossibly fragile. Men forever live in fear that they will do something seemingly feminine and lose their social status as men. Wong (2012) points out that this is obvious in commercials, which “desperately [appeal] to males who fear that they’ve lost their masculinity” (p. 2). Slim Jim’s “Spice Loss” ads are one example (Sharp, 2012). In this series of advertisements, men experience “spice loss,” which includes a loss of “menenergy” (men’s energy), after doing anything non-masculine, ranging from reading Shakespeare to ironing to eating salad to simply spending time around women (Sharp, 2012). Because boys begin to equate empathy and emotion with femininity and weakness, they effectively try to tune out these feelings, but when they begin to feel glimmers of tenderness and intimacy, they become uncomfortable, feel out of control, and can only channel these feelings into acceptably masculine actions, usually aggressive sexual behaviour (Katz, 2006; Kaufman, 2001; Kimmel, 1993; Miedzian, 1993; Roth, 1993), or what Audre Lorde (1984) more accurately identifies as sexualized aggression.

This consequential lack of empathy for other people’s feelings can be the first step towards rape (Katz, 2006; O’Sullivan, 1993; Schiffman, 2010; Warshaw & Parrot, 1991). As

Weinberg and Biernbaum (1993) put it, “If we men have not been taught to be empathetic to ourselves, how can we extend that empathy to women, who are seen as alien or ‘other’?” (p. 94). Many survivors note that their rapists seemed not to consider them human at all, a fact made painfully clear by the Steubenville “rape crew” (Burge, 2013). High school football stars Trent Mays and Malik Richmond and party-goer Michael Nodianos raped a 16-year-old girl “repeatedly and carried [her] unconscious from party to party” (para. 7), tweeting about the rape and posting photos to Instagram. In one recording made over the course of the night, a boy off-screen is heard saying, “That’s, like, rape. It *is* rape! They raped her. [W]hat if it was your daughter?” (para. 8), to which Nodianos responds, “If that was my daughter, I wouldn’t care. I’d just let her be dead” (para. 11). This demonstrates a complete lack of empathy for women as human beings, and the act of spreading the evidence of such crimes via Twitter and Facebook is becoming more and more common (Plank, 2013a). The boys and men committing these gang rapes are not only unashamed of their acts, but demonstratively proud of them. There is no clearer evidence of the notion that rape is not considered to be an abhorrent act, but is instead one that confirms one’s status as a man (Plank, 2013a).

Jock Culture

As the above example suggests, male sports teams and fraternities, which are two of the most homosocial communities in contemporary North American society, tend to be breeding groups for rape-supportive behaviours (O’Sullivan, 1993; Pappas et al., 2001; Schiffman, 2010; Zirin, 2013). Recent documentaries such as *The Invisible War* (Dick, 2012) indicate that this is also true of the military. The masculine posturing and bravado common in such groups leads to a competitive conceptualization of sex, further contributing to rape culture by implying bedding a woman should be challenging, that men should not take no for an answer, never back down, and

be aggressive (Katz, 1999). Heteronormativity also contributes to the issue. While homophobic slurs and a general hatred of femininity are used to police boys and men into adopting aggressive masculine behaviours, heteronormativity involves the assumption of heterosexuality and the perceived need to distance oneself from any activity or presentation that could be considered gay or otherwise stereotypically feminine.

Adam Thomas (2011) goes so far as to state that “[i]n the minds of coaches, players, and spectators, the conflation of sporting proficiency with sexual and gender identity is endemic” (para. 2). Sports are seen as inherent demonstrations of masculinity and, more accurately, masculine heterosexual sexuality. Phrases such as “throws like a girl” or “don’t be a pussy,” as well as homophobic slurs are used not only to suggest that one’s athletic skill is less than adequate, but that this is a signal of one’s lack of “manliness” and the possibility, therefore, that one is anything other than aggressively heterosexual. Logically, this contributes further to the need for boys to “demonstrat[e] their heterosexual orientation” (Walton, 2009, p. 184), which inherently contributes to rape culture by normalizing the use of girls and women by using them as objects to gain status among other men. This, of course, also harms boys and men by leading them to “agree” to sex not out of genuine interest, but solely out of fear of being seen as “less manly,” a fact that further highlights the need for less aggressive conceptions of masculinity and an emphasis on the importance of enthusiastic consent.

The results of this heteronormative narrative can be heard in everyday vernacular, such as when men refer to a sexual act as “scoring,” which implies their partner was on the losing end of the interaction (O’Sullivan, 1993; Pappas et al., 2001). Chris O’Sullivan (1993) has shown that male athletes involved in such “jock culture” are also “overrepresented [in group sexual assaults on campuses], but interestingly only those who played team sports such as basketball, football,

lacrosse, or rugby” (p. 27), although these athletes “are also more likely to commit acquaintance rape *individually* than other college men” (p. 28). As well, in a review of alleged gang rapes committed by college students since 1980, 22 out of 24 documented cases were perpetrated either by fraternity members or sports teams (Pappas et al., 2001), while at one university, athletes committed more than one-third of sexual assaults and more than half of all acquaintance rapes (Maine, 2000). More shocking still is that 35% of physical violence *in general* on campus was committed by athletes, but they accounted for a mere 3% of the overall population of men at the school (Pappas et al., 2001). In fact, *Campus Safety Magazine* notes that college men who participated in sports such as football, basketball, wrestling, and soccer “also scored higher on attitudinal measures thought to be associated with sexual coercion, such as sexism, acceptance of violence, hostility toward women and rape myth acceptance” (cited in Zirin, 2013, para. 11). These are the men who are most likely to not only hold rape-supportive beliefs and rigid views about gender norms, but to actually be rapists themselves.

What causes such violence within sports teams, specifically? Nick T. Pappas et al. (2001) suggest that it is partially attributed to the “widespread support, both institutional and community, for violence associated with sport, both within and outside the sports context” (p. 551). A national poll revealed that, “39 percent of Canadians reported that they like to see fighting at hockey games” (p. 551). Additionally, athletes are seldom held accountable for their actions both within and outside the criminal justice system. “In spite of higher rates of violence within sport communities, conviction rates present a striking difference that favors the accused athlete” (p. 551). Clearly, then, the various aforementioned rape-supportive norms are supported institutionally through the judicial system, for one example.

Dave Zirin (2013) identifies a correlation between jock culture and rape culture, stating that “[t]he jock culture/rape culture dynamic should be obvious to anyone with any connection to organized sports” (para. 12). He suggests that male athletes are largely “treated like gods” (para. 13), are “taught to see women as the spoils of being a jock” (para. 13), and are “conditioned to look the other way if they see an assault about to take place” (para. 14). It is no surprise, then, that seeing women and girls as objects can and does lead to disregard for not only their autonomy, but for their humanity.

Coercive Sexuality

Based on these all-male groups in sport and fraternity culture, it is clear that rape-supportive beliefs, rape-prone behaviours, and violence in general are related to the ways that men and boys are socialized (Katz, 2006; Stoltenberg, 1994; Walton, 2012). This is why sexual coerciveness as a practice extends to men in general and is not strictly confined to members of jock culture. Terence Crowley (1993) suggests that many men use “subtle attempts at control” (p. 346) in their everyday lives. For example, men have no problem “stor[ing] disappointment for its ambush potential at a later date” (p. 346) or “presenting [one]self as an emotional enigma that [one’s significant other] must figure out” (p. 346), showing that rape-supportive and coercive behaviours are inherent in many aspects of heterosexual interaction between men and women. Crowley asks, “What am I trying to do when I pout and withdraw following a refusal of sex? What does it mean when a woman agrees to be sexual with me in the face of my sulking and moping around?” (p. 346). Indeed, what could possibly constitute authentic consent in such cases?

Emily Heist Moss (2011) notes that much of men’s behaviour toward women is dishonest, coercive, mean-spirited, and misogynistic—and it is still not strictly considered

“wrong.” She cites several examples, including the accepted practice of finding “the drunkest girl at the bar and [handing] her another shot” (para. 3), or “cut[ting] a girl down to size with backhanded ‘compliments,’ belittl[ing] her until she thinks the only way to feel good again is to win your attention” (para. 3), which is actually a well-known and advocated tactic called “negging” (Charger, 2010; Wakeman, 2012). Heist Moss notes men can also lie about their feelings for women or promise things they know they cannot deliver in order to get what they want.

Ben Atherton-Zeman (2006) classifies such behaviours along a rape culture continuum, ranging from constraint to charm. Constraint involves the use or threat of force and weapons or drugs, and this is classically defined as “real” rape, the only type of rape to which people pay attention, and the only type to which most men will not willingly, almost proudly admit. Coercion involves breaking down a woman’s defenses, asking repeatedly after she says “no,” pressuring and guilt-tripping her until she gives in. This is manufactured consent. Atherton-Zeman defines convincing or cajoling a woman into having sex as simply being more subtle, by giving her a massage, for example, the goal being to “get her to relax” and ultimately agree to sex. Charm, finally, is merely the most subtle form of coercion in that it requires an initially reluctant participant to be “won over” with gifts and compliments until her “no” turns into a “yes.” This is consent by definition, but it is neither authentic nor enthusiastic (Friedman, 2011a), two required criteria for eradicating rape-supportive sexual practices and norms. These are not only rape-supportive, sexually coercive practices, but they are commonplace and, what is worse, even if one were to draw their attention to them, most men would see nothing wrong with many of these behaviours (Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991; Weinberg & Biernbaum, 1993). The ‘Don’t Be *That Guy*’ anti-rape ad campaign, though, is one example of how to reframe

masculine identity in a way that challenges this perceived norm. The posters (see Figure 2 for examples) featured reminders such as, “Just because she isn’t saying no, doesn’t mean she’s saying yes” and, in fact, the campaign was cited by Deputy Chief Doug LeParad as being responsible for a 10% decrease in sexual assaults in the Vancouver area in 2011, the first time in years that the rate had gone down (Christina, 2013; Globe and Mail, 2013). We have reason to be optimistic that education addressing these factors can be effective in reducing rape.

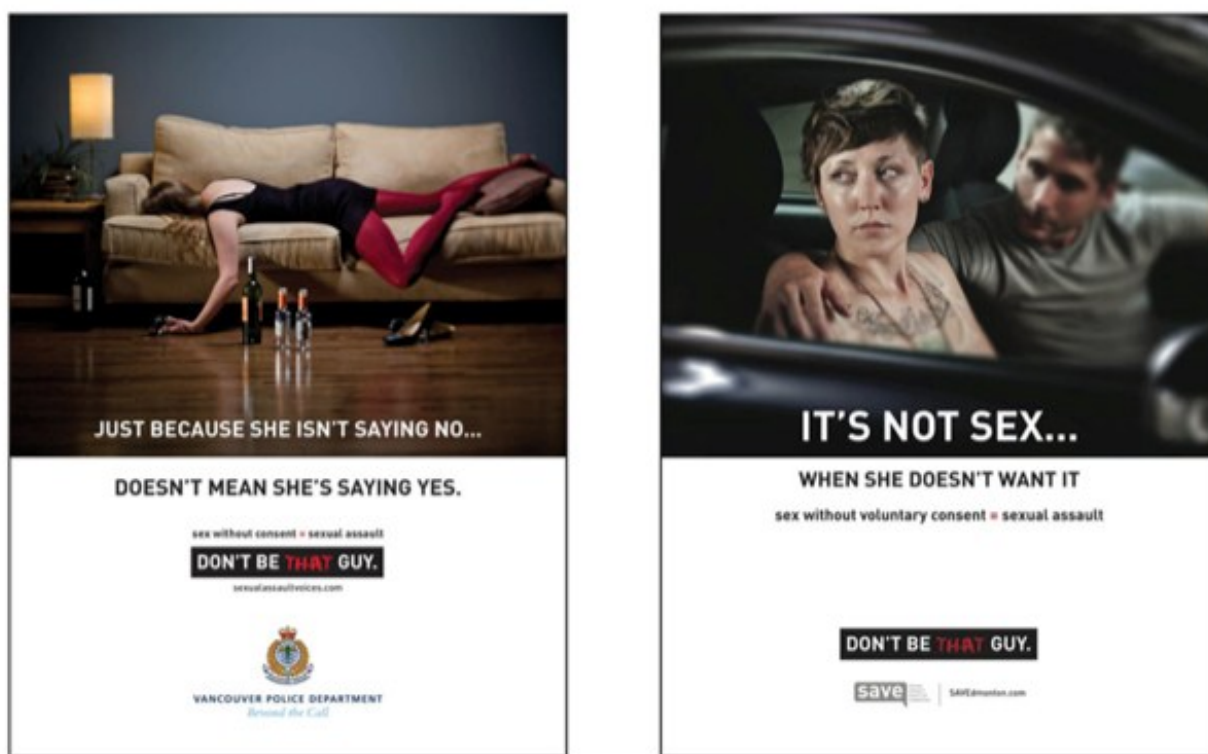


Figure 2. Don't be *That Guy*

Education

Elementary and secondary schools are hotbeds for sexual harassment (Banyard, 2010), largely because, as Gerald Walton (2009) explains, schools are “the primary site[s] where boys and girls learn to ‘perform’ the gender scripts assigned to them in a society where heterosexuality is the norm” (p. 186). Schools, then, with this “boys will be boys” mentality, give tacit

approval to the notion that degrading girls merely “highlight[s] just how masculine boys really are” (Banyard, 2010, p. 67). Many teachers are reluctant to brand any behaviour that would otherwise be considered sexual harassment if one teacher were to do it to another as anything other than “flirting” between students (Harrison, 2000; Stein, 1993). In fact, Kat Banyard (2010) notes, although “sexual harassment is shown to have a more damaging impact on victims than any other forms of school bullying, teachers are less likely to intervene in incidences of the former” (p. 70). Victim-blaming and making girls responsible for boys’ sexuality is reflected across the public sphere, including schools perhaps most specifically (Valenti, 2013), in the assertion that “women’s dress and bodies are distraction in a learning environment” (para. 9), which means “they’re distracting to [heterosexual] *male* students” (para. 9), but as a result, it is girls who are distracted, “pulled from class, humiliated, and made to change outfits—publicly degrading young women” (para. 9). Schools are one of the main locations where girls learn to accept sexual harassment and rape culture as routine, as another obstacle to contend with in silence (Banyard, 2010).

Although the issue of the “invisibility of women in curricular materials” (p. 14) has been well-documented (Abrahams & Sommerkorn, 1995), there is also the lesser-referenced issue of the invisibility of girls in how teachers interact with boys versus girls in the classroom itself. In terms of gender distribution of talk during lessons—that is, who the teachers call on more often to answer a question—Janet Holmes (2005) notes that not only do teachers overwhelmingly tend to call on boys over girls, the teachers actually believe they are showing them equal attention. Holmes singles out one teacher who had allowed boys and girls to speak roughly equally, but who mistakenly believed that the girls in his class were doing 90% of the talking. Based on “participant observation and videotaping of classroom dynamics” (p. 14), Abrahams and

Sommerkorn (1995) concluded that when girls do participate as much as boys, “the same actions are evaluated differently” (p. 14); for example, boys who interrupt the teacher to offer an answer often receive “immediate attention,” but girls who act similarly are “reprimanded to restrain themselves and to raise their hands for attention” (p. 14). Not only are girls policed differently and expected to be obedient and silent, but when they are obedient and raise their hands for attention, “they tend to be ignored by their teachers” (p. 14).

With relation to the broader patriarchal culture in which this takes place, these practices are not conducive to healthy and consensual sexual interactions. Firstly, there still exists a calculated degree of confusion about what exactly constitutes rape (Valenti, 2012b). Secondly, and as a result of the first issue, boys seem not to realize that affirmative consent is required in order for sex to not be rape (Brod, 2010). Effectively, boys have learned to accept women’s silence as consent and to feel automatically entitled to their bodies. When boys are shown by teachers, day after day, that girls’ voices can be silenced and girls’ attempts to be heard can be ignored—particularly in comparison to the voices and desires of boys—this creates a cultural context in which it is entirely normal for boys to not realize women can say no to sex. Ultimately, Holmes (2005) concludes, this practice of focusing on boys and silencing girls in classrooms reinforces the notion that, “if women talk at all, this may be perceived as ‘too much’” (para. 39) in comparison to boys. It is clear, then, that rigid views of gender roles are a factor contributing to rape.

Consent

In the course of analyzing existing literature on sex education, I found most scholars and theorists not only did not address or acknowledge any of the issues previously recounted in this Literature Review (coercive sexuality, woman-hating, victim blaming, harassment, gender roles,

masculinity, and jock culture), but most did not seem to think there was any confusion at all surrounding rape. A current petition (Rhymes, 2013) notes that sex education entirely ignores “LGBTQA+ rights, feminism, abuse, disability, sexism, bullying, rape” (para. 1) and focuses on certain, general lessons: “a penis goes into a vagina, and you have to wear a condom and take birth control, or you will get STI’s/pregnant” (para. 1). As one editorial (Bagnall, 2002) put it:

Canadians of all ages are familiar with the wrong way to dispense sex education: slides of fallopian tubes accompanied with a lecture given by a teacher who’d rather be explaining long division... Nowhere in the lecture is there any discussion of relationships, or love, or physical longing. No advice on negotiating what kind of protection to use or how to say no or how to say yes, either. (para. 4)

When sex education documents and literature do not even mention the fact that rape occurs, the only thing this accomplishes is a perpetuation of the status quo. In fact, Weinberg and Biernbaum (1993) note that most men and boys “still don’t know or *haven’t had to know* what constitutes rape. This doesn’t excuse or exonerate men’s behavior, but does point to education as the most important way to break the cycle of sexual violence” (p. 89). In fact, when asked if they would rape a woman if they knew they could get away with it, 30% of college men said they would (Maine, 2000), but when the wording was changed to ask whether they would “force a woman to have sex” with them, 58% of men said they would (Maine, 2000). The need for education is further illustrated by the previously mentioned Steubenville rape crew (Burge, 2013). One witness, when asked why he did not intervene, said, “It wasn’t violent. I didn’t know exactly what rape was. I thought it was forcing yourself on someone” (Harlow, 2013, para. 25). The boys’ attorney, Walter Madison, defended their actions on the basis that “[the victim] didn’t affirmatively say no” (Abad-Santos, 2013, para. 2), even going so far as to say the victim “is

silent just as she was that night, and that's because there was consent" (para. 2). These harmful statements perpetuate victim-blaming and the belief that date rape is not "real rape."

Harry Brod (2010), an anti-rape sex educator, therefore centres many of his lectures on defining and exploring what he terms "affirmative consent." He provides a particularly compelling, relatable example for teenagers to get the concept across, and one that relies on emphasizing personal responsibility:

When I think of [consent], I think of something my Driver's Ed teacher said to me while I was learning to drive a car... "The right-of-way is not something you have. The right-of-way is something the other driver gives you and if the other driver doesn't give it to you, you don't have it, no matter what you think the rules of the road are supposed to be or what you think you're entitled to"... Consent is something the other person has to give you, and if the other person doesn't give it to you, you don't have it, no matter what you think the rules are supposed to be or what you think you're entitled to.

Brod further specifies that *explicit verbal* affirmative consent would be the more accurate term, because one cannot and should not rely on body language. Clearly, consent needs to be the bare minimum for sex (as opposed to rape), and so it stands to reason that it would be a primary focal point of sex education. We need to devote our time not toward demonizing girls who have sex or patting boys on the back for "getting some," but toward encouraging people to ensure their partners do not merely consent due to pressure or guilt, but *enthusiastically* consent as an act of conscious personal desire, and that they practice non-coercive sexual behaviours (Brod, 2010; Bussell, 2008; Kulwicki, 2008; Perry, 2008; Sharp, 2012; Troost, 2008). This would be among the first steps in ending rape culture.

Having examined problematic cultural trends and factors contributing to rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours, I next applied these concepts to my analysis of online comments on articles relating to rape and rape culture, as well as to curriculum documents. I drew from the Literature Review to craft research questions that would allow me to both examine widespread attitudes toward rape and to address these attitudes through education. Furthermore, the Literature Review acted as a lens through which to interrogate and code these online comments, and, having identified problematic themes in these comments, I made recommendations for how current grade 9 and 10 Health and Physical Education documents in Ontario (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999) can better address these concerns.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

So far, I have argued that men and boys need to be specifically and explicitly educated on rape and rape culture. The previous chapter explicated my review of the relevant scholarship. In this chapter, I describe the methodology and steps I took to analyze online text comments posted to six online articles, as well as the documents for *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Health and Physical Education* (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999). I chose to analyze online comments in order to identify particular areas of concern and themes in misconceptions regarding rape, rape culture, and consent, among other concepts explored in my Literature Review. These comments allowed me to see what, if any, rape myths or rape-supportive beliefs are particularly widespread and detrimental to the discussion and prevention of rape. Next, I analyzed the most recent Health and Physical Education documents for grades 9 and 10 (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), because only one Physical Education credit is required in Ontario and this is usually taken in either grade 9 or 10. Therefore, the education outlined by these curriculum documents may be the only comprehensive sex education many boys and girls ever receive. I looked for general and specific learning expectations that could be employed to help educate students about rape, rape culture, and consent, and then made further recommendations for specific learning expectations that would directly and explicitly address rape myths as well as the need for affirmative verbal consent, a concept which is entirely absent from the current sex education curriculum.

Methodology

My approach to this analysis stemmed mainly from the schools of Social Constructivism and Critical Advocacy. Because my research operates on two fundamental assumptions—that individuals experience and understand the world through subjective meanings (in conjunction

with the larger social forces that shape them) and that there is a need to advocate for a reformed political agenda (Creswell, 2009)—it is firmly situated in two worldviews: Social Constructivism and Critical Advocacy. Social Constructivism, a view with origins in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*, among others (Creswell, 2009), posits that individuals interpret subjective meanings in their experiences—"meanings directed toward certain objects or things" (p. 8). In this case, the "certain things" are rape, rape culture, rape myths, and other rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours. Though I did not interview human participants, many of the same principles were employed in my analysis of online comments and curriculum documents. In a sense, I "rel[ied] as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied" (p. 8) in that the views of the commenters were used to identify particular areas of confusion, ignorance, hostility, or misogyny. So, while these rape myths and rape-supportive beliefs are "social" in the sense that they are widespread throughout and constructed or influenced by patriarchal culture at large, the ways in which men view or engage with the subjects of rape and rape culture (and feminism) are subjective. In seeking to better educate boys and men in particular to challenge these myths, it is useful, then, to examine (a) the responses to articles addressing rape and rape culture, in order to (b) better determine where to focus sex education with reference to current curriculum documents.

Critical advocacy is derived from such scholars as Karl Marx, Theodor W. Adorno, and Paulo Freire (Creswell, 2009), and argues that simple social constructivism is missing a vital step—research also needs to be "intertwined with politics and political agenda" (p. 9). The agenda is to work towards eradicating rape by educating and unequivocally putting the responsibility on those who do and are most likely to commit or benefit from the crime: boys and men. Feminist research undertaken from an advocacy perspective "should be not just on women,

but *for* women” (Doucet & Mauthner, 2005, p. 40). In this case, I have both applied feminist perspectives and theory (Corinna, 2007; hooks, 2000; Jackson, 2011; McKay, 1998) and listened to said marginalized group (Ensler, 2011; Solnit, 2013; Weldon, 2013) by making boys and men accountable for ending women’s oppression generally, and sexual assault specifically. Thus, I seek to study current areas for improvement in the education of the oppressive group in this instance. For example, a recent report (O’Neil & Morgan, 2010) found that there is “a lack of understanding about how sexual violence can be prevented” (p. 5), with many people “argu[ing] that sexual violence occurs because individuals do not learn right from wrong from their parents as young children” (p. 5). Furthermore, prominent, if misguided, socially conservative political analysts have misunderstood the fundamentals of rape prevention to the point that they are advocating looser gun restriction laws as a cure for rape (Millhisser, 2013).

This work, then, operates through the theoretical lens of feminist theory (Creswell, 2009), which “view[s] as problematic women’s diverse situations and the institutions that frame those situations” (p. 62). Martyn Hammersley (1992) similarly identifies “the adoption of the emancipation of women as the goal of research and the criterion of validity” (p. 1) as one element of feminist methodology, complementing the critical advocacy approach adopted here. Maeve Landman (2006) also notes that feminist methodologies are “concerned with how, or whether, knowledge produced about social life can be connected with the social realities of women” (p. 430), specifically with regard to knowledge that “neglects consideration of the gendered nature of social life” (p. 430). While my research hinges upon the social realities of women in which rape culture and patriarchy in general are most readily identified (given that men’s experiences are privileged and women are a marginalized group), it also focuses on the

gendered nature of social life by inherently contrasting women's experiences and feminist theory with the opinions and views of men in a rape culture.

Feminist research, though, must be concerned with two further issues: power and reflexivity (Doucet & Mauther, 2005; Hesse-Biber, 2006). Power speaks to the question of knowledge production: whose point of view is authoritative? "Who speaks for whom?" (Doucet & Mauther, 2005, p. 40). In this instance, men are not speaking *for* women in that I do not consider the commenters and authors being analyzed to be authoritative or knowledgeable on the subject at hand (and women are among the commenters and authors being analyzed); rather, I analyze potential flaws or hostilities in these perspectives, and I then apply feminist research and theory to evaluate and improve the knowledge of the privileged group in order to ultimately benefit women (as well as men). Reflexivity is concerned with "openly reflect[ing] on, acknowledge[ing], and document[ing]" (p. 41) the researcher's "social location and the roles they play in co-creating data and in constructing knowledge" (p. 41). It is ever-important for me as a researcher to consider how class, race, sexual orientation, and other social factors might influence the ways in which I interpret and analyze comments and articles.

In short, boys and men will step up and do their part to help end rape only when they are (a) educated about causes, factors, and influences, and (b) empowered within themselves, as a result, to address the systemic sexism (and racism) at root. In order for objective (b) to be addressed and achieved, though, I first have to lay the groundwork by identifying in my Literature Review, as mentioned, rape myths and rape-supportive behaviours that could and should be challenged in sex education classes. As such, the approach to inquiry I employed involved elements of the phenomenological strategy (Creswell, 2009), but was focused mainly in a content or textual analysis approach (and, within that framework, there are also elements of

discourse analysis as well). I say “phenomenological” only in that I aimed “to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation” (Lester, 1999, p. 1), or, in my research, the themes and patterns in commenters’ thoughts on and beliefs about rape and rape culture. Linda Finlay (2008) similarly notes that, in phenomenological research, “the focus is on the intentional relationship between the person and the meanings of the things they’re focusing on and experiencing” (p. 2), which are, in this case, commenters and the topics of rape and rape culture. The perceptions of the “actors” in the situation, though, being commenters on articles related to rape and rape culture, can only be analyzed through the textual content provided, meaning that, ultimately, this work is concerned with examining the meanings, beliefs, and views contained in the comments under scrutiny.

Textual or content analysis refers to an analysis of “documents, text, or speech to see what themes emerge” (Ratcliff, n.d., p. 4) and an exploration of how these themes relate to each other. More specifically, this is “a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts... then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part” (Colorado State University, 2014a, p. 1). Benefits of such an approach include the ability to look directly at communication—such as comments on and responses to articles relating to a particular subject—in order to identify the key concepts being promoted or challenged, insight into cultural norms and values, and insight into the use of language (Colorado State University, 2014b). Given the aforementioned importance of language in perpetuating rape culture and the very definition of rape culture as a cultural system that normalizes rape, these latter two benefits are particularly valuable.

In this case, general rape myths and reactions in comments sections of articles on the subjects of rape and rape culture were the concepts and texts examined. This allowed me to code responses according to various rape myths or misogynistic viewpoints and to identify “latent emphases, political views” (Ratcliff, n.d., p. 4), and implications regarding the commenters contributing to the articles at hand. This is also arguably, as mentioned, similar in some ways to discourse analysis in that my examination of comments aimed to “reveal the hidden motivations behind [the] text” (Discourse Analysis, n.d., p. 1), specifically with regards to the ways in which rape and rape culture are framed by these commenters. Therefore, this analysis:

will not provide absolute answers to a specific problem, but enable us to understand the conditions behind a specific ‘problem’ and make us realize that the essence of that ‘problem,’ and its resolution, lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that ‘problem.’ (p. 1)

In short, my analysis of comments did not necessarily reveal the ways in which we must address rape and rape culture, but elucidated the assumptions (rape myths) that currently serve to cloud the issue and misdiagnose its causes. This leads into the final chapter in which I, using current curriculum materials, provide suggestions for addressing the problems presented.

Methods

I chose to analyze, firstly, online comments on articles relating to rape and rape culture and, secondly, Ontario’s grade 9 and 10 Health and Physical Education curriculum documents (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999). The online comments were chosen largely due to two prevalent trends: one is the disturbing recent habit of rapists posting evidence of their crimes to Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook, such as in the cases of the Roast Busters scandal—in which a group of young men intoxicated underage girls, raped them, and posted evidence to

Facebook, doing this repeatedly over the course of two years without the authorities taking action (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2013)—and the Steubenville “rape crew,” which involved at least three high school-age boys repeatedly raping an unconscious 16-year-old girl at a party and then further victimizing her by spreading evidence of the crime via social media (Plank, 2013a). The other trend is the popular fallacy that it is technology itself that is to blame (Todd, 2010). The first trend suggests that rapists find the act of rape so acceptable and do not fear repercussions that they would publicly share evidence of their actions with everyone they know via the Internet. It stands to reason, then, that the average online commenter would not only feel similarly comfortable discussing the subject, but comfortable also offering views regarding rape that are entirely in line with the norms of a culture that excuses and normalizes the act. Not only that, but the anonymity afforded by most online discussion increases the likelihood that a given contributor will forego the usual civil restraints on their behaviour and instead speak their minds openly (Konnikova, 2013). As a result, these comments are often deemed “extreme” or “contrarian,” and the sentiments offered are likely to be hyperbolic to some degree; these are also, therefore, more reflective of the commenters’ core beliefs. Such a *disinhibition* effect is mirrored in many men’s responses to questions about whether or not they would “force a woman to have sex” if they could “get away with it”; in one study, 58% of college-aged men said they would (Maine, 2000). Anonymity also “encourage[s] participation” (Konnikova, 2013), suggesting that comments on articles about rape will, in addition to being more honest (if exaggerated), also offer insight where a participant would have otherwise been less inclined to participate. Therefore, just as the concept of rape culture does not suggest *all* men are rapists, my analysis of online comments does not imply these views are common to *all* men. Rather, I am merely highlighting some of the common responses to the topics of rape and rape

culture and simultaneously getting to the core of what many men think, say, and do when they believe they will not be held responsible for their views. Furthermore, while these comments are not a random sample, they are nonetheless useful in that commenters responding to previous comments may be actively engaging in the “one-upmanship” and competition common to homosocial situations by seeking to outdo one another with more and more extreme perspectives. In other words, comments upon comments may be an online form of masculine bravado, common in homosocial environments of boys and men. Such bravado may, in turn, provide further insight into what the “ideal” or at least “manliest” man might believe, say, or do for praise from other men. As well, given that teenagers now, more than ever, “get their culture, gossip and attitudes from Google and Facebook” (Krotoski, 2011, para. 2), the Internet is the logical place to go to find uncensored, raw opinions and commentaries that speak in some degree to the culture, gossip, and attitudes of the day.

This leads into the second trend: some commentators still argue that, for example, there is nothing “about contemporary teens that led a group of males to rape a young woman” (Todd, 2011, p. 1), but instead that technology itself—social media in particular—is not “morally neutral” (p. 1) and, in fact, “[t]echnology can have a dark side” (p. 1). It is true, of course, that technology allows for easier dispensation and collection of evidence of rape and of rape-supportive beliefs, but technology is merely a facilitator, not a cause, of these views and actions. Criticizing social media technology as a morally compromised invention actually ignores and absolves the actors in these situations and the culture that normalized their actions. Therefore, in contrast to the shortsighted recommendation that we “educate ourselves” about new technologies in order to prevent this “dark side” from manifesting online, I instead embraced technology as a vehicle that allows these views to be publicly analyzed and criticized. As well, this was a method

of tracking the online conversation around and patterns in the cultural response to the topics of rape, rape culture, and consent. Furthermore, while education regarding technology is important, in this instance, technology actually allowed me to demonstrate that the more pressing and relevant issue is to instead educate boys and men about rape, consent, and the dangers of aggressive masculinity and coercive sexuality.

With the original aim of analyzing an even dozen articles, I first collected and coded comments from 11 articles pertaining to the broader topics of rape and rape culture. These articles were chosen based largely on the wealth of responses they garnered and if they were published within the last two years. Condensing the analysis of these articles into the space required for this document, though, quickly became an unworkable goal. As a result of this unwieldiness, I then selected the 6 articles that, in addition to addressing the topics of rape and rape culture, most thoroughly and specifically examined the following themes identified in my Literature Review: the influence of misogyny and masculinity in rape and rape culture (Katz, 1999; O'Sullivan, 1993), the role of humour in normalizing rape (Benedict, 1993; Science Daily, 2007), men's roles and responsibilities in ending rape and violence against women in general (Enslar, 2011; Katz, 2012), rape myths (particularly the idea that some rapes are not "real" rapes) (Burt, 1991; Tatum, 2008), the role and necessity of feminism in addressing rape and rape culture (Corinna, 2007; Stoltenberg, 1993), and finally, the need for a clear conception of affirmative verbal consent in sexual interactions (Brod, 2010; Troost, 2008). In my analysis of each of these articles, I will outline more explicitly the ways in which each of these themes are addressed.

With these themes in mind, I chose to analyze the Health and Physical Education curriculum documents for grades 9 and 10 (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999),

because, most importantly, students in the Ontario high school system are required to earn one compulsory credit in Health and Physical Education (typically in grade 9 or 10), of which sex education is one component of the Healthy Living strand of the curriculum. Secondly, this analysis of curriculum documents sought to discern how, if at all, teachers of the subject were guided to engage students on the myths and misconceptions surrounding rape and consent that I identified in my analysis of online comments. After all, boys and girls are conditioned their entire lives by the assumptions and norms of the rape culture in which they were raised, so sex education must explicitly address and deconstruct rape myths, as well as define and emphasize what affirmative verbal consent looks like in practice, or else such education will only complement, not challenge, these rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours. Although there are no sex education curriculum documents per se, sex education is included in the Health and Physical Education curriculum under the Healthy Growth and Sexuality section of the Healthy Living strand of the curriculum. These documents, however, leave out any mention of consent (Oved & Kane, 2013). Therefore, it is up to educators to take the initiative to consult such literature as The Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health Education (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2008) in order to make up for the deficiencies in the curriculum documents. This initiative, however, cannot be guaranteed or assumed, but these guidelines do include the proviso that sexual health must be “free of coercion, discrimination and violence” (p. 2), while “consensual sexual relations” are listed as “sexual rights.” While these values are assumed to be implicit, they are never made explicit in the learning objectives. These guidelines also do an excellent job of encouraging the importance of identifying one’s own “sexual health needs” and “integrat[ing] relevant information with personal values” (p. 5), as well as emphasizing self-worth and personal decision-making. Nonetheless, these suggestions are restricted to internal, personal beliefs and

decisions and these values are not explicitly connected to actions or converted into practice. For example, the guidelines clearly note the necessity of “discuss[ing] and negotiat[ing] sexual health issues with partners” (p. 4), and cite the examples of “set[ting] sexual limits, including choosing not to take part in particular sexual activities,” “articulat[ing] their concerns [and] negotiate[ing] and consistently us[ing] safer sex practices,” as well as “avoid[ing], or safely leav[ing] a situation in which personal and sexual health is placed at risk” (p. 5). Of course, these are necessary and important skills and rights to be aware of, but nowhere is there a clear and equal emphasis on affording one’s partner these same rights. It is all well and good to set one’s sexual limits and communicate them effectively, but the point is that rapists tend to be unconcerned with communication or with their partner’s limits. In fact, the phrase instructing students on “avoiding or successfully leaving a situation in which personal sexual health is placed at risk,” in absence of an equivalent emphasis on simply *not putting one’s partner in such a situation*, actually puts the responsibility to not be raped on the would-be survivor. This recommendation, though well-intentioned, is reminiscent of the notion that women who do not want to be raped should avoid “bad neighbourhoods,” especially given that the converse responsibility—to respect and verbally, continually confirm that one’s sexual behaviours are enthusiastically reciprocated—is nowhere to be found.

In Canada, sexual health education in general, though, has been remarkably successful in terms of fostering use of contraceptives and promoting awareness of STIs (Ophea, n.d.; Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, 2010), and students themselves are supportive of sex education. In one survey, 92% of high school youth agreed that “sexual health education should be provided in the schools,” classifying it as either “very important” or “extremely important” (Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, 2010, p. 5). For one example of

sex education's effectiveness, the pregnancy rate of teenage girls in Canada has "fallen significantly over the last several decades" (p. 3), while further research has shown that "well planned and implemented sexual health education programs are effective in helping youth reduce the risk of STI/HIV infection and unplanned pregnancy" (Ophea, n.d., p. 4). Obviously, though, the measures of such success are still restricted to the rates of desired parenthood, avoidance of unwanted pregnancy, avoidance of STI/HIV infection, and increased condom use (Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, 2010, p. 4). The rates and frequency of consensual sex or rape are not considered or addressed, despite "consensual sexual relations" being an implicit aim of sexuality education.

Combined with the optimistic results of anti-rape education (Globe and Mail, 2013; Schiffman, 2010), education on this front, too, might be particularly helpful for boys. In Ontario, the men who teach sex education are usually those who teach Physical Education as well, suggesting that the very man who may have encouraged aggression and competition in the previous period may then be instructing boys on what "healthy" sexuality looks like. If not handled delicately, this could further conflate the already dangerously intertwined concepts of aggression and sexuality in men, but, on the other hand, this could also provide the opportunity for teachers to demonstrate that masculinity can be many things: it does not have to be restricted solely to violence, aggression, and a lack of emotion, but can and should combine leadership qualities with empathy, awareness, and, importantly, respect for girls and women. It is with these concepts in mind, then, that I began my analysis of online comments.

Analysis of Online Comments

I first collected and coded comments from 11 articles pertaining to the broader topics of rape and rape culture (see Table 1). From these, I selected the 6 articles that, in addition to

addressing the topics of rape and rape culture, most thoroughly and specifically examined the following themes identified in my Literature Review (see Table 2): the influence of misogyny and masculinity in rape and rape culture (Katz, 1999; O’Sullivan, 1993), the role of humour in normalizing rape (Benedict, 1993; Science Daily, 2007), men’s roles and responsibilities in ending rape and violence against women in general (Ensler, 2011; Katz, 2012), rape myths (particularly the idea that some rapes are not “real” rapes) (Burt, 1991; Tatum, 2008), the role and necessity of feminism in addressing rape and rape culture (Corinna, 2007; Stoltenberg, 1993), and finally, the need for a clear conception of affirmative verbal consent in sexual interactions (Brod, 2010; Troost, 2008).

Table 1: *Eleven Articles Considered for the Analysis of Online Comments*

Title	Author	Concept(s)	Total Comments
“The Importance of Men Seeing Women as Human Beings”	Kimberly Burge	Misogyny, Masculinity	219
“Why Daniel Tosh’s ‘Rape Joke’ at the Laugh Factory Wasn’t Funny”	Elisa Bassist	Humour	192
“How Jock Culture Supports Rape Culture, From Maryville to Steubenville”	Dave Zirin	Jock Culture	58
“Violence Against Women Is a Men’s Issue”	Michael Flood	Men’s Responsibilities	51
“DSK’s Alleged Victim Should Not Be Called His ‘Accuser’”	Jackson Katz	Language	120
“There Is No Great Stigma Attached to Being a Rapist”	Glosswitch	Rape Myths	407
“Would This ‘Anti-Rape Underwear’ Really Make Women Safer? Somehow, We’re Skeptical”	Emma Gray	Victim-Blaming	200
“Rape Culture Is: Know It When You See It”	Julia Kacmarek, Elizabeth Geffre	Rape Culture	66

“Ten Things to End Rape Culture”	<i>The Nation</i>	Rape Culture	151
“Feminism’s Amazing Achievement: Changing the Conversation—and Laws—About Rape”	Estelle B. Freedman	Feminism	54
“States Shouldn’t Require Force for Rape to Count”	Amanda Marcotte	Consent	739

The first article chosen from the 11 broader selections was “The Importance of Men Seeing Women as Human Beings” (Burge, 2013), and it was chosen because it addresses the themes of misogyny and masculinity. It tackles a widespread assumption that leads to acceptance of rape and abuse: the notion that women are “lesser” and femininity is “negative.” Such a perspective excuses commonplace misogynistic violence while contributing to a construction of masculinity that stands in opposition to qualities commonly associated with femininity, such as tenderness or emotion, meaning men must be aggressive, emotionless, and, ultimately, violent in order to demonstrate and confirm their manliness. This leads not only to rape and men’s violence against women, but to normalized misogyny, which, in itself, contributes to rape culture.

The second article is “Why Daniel Tosh’s ‘Rape Joke’ at the Laugh Factory Wasn’t Funny” (Bassist, 2012). It was chosen because it addresses the theme of humour. It tackles, in particular, the ways in which rape jokes and sexist humour are used to characterize rape as an act of comedy rather than violence (Benedict, 1993; Burt, 1991), dismiss the seriousness of sexual violence perpetrated by men against women, and even often incorporate rape myths, such as the idea that women actually *want* to be raped. As well, studies show such humour “leads men to believe that sexist behavior falls within the bounds of social acceptability” (Science Daily, 2007, para. 4).

The third article, “Violence Against Women Is a Men’s Issue” (Flood, 2011), was chosen because it emphasizes the theme of men’s responsibilities. It promotes the central assumption of

this thesis, which is that it is men's responsibility to end violence against women and to eradicate rape specifically. It also acknowledges that social and cultural factors are at play in that even though the majority of men do not personally inflict violence against the women they know, sexist behaviours are commonplace and often go unnoticed. Therefore, men must actively "challenge the violence perpetrated by a minority of men" (para. 1). Not doing so ultimately makes one an accomplice to such violence, especially given the patriarchal power structures that allow men to benefit from rape culture simply by virtue of their male privilege.

The fourth article is entitled "There Is No Great Stigma Attached to Being a Rapist" (Glosswitch, 2013) and was included because it addresses the theme of rape myths. It confronts a particularly common rape myth, which is that some types of rape are not "real" rape. Effectively, the article demonstrates how we, as a culture, are more or less comfortable with or in denial of the fact that "any sex without consent" is rape, such as acquaintance and date rapes, which are actually the most common and normalized forms of rape. Instead, we only raise our voices in protest at the most graphic, physically violent, and stereotypical manifestations of rape, such as the rare occasions when a survivor is physically beaten by a stranger in an alleyway or held at gunpoint. In short, it is not that we are against rape in general—we are only against rapes that do not implicate the culture as a whole by demonstrating how normalized "sex without consent" truly is.

The fifth article, "Feminism's Amazing Achievement: Changing the Conversation—and Laws—About Rape" (Freedman, 2013), was chosen because it addresses the theme of feminism. It appropriately centres the discussion of rape and rape culture on feminism's role in challenging rape culture. I wanted to show that rape is ultimately a feminist issue and to summarize many of the accomplishments on this front. As well, I anticipated it would be valuable to see the response

to an article that explicitly relates anti-rape successes with feminism, because much of the vitriol and outright hatred directed at previous articles and authors very clearly indicated the association with feminism was at least partially responsible for the commenters' dismissal of rape as a serious issue.

The final article is entitled "States Shouldn't Require Force for Rape to Count" (Marcotte, 2014) and addresses the theme of consent. The article was also chosen, because (a) while previous articles had confronted the mischaracterization of sex without consent as "not real rape," this article instead focused on making explicit the need for affirmative verbal consent in sexual interactions; and, (b) it is the most recent article I could find on the subject. Given the confusion surrounding not only the definition of rape, but surrounding what constitutes consent, I felt the article was perhaps the most important one in this selection, because it hinges on the very concept and practice that differentiates sex from rape.

Table 2: *Six Articles Selected for Analysis of Online Comments*

Title	Author	Concept(s)	Total Comments
"The Importance of Men Seeing Women as Human Beings"	Kimberly Burge	Misogyny, Masculinity	219
"Why Daniel Tosh's 'Rape Joke' at the Laugh Factory Wasn't Funny"	Elissa Bassist	Humour	192
"Violence Against Women Is a Men's Issue"	Michael Flood	Men's Responsibilities	51
"There is No Great Stigma Attached to Being a Rapist"	Glosswitch	Rape Myths	407
"Feminism's Amazing Achievement: Changing the Conversation—and Laws—About Rape"	Estelle B. Freedman	Feminism	54

“States Shouldn’t Require Force for Rape to Count”	Amanda Marcotte	Consent	739
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Having selected the six key articles, I began each analysis by first summarizing the main points of each article. Each comment was subsequently analyzed and then was categorized and judged with reference to the main arguments particular to each article. Table 3 shows the colour-coding schema that I designed and employed.

Table 3: *Colour-Coding Guide to Categorize Online Comments*

Category	Definition
Green	Positive comments that suggest agreement with the article and the ideas presented
Green/Yellow	Generally positive comments that are nonetheless critical of one or more aspects of the article
Yellow	Negative comments that critically engage with or interrogate the perspective of the article
Orange	Negative comments that suggest a dismissal of the article’s premise(s)
Red	Comments that include explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape
Grey	Comments with an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective

Comments were tallied up, print-screened, and then divided into one of the six general categories indicated above, in Table 3. However, comments that may have otherwise been classified in a different category, but still make an argument that dismisses feminism, the seriousness of rape, or the concept of rape culture, or otherwise attempt to minimize, excuse, justify, or downplay rape and violence against women were automatically categorized as either “orange” or “red,” depending on the details of the comment. Comments that did not specifically

address or reference the perspective of the article itself, as well as comments with an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective, were not included for analysis (grey). The points of debate raging in the comments section of any article tend to go off-topic and often fail to include a relevant opinion, so all such comments were categorized as “grey” (as were “spam” comments attempting to sell or promote an unrelated product). Each comment, then, was judged against its stance on these specific assertions; this tack was applied across every article analyzed with reference to the main arguments particular to each article.

Because the aim of this analysis was not to debate the merits or outline the critiques of the theory at hand, but to examine responses to it with the aim of better-addressing these perspectives in the classroom, my analysis focused on those that fell into the latter two most negative (orange and red) categories (with reference to each individual article), so that I could better group, code, and deconstruct them with reference to specific themes and concepts present throughout the Literature Review. As a re-cap, these were rape myths (including victim-blaming and “slut-shaming”/woman-hating in general), masculinity (including “jock culture,” rape jokes, and media), consent and coercive sexuality, the definition of rape, and the perceived scope of the problem of rape itself. Finally, I looked for patterns and themes not only within the comments of each article, but across all articles that were examined.

Analysis of Curriculum Documents

The final portion of my analysis was restricted to Ontario’s most recent Health and Physical Education curriculum documents (see Appendix 7) for grades 9 and 10 (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), because only one Physical Education credit is required in high school and this is usually taken in grade 9 or 10. The learning expectations are broken down into four general strands: physical activity, active living, healthy living, and living

skills (p. 6), but I focused on the two most relevant strands: healthy living—which addresses “the knowledge and skills that students need to make informed decisions related to healthy growth and sexuality” (p. 6)—and living skills—such as “effective decision-making, conflict resolution, communication, and interpersonal skills” (p. 6).

From here, I examined the relevant “overall expectations” for each strand, including, for the healthy living strand: “identify[ing] factors contributing to positive relationships with others; explaining the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community; and, identify[ing] strategies to minimize potentially dangerous situations” (p. 10). I then analyzed the “specific expectations” within these overall objectives, such as methods of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, factors leading to responsible sexual relationships, and how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality.

Next, I examined the strand of living skills and its relevant overall expectations, such as “explain[ing] the effectiveness of various conflict resolution processes in daily situations” and “using appropriate social skills when working collaboratively with others” (p. 11). As with the previous strand, I then analyzed the specific expectations, including using assertiveness techniques to avoid escalating conflict, demonstrating active listening skills, and contributing to the success of the group verbally and non-verbally.

Finally, I explored how these current learning objectives could potentially be employed to foster anti-rape education in the classroom or address the more general topics of rape, rape culture, consent, and gender roles, and I used the information gathered from my Literature Review and analysis of online comments to make suggestions for further, specific learning objectives that would address and deconstruct rape myths and rape-supportive beliefs and

behaviours. In the next chapter, I examine current themes in the discussion surrounding rape and rape culture in order to ground my recommendations for specific learning expectations.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Online Comments

My analysis begins with a brief introduction to and summary of the articles I chose to examine. The entire comments sections from each article were print-screened and coded. Comments were broken down accordingly: positive comments that suggest agreement with the article and the ideas presented (green), generally positive comments that are nonetheless critical of one or more aspects of the article (green/yellow), negative comments that critically engage with or interrogate the perspective of the article (yellow), negative comments that suggest a dismissal of the article's premise(s) (i.e., "rape is not a widespread problem," "feminism is outdated") (orange), and comments that include explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape (red). However, comments that may have otherwise been classified in a different category, but still make an argument that dismisses feminism, the seriousness of rape, or the concept of rape culture, or otherwise attempt to minimize, excuse, justify, or downplay rape and violence against women were automatically categorized as either "orange" or "red," depending on the specifics. As well, the tendency for debates in the comments section to go off-topic, offer an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective, or to bring up concerns outside of the article's focus meant that many of these comments could only be qualified against the comments or arguments to which they were responding. Such comments that did not specifically address or sometimes even reference any perspectives provided in the article were not included for analysis (grey). Furthermore, in an effort to provide suggestions for education that address and deconstruct objections or misconceptions on the topics at hand, and because the majority of comments tended to fall into these categories, my content analysis is restricted to comments falling into the latter two most "negative" categories (orange and red).

Having summarized the main points of each article, presenting the breakdown of comments on each article, and examining the response to each article for specific themes, I next analyzed the comments as a group (see Table 4), examining overall themes throughout. I provided relevant examples of each theme and noted from which article these examples were drawn.

Table 4: *Summary of Comment Types and Totals Across All Articles Analyzed*

Comment Type	Overall Total
Green	250
Green/Yellow	25
Yellow	61
Orange	472
Red	239
Grey	615
Total	1662

Article 1: “The Importance of Men Seeing Women as Human Beings” (2013) – Kimberly Burge

Kimberly Burge’s (2013) article (see Appendix 1) addresses the issue of widespread misogyny and men’s violence against women, including the concepts of rape, rape culture, and the resulting necessity of feminism itself. Despite its seemingly uncontroversial title, it elicited a wealth of responses—219, to be exact. Referring to such events as the murder of Reeva Steenkamp, the rape and murder of Anene Booysen, and the Steubenville rape, Burge argues that in order to eradicate violence against women, “[m]en first must place value on the women and girls in their own lives” (para. 11). In her view, worldwide awareness of the severity and prevalence of the problem is needed first and foremost so that boys and men will finally change

their behaviours. She also states that this empathy toward girls and women is required in order for rapists and murderers of women and girls to be properly prosecuted. Each comment, then, was judged against its stance on these specific assertions; this tack was applied across every article analyzed with reference to the main arguments particular to each article.

Table 5: *Comment Breakdown for Article 1*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	219	Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/02/the-importance-of-men-seeing-women-as-human-beings/273417/
Green	27	
Green/Yellow	5	
Yellow	11	
Orange	58	
Red	36	
Grey	82	

Comments that respond to other commenters without addressing the article or its main concepts or otherwise offer an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective (82) were not included for analysis (grey); for example, one commenter raises the issue that the article did not address male victims (yellow), and another commenter replies to the specifics of the study the first commenter cited (grey)—as a result, the second commenter’s perspective, while perhaps also contributing to further “derailing” the topic at hand, does not fit into the five categories by which these comments are being analyzed and was, therefore, discounted. In contrast, another commenter responds to these men “whining” about the lack of articles addressing “men’s rights” by saying that the world is currently governed by men’s rights, a comment that suggests an ideological alignment with the article’s thesis and was therefore classified as “green.”

Article 2: “Why Daniel Tosh’s ‘Rape Joke’ at the Laugh Factory Wasn’t Funny” (2012) –

Elissa Bassist

In the second article (Appendix 2), Elissa Bassist (2012) argues that rape jokes can, in fact, be funny and, more than that, if done right, they have the potential to be “cathartic and empowering” (para. 1). She then addresses the Daniel Tosh “rape joke” controversy, which involved Daniel Tosh making a rape joke about replacing his sister’s mace with silly string, thereby preventing her from defending herself and leading to her being raped. When a woman in the audience “heckled” him about rape jokes not being funny, he replied: “Wouldn’t it be funny if that girl got raped by, like, five guys right now? Like right now?” (para. 2). Bassist concludes that there is a clear difference between an aware rape joke and a joke that functions as a “threat,” a “celebration of the crime,” and an “invitation” (para. 5), which is what Tosh’s “joke” was.

Table 6: *Comment Breakdown for Article 2*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	192	Retrieved from: http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/07/11/why-daniel-tosh-s-rape-joke-at-the-laugh-factory-wasnt-funny.html
Green	40	
Green/Yellow	3	
Yellow	13	
Orange	60	
Red	38	
Grey	38	

Comments that respond to other commenters without addressing the article or its main concepts, or otherwise offer an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective (38), were not included for analysis. Because the subject at hand is not solely Tosh’s initial “rape joke,” but the follow-up “rape threat” he issued in response to being heckled. Due to the pervasiveness of victim-blaming, comments that argued the heckler in some way “deserved” or “caused” Tosh’s

chosen response and should not have attended the show were classified as offering “excuses for or threats of violent acts.” Commenters who supported “rape jokes” as a legitimate avenue of comedy without taking this particular line of argument were generally classified as negative/dismissing the article and its ideas.

Article 3: “Violence Against Women Is a Men’s Issue” (2011) – Michael Flood

Michael Flood (2011) begins his article (Appendix 3) by outlining the pervasiveness of violence against women, but admits that “males are also the victims of violence” (para. 7) and “most treat the women in their lives with respect and care, but very few actually do anything to challenge the violence perpetrated by a minority of men” (para. 1). He then suggests roles men can play in ending this violence, including “chang[ing] social norms and power inequalities that feed into violence” (p. 2), “encourag[ing] norms of consent, respect, and gender equality” (para. 10), and “promot[ing] gender roles based on non-violence and gender justice” (para. 10). Flood also notes that, if men care about the women in their lives—their mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, friends—then violence against them *is* a men’s issue. Finally, he concludes that a world free of violent and obsessive masculinity will also free boys and men “from the threat of other men’s violence” (para. 18).

Table 7: *Comment Breakdown for Article 3*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	51	Retrieved from: http://goodmenproject.com/gender-sexuality/violence-against-women-is-a-mens-issue/
Green	7	
Green/Yellow	1	
Yellow	3	
Orange	34	
Red	5	
Grey	1	

Article 4: “There Is No Great Stigma Attached to Being a Rapist” (2013) - Glosswitch

Glosswitch (2013) begins her article (Appendix 4) by qualifying the title of the piece, explaining that while none of us like the label of “rapist,” the act of raping someone—“actually having sex with someone who is not consenting” (para. 1)—is “totally cool” with most people, so long as no one calls it what it is. Research on the subject supports this statement (Maine, 2000), and with reference to other relevant statistics, as well as George Galloway’s then-recent characterization of rape as merely “bad sexual etiquette,” the author asserts that we do, in fact, live in a rape culture. She explains that “[u]nless we’re talking about the Yorkshire Ripper... an accusation of rape doesn’t just point the finger at an individual” and actually “challenges the widespread assumption that sex without the consent of another person isn’t really a crime” (para. 6). The author concludes by noting that, despite the fact that an acquittal in a rape trial does not mean a crime was not committed, but merely that there is a reasonable doubt, we as a society still do not “support [the alleged victims] we believe, [but] we denigrate those we don’t” (para. 8). This isn’t because we hate rape—and, therefore, those who would falsely accuse someone of rape—but because “we just don’t like anything that reminds us how tolerant we are of something we ought to despise” (para. 8).

Table 8: *Comment Breakdown for Article 4*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	407	Retrieved from: http://www.newstatesman.com/glosswitch/2013/09/there-no-great-stigma-attached-being-rapist
Green	68	
Green/Yellow	6	
Yellow	8	
Orange	155	
Red	40	
Grey	130	

**Article 5: “Feminism’s Amazing Achievement: Changing the Conversation—and Laws—
About Rape” (2013) – Estelle B. Freedman**

In her article (Appendix 5), Estelle B. Freedman (2013) outlines feminism’s struggles and successes in bringing the issue of rape to the fore in the cultural/political conversation and in reframing it in more useful, accurate ways. She begins by noting the origins of the struggle in “the black freedom movement and the sexual revolution” of the 1960s, when “black women in the South [began] to press charges against white men and to politicize interracial rape as a civil rights issue” while young white women “brought the concept of person empowerment they learned [in voter registration and community organizing campaigns] into the revived women’s movement” (para. 2). The author then outlines several accomplishments stemming from these beginnings, including raising the issues of those previously “blurred lines” of sex among acquaintances, “anxiety about personal safety” (para. 3), and explaining that “the fear of rape was a ‘daily part of every woman’s consciousness’” (para. 3). She cites Susan Brownmiller’s *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (1975) as summarizing many of these points, and also notes the importance of Take Back the Night and other anti-rape programs. She also addresses how the 20th century saw the introduction of the importance of paying attention to the intersections of gender, race, and sexual violence, as elucidated by “influential African American writers such as Angela Davis and Alice Walker” (para. 8), but admits that “feminists replayed many of the racial tensions that characterized earlier anti-rape movements” (para. 9), such as “the racist use of the rape charge against Black men” (para. 9), cited by Bettina Aptheker. From here, the author recounts the success of confronting the distinction between marital and nonmarital rape, which was declared unconstitutional in America in 1984, and the identification of the prevalence of “date rape” and “acquaintance rape,” as well as the importance of age-of-consent

campaigns. The piece also notes that men have also contributed to anti-rape movements, but “now they organiz[e] as men who refus[e] to objectify women sexually” and seek to “undermine gender norms that privileg[e] male aggression” (para. 17). Finally, the author concludes that while “internal disagreements among feminists persist,” the goal remains to assert “women’s right to sexual independence” (para. 18).

Table 9: *Comment Breakdown for Article 5*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	54	Retrieved from: http://www.salon.com/2013/08/25/how_feminism_redefined_rape/
Green	17	
Green/Yellow	2	
Yellow	1	
Orange	20	
Red	4	
Grey	10	

While the article garnered only 54 comments, it lists 60, meaning some have been hidden, reported, or deleted, suggesting there may have been even more negative reactions.

Article 6: “States Shouldn’t Require Force for Rape to Count” (2014) – Amanda Marcotte

Amanda Marcotte (2014) begins her article (Appendix 6) by noting that “in most states in the U.S., the legal definition of rape requires more than just ignoring someone’s protests, but also the use of physical force or threats” (para. 1), and then argues that these laws should redefine rape as “having sex with a nonconsenting person” (para. 2), which could potentially “make it easier to convict rapists who use methods other than overt threats of violence” (para. 2). She explains that most rapists do not use physical force or explicit threats, but that they usually “isolate the victim physically and allow the implication that things could get even worse for her

if she fights back to subdue her” (para. 3). Marcotte also emphasizes the need for affirmative verbal consent, saying that:

Women should not be assumed to be consenting to sex unless they say otherwise in blunt language, especially since research shows that most people tend to refuse to go along with activities, sexual or otherwise, with demurring language instead of blunt refusals. (para. 4)

She also notes that, while “the lack of violence in most rapes means it’s easy enough for rapists to lie about consent,” emphasizing this definition of rape and the requirement of affirmative consent “could send the right message to victims and help shut down much of the second-guessing that they often go through” (para. 5), and that by “shifting [the] focus from the victim’s choices to the rapist’s choices” (para. 5), this could help to improve the conviction rate.

Table 10: *Comment Breakdown for Article 6*

Comment Type	Number of Comments	URL
Total	739	Retrieved from: http://www.slate.com/blogs/xx_factor/2014/01/13/force_and_rape_states_shouldn_t_require_violence_or_the_threat_of_it_for.html
Green	91	
Green/Yellow	8	
Yellow	25	
Orange	145	
Red	116	
Grey	354	

As of January 15th, 2014, the article had collected 739 comments. Comments that respond to other commenters without addressing the article or its main concepts or otherwise offer an unclear or seemingly irrelevant perspective (354) were not included for analysis, such as those that veered off into a debate about abortion. This article offered perhaps the most disturbing sample of comments, given both the quantity and the content of the responses.

Overall Themes

Seven prominent themes were identified across the articles:

- general anti-feminist comments, such as claims that feminism is a “misandric” hate group;
- the belief that rape and violence are not gendered occurrences or that women are just as violent as men;
- the claim that rape is or can be a subject of humour;
- statements suggesting hostility to the concept and necessity of verbal consent in sexual interactions (often framed as a fear of false rape allegations);
- general victim-blaming presented in various forms and to various degrees;
- rape threats; and
- the complementary positions that rape is not actually a violent act and non-violent rape is not “real” rape.

I structured my analysis by beginning with negative/dismissive comments (orange) and then addressing comments that include explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape (red). I have also included occasional positive (green) comments for perspective.

Anti-Feminism

The first apparent theme within the category of negative/dismissive comments is general anti-feminist comments, such as claims that feminism is a misandric hate group. In the first article, by Burge (2013), of the total 219 comments, 97 of these are by the same 2 people. Commenters edtastic and Tracheal contributed 27 and 70 comments, respectively (including follow-up responses). Tellingly, both of these commenters’ contributions were divided only

between the two most negative categories of analysis (as well as the off-topic or “grey” category), demonstrating a particularly passionate dedication to their opinions. Excluding those comments which fell into the off-topic or “grey” category, though, edtastic’s comments were categorized as follows: 13 negative comments that suggest a dismissal of the article and its ideas outright, and 7 comments that include explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape. Though some of these comments do include particular criticisms, these are of feminism in general and are, therefore, dismissive of the article’s premises. Similarly, Tracheal offers perspectives that were classified as either dismissing the article and its ideas outright or offering explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape—30 comments falling into the former category and 22 falling into the latter. As a result, these two commenters provided a framework through which to pinpoint and explore themes in the article’s comments section overall. The remaining negative/dismissive comments and comments attempting to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay the seriousness of the issue were divided between 13 other commenters. The majority of the negative/dismissive comments seek either to bring attention to the fact that men, too, are raped and murdered—which is true and valid, but in doing so also manage to, in a variety of ways, deny the gendered aspect of the issue and, thereby, downplay its significance—or to voice hatred toward feminism.

These comments voicing anti-feminist sentiments include Tracheal’s several mentions of “misandry” or “misandric violence” (referring to imaginary corollaries for misogyny and misogynist violence). Tracheal also refers to feminism as a “hate movement” more than once, dismisses it as a “disease” and characterizes the article as “hate-filled noise,” “hate speech,” and “anti-male hatred.” Comments from edtastic also characterize the article as promoting “sexist

stereotypes” about men and stirring up “male resentment and hate.” In fact, between the two more negative categories of analysis, the word “hate” in reference to feminism or in response to the assertion that men commit the majority of violence against women features 23 times between these two commenters. edtastic even notes that sexual objectification “is as natural as human sexuality itself and women routinely exploit it to appear attractive to mates,” quite a revealing sentiment in that the link between the objectification of women and rape culture is well-established (J, 2009).

Comments on the second article, by Bassist (2012), continue this theme. Despite the word “feminism” never being mentioned in the article itself, anti-feminist commenters still include Mr Bungle, who claims the article is the result of feminists wanting “special treatment” and that “women making jokes about mens [sic]¹ sexual performance” is “a lot more damaging than a rape joke.” Commenter MyName similarly notes that “[t]his isn’t a women’s studies course where everything is up for debate” while agarofalo1 explains: “This article was terribly uninformed and clearly had a feminist agenda,” suggesting feminism is in itself a negative or untrustworthy movement.

Commenters on Flood’s (2011) article similarly interpret the article as a personal attack by misandrists. Eric M notes: “In summation, once again: ‘men are evil, women are innocent victims.’” He also claims that dealing with this gendered element of violence is the hallmark of “an anti-male movement.” A commenter known simply as Ron agrees that this article is another of “feminism’s manipulations and fraudulent claims,” while Carlos characterizes it as “anti-male rhetoric” and “misandric ‘research.’” David Gate also interprets the article’s message as: “Men don’t matter. Women are superior beings” and claims this exact message “is drummed into us 24/7 from all media from the day we are born.” In short, it seems that these men interpret a call

¹ All comments quoted from online articles are verbatim, including spelling and grammatical errors.

to end violence to be an act of violence against them, whereas noting that women are routinely victimized by men, suggests women are “superior beings.” This perspective plays in to Dworkin’s observations that “[m]en often react to women’s words—speaking and writing—as if they were acts of violence” (2006, p. xxxi), while women have learned to suppress their voices in fear of men’s physical violence. All of these commenters interpret a reasoned, critical analysis of an epidemic of men’s violence against women as some sort of rude, concentrated attack on men.

Comments exemplifying this theme in Glosswitch’s (2013) article include JuanSigma’s ponderings: “I do wonder where feminists get all of this idiotic rubbish from. Is it university Gender Studies courses? I do wonder.” EvilPundit puts it plainly: “If you agree with the article, you are engaged in the hatred of men - known as misandry. The article falsely claims that men broadly support rape. It is feminist hate speech,” while onlyonepinman cites the slogan of misogynists everywhere: “Feminism is the belief that we can achieve equality between the sexes by focusing on the needs of just one of them.”

The negative and dismissive comments on Freedman’s (2013) article generally reduce to broad and usually misogynistic criticisms of feminism. MRA Joel, claims that “[f]eminism manipulates peoples emotions,” and its “basic tenet that these problems are caused by male domination is a lie.” The commenter’s name, “MRA [Men’s Rights Activist] Joel,” inherently suggests his perspective stems from a misogynistic ideological framework. The Men’s Rights Movement has, after all, been shown to be a hateful and harmful group. For example, when a woman, among other protestors, objected to a lecture sponsored by the Men’s Rights Movement at the University of Toronto, these men harassed, cyber-stalked her, exposed her personal information, and bombarded her with threats to “gag, rape, and gut” her (Baker, 2013, para. 1). The Men’s Rights group in Edmonton was also responsible for an “anti-rape” campaign—in

response to the previously mentioned, successful “Don’t Be That Guy Campaign” (Christina, 2013)—that instead featured the slogan: “Don’t Be That Girl. Just because you regret a one-night stand doesn’t mean it wasn’t consensual” (Kelly, 2013).

Similarly, a commenter by the name of Disgusted voices their displeasure repeatedly and in emphatic terms, describing feminism as a “truly pigheaded” movement peopled by “bigoted hate mongers” fostering “reverse-sexis[m].” Frighteningly, but unsurprisingly, this commenter invokes the name of Paul Elam—the founder of A Voice For Men, the Men’s Rights Movement’s “largest and most visible on-line website” (Kelly, 2013 p. 1)—as a truth-teller who is exposing “bigoted ‘rape culture’ SlutWalkers.” In addition to routinely referring to women as “bitches” and “whores” (Elam, 2013b), Elam has also, for example, claimed that lobbing the phrase, “Someone should tie you to a shitter and rape you” (2013a) at a feminist is not a threat, but is simply not “the kindest thing someone could say” (para. 16) and has argued that many women are, in fact, “freaking begging” to be raped (Elam, 2010). Elam’s colleague (VFM News) and fellow Men’s Rights Activist, Warren Farrell, is also an unrepentant rape apologist, who has suggested that men who take women out to dinner are in some way “owed” sex and that these “evenings of paying to be rejected can feel like a male version of date rape” (Futrelle, 2013, para. 10). He has also argued that men who rape women whose body language says “yes,” but who verbally say “no” should not be put in jail for “trying to become her fantasy” (para. 23), and in an interview with *Penthouse*, he argued the merits of incest and statutory rape (Nobile, 1977). Nonetheless, these men not only perceive themselves as victims of women and feminism, but criticisms of these men and their views are routinely characterized as “anti-male rhetoric” (Martinuk, 2013, p. 1).

Echoing the perceived persecution of Men's Rights Activists, commenter MSC545 also states, "Men don't matter to any of you, except when you want them to pay your bills," and, "The goal of feminism is dominance, not equality." Seeking to side-step the issues raised by the article, Canuckistan Bob says, "[E]xtremist theorizing polemics aside: most men do not rape, and do not want to." starcaller dismisses the article in one sentence: "Okay, but men get raped too," to which positive commenter Sandra M responds, saying, "The goal of feminism is equality... not 'men get raped too so women should just shut up and grin and bear it, like men.'" This "yes, but..." approach on the part of men in particular leads into the second theme identified in the comments sections of these articles.

Denial of Gendered Aspect of Violence

The second theme is that of a tendency to deny the gendered nature of violence in general and rape in particular. Comments on Burge's (2013) article include those from Steve Smith, who frames his concern over the lack of coverage of boys and men who are rape victims as a dismissal of the seriousness of the subject at hand: "How often and how many times does violence of women needs to be talked about? What I am getting at is when its men's turn to have their issues talked about that have been very very much ignored by society at large while women's issues take the lime light." This comment is noteworthy in its refusal to see men's violence against women as anything but a "women's issue," despite the fact that the entire article is devoted to arguing that ending violence against women is a men's issue. Canislupes' comments are also worth examining in that the article is dismissed based solely on its "tone." Canislupes further elucidates the central point of many comments on the article by arguing that putting the responsibility to end men's violence against women on men is "sexist" and, in fact, "perpetuates the very acts [the article] seeks to condemn."

Comments on Flood's (2011) article that also fall into this first theme include Jacobtk's attempts to redirect the blame for violence by claiming "[m]any male abusers report having been victimized as children by women" and that addressing violence in general is doomed to fail "if you ignore, deny, or absolve half the people who commit that violence," implying firstly that acknowledging that men commit the majority of violence against women is to ignore the "actual" issue, and secondly, that violence is equally divided along gendered lines. Elsewhere, the same commenter notes that it is "perfectly fine to talk about sexual violence against women," but "it is not okay to misrepresent the prevalence of that violence, and it is not okay to use women's victimization to deny or downplay men's victimization." Thankfully, Flood's article does neither of these things and, in fact, explicitly addresses men's victimization—which occurs largely at the hands of other men. It is telling that so many comments seem to interpret addressing violence against women as "speaking over" or "denying" other forms of violence. This is male entitlement at its most brazen and self-absorbed, and on Burge's (2013) article, commenter skylerwaverly calls this behaviour out for what it is, saying, "[I]nstead of taking seriously violence against women, the men turn the discussion to male matters, once again making men the center of all attention and again denigrating and devaluing women's issues and making the point that women are unimportant."

Commenter seraphim also claims that "violence is violence, whether it is perpetrated by a man, a woman or the government. By turning this into a gender issue we are being duped into believing the issue is not violence in it self." Aside from ignoring the political element at play here in that male violence actually does take place in a patriarchal society, this line of reasoning seeks to obscure the origins and nature of this violence by claiming, quite simply, all are equally to blame. This is precisely the perspective that allows violence against women to go

unchallenged, because it protects the perpetrators by failing to name them. This is, after all, how male (and white) privilege functions in a (white) patriarchal society: by denying its existence entirely (Katz, 2012). Commenter Linguist similarly notes that Flood doesn't "address how government programs don't dedicat[e] equal resources to address violence against men by women." The answer is simple: violence against women by men occurs at several times the frequency. For example, according to the Canadian Women's Foundation (2014)—a non-profit organization dedicated to stopping violence, ending poverty, and empowering girls and women—about 49% of all women and girls murdered "are killed by a former or current intimate partner" while "only 7% of male murder victims [are] killed by intimate partners" (para. 7), and when it comes to spousal violence, "three times as many women experience serious violence such as choking, beating, being threatened with a knife or gun, and sexual violence" (para. 7) while, according to research conducted over the past 30 years in Canada, women are three to four times more likely to be killed by their spouse. Not to mention that "82% of all victims [of sexual assault] under the age of 18 are female" and "[g]irls are four times as likely as boys to be sexually assaulted by a family member" (para. 7).

Other commenters are dedicated to the fallacy that women commit just as much or more violence than men. This is not to deny the possibility of violence—specifically verbal abuse—largely inflicted by girls and women on other girls and women, but the topic under examination is physical violence specifically. While women can and do commit physical violence, the rates of such, particularly against men, pale in comparison to the violence committed by men against women, in particular, and against other men, as well. This misunderstanding is illustrated by such commenters as Eric M, who simultaneously claims that "men are 3x more likely to be a victim of violence" and that "at least 50%" of all violence is violence against men by women.

Yohan argues “[w]omen are as violent as men.” These comments confirm the existence of a widely-accepted myth that women are just as violent as men, but men are simply less likely to report it. Under-reporting is indeed a serious problem made all the more complicated by popular conceptions of rugged masculinity, but the reality is that, when it comes to this particular point, according to the Canadian Women’s Foundation (2014), the opposite is true: “men tend to over-estimate their partner’s violence while under-estimating their own” while “women over-estimate their own violence, and under-estimate their partner’s” (para. 7). Furthermore, “men are far more likely to initiate violence, while women are more likely to use violence in self-defence” (para. 7). In light of these facts, the negative/dismissive responses to Flood’s article are revealing in their demonstration of a refusal to acknowledge the problem at hand and a steadfast dedication to derailing the discourse with falsehoods.

On Glosswitch’s (2013) article, further commenters argue that women are just as violent and oppressive as men and that violence need not be addressed through the lens of gender, such as comments from mrwho—“Why focus on male violence against women? Isn’t all violence equally wrong, regardless of gender?”—and JuanSigma—“Why does it matter? Deal with the offender not the gender.” Other comments include the assertions that “[w]omen are much better at sexual oppression than men,” “severe violence is more likely to come from a woman,” and “[s]exual antagonism is common to both men and women.” All violence is, of course, “equally wrong,” as JuanSigma points out—and no one is denying that women can and do commit violence, too—but to acknowledge men’s violence against women is, in actuality, to focus on the offender, not the gender, because, in comparison to men, women are, for example, three to four times more likely to be killed by their spouse (Canadian Women’s Foundation, 2014). Men are, quite simply, the offenders in the vast majority of cases, and despite comments claiming “severe

violence is more likely to come from a woman,” the reality is that “men are far more likely to initiate violence, while women are more likely to use violence in self-defence” (Canadian Women’s Foundation, 2014, para. 7). Another method of downplaying violence against women in particular is the use of humour.

Rape as a Topic for Humour

The only article addressing rape jokes explicitly was Bassist’s (2012) article addressing comedian Daniel Tosh’s rape joke, which functioned as a threat toward the woman who heckled him. Nonetheless, the theme of arguing rape is a topic for humour is also evident in comments on the other articles. 8labriel, for example, points out that “just because [the heckler] didn’t find it funny doesn’t mean the world stops for her so she can have a utopia of comedy only geared towards her.” A commenter by the name of RapeJokesYoYo chimes in: “Well, I believe my username says it all” while ChrisPyne again encourages the author to “untwist your knickers Elissa,” and Tenay agrees: “Get your panties out of a twist bro, he was clearly joking.” bsaraydar and TrinityLynnPaini, respectively, note, “it was funny” and “HIS RAPE JOKE WAS AWESOME!!!” One particularly shocking comment comes from DaisyMiller who states: “i was raped by my stepfather every night for 8 years, and this joke still doesnt offend me,” to which DeeMurray replies: “wouldn’t it be funny if he raped you again?”

One positive commenter by the name of creem argues that “people are forgetting that it is ok to do a rape joke[where the victim is not laughed at]” but this is entirely different from making a ‘joke’ at a woman’s expense in a club “[w]here males are a majority and they asked [Tosh] to talk about rape.” Comedian Bo Burnham (2009) actually has one such example of what might be more accurately termed a “rape culture” joke, in which he notes:

Even though [the owner of a company that makes rape whistles] started the company with good intentions, trying to reduce the rate of rape, now you don't want to reduce it at all, because if the rape rate declines, you'll see an equal decline in whistle sales. Without rapists, who's gonna buy your whistles?

Rather than laughing at a woman for getting raped—and then threatening another woman for objecting to the joke—Burnham's joke targets the absurdity of a culture in which women shoulder the burden of protecting themselves from rape while other people literally profit from this burden. This is merely one demonstration of rape culture.

Denial of Rape Culture

Comments on Glosswitch's (2013) article, which addresses rape culture explicitly, yielded a theme of outright denials of rape culture. These include comments from JuanSigma, an enthusiastic contributor to this particular article. "Rape is an abnormal crime. It is not part of a 'rape culture,'" he says. "If it was then men would habitually rape." Elsewhere, he says simply, "Rape culture does not exist. Our society does not foster rape... Rape culture is a made up idea that is used to try to beat all men with." This is a misreading of the issue, and is likely intentional, as it obscures the argument and effectively presents a "straw man." No one is arguing that, in this rape culture, most or all men are regularly committing rape; it is merely the case that, when men do commit rape, cultural norms allow for the simultaneous minimizing of these acts and the characterizing of rapists in general as unique, totally unreasonable monsters whose actions were in no way facilitated by social influences.

Ivan agrees with JuanSigma: "There are no rape culture . It's a myth." Commenter Jens also states, demonstrating both a complete misunderstanding and confirmation of the article's argument: "But if people react badly to some forms of rape then it is not the case that 'We are

fine with rape.’” A commenter by the name of Matt says: “The reality (and no, I can’t back this up with years-old surveys, just anecdotal evidence from everyone I know), is that rape is treated as a sad and tragic event by almost everyone.” This perspective relates to a view of rape that discounts sex without consent as not “real” rape and further contributes to a widespread disdain for the concept of consent itself.

Hostility toward Consent

Marcotte’s (2014) article addresses the topic of verbal consent specifically, and therefore garnered the most focused response on the subject. Though the comment appears on Burge’s (2013) article, a commenter by the name of Daniel summarizes the objections to the concept of consent by arguing that “speaking can spoil the moment.” The idea that making certain you are not raping your partner can “spoil the moment” is, in itself, an argument against interpreting a person’s body language as sufficient consent. On Marcotte’s (2014) article, though, a positive commenter named virginia_S offers the perfect rebuttal:

People freak out so much about the ‘yes means yes’ school of explicit consent. It’s really not that hard. I’ve had a guy pause, half-naked, during a makeout session to ask softly, ‘Are you sure?’ I smiled and said, ‘Yes’.... Nobody has to whip out a contract, nobody gets hurt, and it doesn’t interrupt ‘play time’ at all. What’s the problem?

Other negative comments dismiss the very concept of affirmative verbal consent as a plausible standard, and this perspective is often justified with concerns over how things will play out in court. Comments concerned with how the article’s recommendations will impact the legal process include those from John Paul Kane—“we need more proof for a criminal prosecution than ‘she said’”—and aussiegurl, who reproduces a common concern, which is that, if any sex without consent is rape, then it:

...is not likely to produce any physical evidence of rape that could be differentiated from consensual sex. And no proof likely means no conviction, unless we just take the accuser's word for it, and assume 'innocent until formally accused' instead of 'Innocent until proven guilty.'

Implicit in these comments is the idea that a victim's testimony should immediately be discounted. As well, these comments inadvertently reinforce the notion that the only types of rape worth our attention are those in which the survivor is physically beaten to the point that there is evidence of a violent struggle. Aside from the fact that roughly 12% to 13% of all reported rapes result in a conviction (Bancroft, 2012; Elliott, 2011)—a fact that once more suggests cultural and institutional support for rape and protection of rapists—the fact also remains that, of survivors who knew the identity of their attacker, “just 15 per cent went to the police, telling researchers it was ‘too embarrassing,’ ‘too trivial’ or a ‘private/family matter’” (Morris, 2013, para. 3). As well, it is worth noting that “the words of women alone” are often the only evidence of a rape or sexual assault having taken place, given that DNA evidence cannot prove or disprove that the sex was consensual—and it is precisely a tool of rape culture to claim that the testimony of such victims is somehow irrelevant or otherwise inherently damaging.

A commenter by the name of Chris simply provides a link to the song “Blurred Lines,” while Danny Mark is concerned that “a nebulous belief that a threat was made is a very, very poor standard,” again suggesting physical evidence of a struggle should be required for an act to be classified as rape and that a woman's knowledge that she did not consent is irrelevant.

tryanmax has different priorities: “I know it isn't ‘PC’ [politically correct] to raise the specter of false-accusations regarding rape, but a fair-minded person must realize that this must happen sometimes, and a smart person knows that anything made simpler becomes more

commonplace.” This commenter confuses a few points: firstly, they seem to think sex without consent simply is not rape; secondly, they think this type of rape is not already commonplace; and thirdly, they believe making these entirely valid accusations of rape easier to prosecute will not result in more convictions of rapists, but in more convictions of innocent people. For this commenter, the notion that rape occurs and should be prosecuted is secondary to these concerns. This is not to deny the occurrence of false accusations, but I will address this particular concern in detail within the theme of “Victim-Blaming” (see p. 82).

In short, a statistically unlikely occurrence is taking precedence over an act that occurs every 17 minutes in Canada (Makin, 2013) and every minute in the United States (Solnit, 2013). According to this view, rapists matter more than victims. Commenter cs30109 also offers an example of this problematic line of reasoning:

[T]here *should* at least be a requirement that the victim has verbally said “no.” Of course, if someone is physically UNABLE to say “no,” that should also count as rape. But if the victim just goes along with it and never says or does anything to indicate lack of consent, then I, as a hypothetical jury member, would not be able to convict someone. That would create reasonable doubt as to whether or not the perpetrator knew that the victim was non-consenting.

This commenter apparently overlooks Marcotte’s (2014) comments that verbal affirmative consent is required and instead assumes consent is a given, that people have, in the words of Harry Brod, “right of access to your body without expressly asking you for permission” (2010). This assumed entitlement to another person’s body is, in a term, rape culture. Furthermore, this argument has been utilized to excuse rape, such as in the trial of the Steubenville rape crew, in which the defense argued no rape had occurred because “[the victim]

didn't affirmatively say no" (Abad-Santos, 2013, para. 2). As well, this perspective plays in to the common, problematic narrative that suggests it is the "girls' job to keep the boys at bay" (Valenti, 2010, p. 107), meaning that if she is raped, it was due to her failure to assert herself, an argument made all the more absurd by the fact that girls and women are conditioned to be passive and agreeable (Espinosa, 2003; J, 2009), partially due to a fear of what men will do to them if they are assertive or "difficult" (Dworkin, 2006).

Victim-Blaming

Moving on to comments that include explicit or implied excuses for or threats of violent acts, including attempts to excuse, justify, minimize, or downplay rape (red), the first apparent theme is that of victim-blaming in its varied forms.

On Burge's (2013) article, for example, edtastic claims that women are partially to blame for their own rape due to "the role females have in selecting for violent traits in men," a common, flawed argument from evolutionary psychology that ignores the fact that the ideal of the buff, muscular, hypermasculine man is actually a male power fantasy that exists within a patriarchal culture. Women, by and large, do not control media representation of themselves, let alone of other men, and the view that women like "violent" men ignores this political reality while attempting to justify the violence men commit against women. This is a perspective to which Tracheal follows up by stating that man-on-man violence, too, is often a result of competition for "female sexual access," suggesting that even when men harm each other, women are to blame. edtastic also explains that women need to understand that "[b]eing cherished and protected does not mean nothing bad will ever happen to them," as if rape is akin to something like stubbing one's toe.

A commenter by the name of EastAsianNationalist echoes these sentiments by arguing, “This will basically never end, rape will always exist. At what point do we tell [women] that their female victimhood is not special or better than others?” Aside from entirely excusing and minimizing rape, this comment, by describing survivors as not being “special” or “better” than other victims of a crime, characterizes being raped as nothing but a ploy for attention or an attempt to have one’s tragedies considered “special.” This is victim-blaming, plain and simple. A commenter with the name “atlantic commenter” offers a similar perspective, arguing that “‘the lie of equality’ conditions women to expect equal treatment instead of preparing... for the reality that evil people in an evil world might not recognize their inherent girl power. Go to a pistol range. Get real girl power... or commiserate.” This comment in particular is striking in that, in my Literature Review, I noted that Zerlina Maxwell addresses this “rape prevention is buying a gun” argument by pointing out that this puts the blame squarely on women (Williams, 2013); here, this perspective is laid out clearly. What’s more frightening still is that this commenter sees “expect[ing] equal treatment”—that is, not being raped—to be absurd.

Several commenters on Bassist’s (2012) article similarly take direct issue with the author’s assertion that Daniel Tosh used the threat of rape to emphasize who was in control. none1234555667, for one, responds that, for the threatened woman, “[h]er heckling was a tool to assert her power” while Mr Bungle states that it is actually “PC [politically correct] feminist freaks [that] keep attacking people.” livpenguins replies: “Tosh insulted her to assert his ‘power’? Wonder why the heckler decided to ‘heckle’? I’m sure it wasn’t a power trip, right?” Other commenters even accuse the woman of “raping” Tosh and his audience: “Clearly, the solution [to his rape joke] is to metaphorically rape Tosh for responding to a heckler... So the rape victim’s answer to rape is to rape the guy joking on rape because somehow she owns the

joke.” In fact, Matrix argues, “[c]omedians hate hecklers as much as that woman probably hates gang rape.” “Bottom line,” viscorama concludes, “if you heckle a comic you’re basically ‘raping’ their livelihood... That being said, it would have been hilarious had the gang rape occurred.”

Many commenters also accuse the woman of inciting the rape threat by voicing her displeasure with the initial rape joke: “It’s her own fault for speaking out.” “Bottom line... she keeps her mouth shut and she’s not ‘humiliated.’” “[I]f you are going to stand up and heckle a comedian you lose the right to get offended when he says the most horrible thing he can possibly think of directly to you.” “she got what she deserved.” “you’re just asking for it when you heckle Tosh. Complaining about his comment is like taking a piss in an aisle at Target and then complaining about their poor customer service.” “The heckler got what she deserved.” Still, other commenters blame the woman simply for being present: “that woman went too far. I mean come on she knew what she was getting into when she bought the tickets. It’s not like he actually raped her.” One noteworthy comment includes the acknowledgement that the woman was indeed threatened, but that it was her fault regardless: “i agree that he victimized that woman but if she has a problem with his jokes she shouldnt have gone.”

Victim-blaming is also present in the comments on Flood’s (2011) article. A commenter by the name of William is indelicate in his examination of the issue, recounting a story of how his cousin was physically abused by her boyfriend, though she did not leave him—which is not uncommon for women in violent relationships, as attempting to leave an abusive partner often carries the legitimate fear of escalating violence. Nonetheless, William concludes, “I don’t care to deal with people like that because they don’t care to get the help they need.” Apparently, William is content to excuse violence against women, because women simply will not help

themselves. A commenter called Transhuman offers an even more unsettling perspective, claiming firstly that “feminism has raised women with no backbone and no self-determination [who] revel in their victim status.” As if victim-blaming was not enough, Transhuman continues: “If a woman raises a hand against me, I will respond in kind. After all, men and women are equal now, don’t start a fight you cannot finish.” It really speaks to the level of to which violence is acceptable when someone would come to an article specifically addressing men’s violence against women and then use feminism as an excuse to justify beating women. Relevantly, of the seven positive comments on this article, four are from the author himself, responding repeatedly to the negative reaction to the article. In one comment, he accurately points out that “rather than addressing the issue of the positive roles men can play in preventing men’s violence against women, many posters instead prefer to focus on women’s violence against men.”

Comments on Glosswitch’s (2013) article continue this theme, such as JuanSigma’s contributions: “I just hope that Judges take the woman's behaviour into consideration [when trying a rapist]. They have to take responsibility for their behaviour if they have been consistently overtly sexual towards a man prior/during a sexual episode.” JuanSigma illustrates precisely the problem with rape cases: the woman’s behaviour is also on trial. Such victim-blaming is endemic and by arguing that a woman, if she has been sexual towards a man, has no right to change her mind, JuanSigma is actively contributing to this rape-supportive belief. He also suggests that a false rape accusation is “equivalent” to an actual rape, explaining that “false rape accusations IS an act of brutal violence which can destroy lives... This is just another example of how crimes against men are less important.” Kira Milne agrees, saying that “being falsely accused of rape IS a brutal act of emotional and social violence against someone.” EvilPundit also misguidedly states there is a “real epidemic of false accusations” and that, in

comparison to actual rapes, “[t]here are an equally huge number of false accusations – but far less is being done to tackle that issue, because men are seen as second-class citizens,” and ignoring this fact makes it “increasingly difficult to feel sympathy for female victims of rape.” Ivan takes it a step further: “You’re right rape has no ‘semblance’ to a false rape accusation. False accusation is far worse.”

For one thing, false rape accusations are extremely rare. According to one Australian study of rape accusations made to police in Victoria between 2000 and 2003 (Heenan & Murray, 2006), only 2.1 percent of these accusations “were designated by police as false” (p. 1), which, it should be noted, means only that the police could not prove they had occurred. Even according to the FBI, there is a 2.7 million to 1 chance of being falsely accused of rape, meaning one is statistically more likely to be killed by an asteroid or be drafted by the NFL—or, most importantly, this means a man is 82,000 times more likely to be raped than to be falsely accused of rape (Clymer, 2014)—and all of this is in contrast to the one in five girls and women who experience rape or sexual assault in their lifetime. This fear mongering does nothing to help men, but erases the rapes of men and women alike.

For another thing, comparing incredibly rare occurrences of perjury to commonplace acts of physical violence just shows how fragile and hyper-defensive male privilege is in that these men then accuse feminism of being a “hate movement.” Seeking to provide rape victims with an unbiased platform is, in their view, somehow related or comparable to being falsely accused of rape—and these accusations are as bad as or worse than actually being raped. This is a fine example of how rapists and rape are defended and prioritized over and above the respect and well-being of potential victims.

On Marcotte's (2014) article, other commenters resort to more standard victim-blaming tactics, with Danny Mark arguing that the author is "effectively protecting victimhood here" and that she should instead "encourag[e] women to assert themselves, defend themselves... Why on earth is she making it easier for rape to happen?" Of course, this comment assumes sex without consent is not rape—but that the people defining it as such are, in effect, causing more rape. Furthermore, it somehow fails to interpret requiring women to verbally, affirmatively consent to sexual activity as a positive assertive act. This is a common trend: the idea of obtaining a positive "yes" is difficult to comprehend, but these men demand women say "no" instead—and if they do not say "no," it is their fault they were raped: "I don't think you should have to resist or fight back or anything, but I don't think saying 'no' is an unreasonable burden." Jed Rothwell also says that, rather than needing to obtain affirmative consent, "People have to say 'no' if they mean no." The next theme also demonstrates why affirmative consent is important: women who are threatened with rape often do not verbally refuse out of fear of being subjected to further rage and violence.

Rape Threats

In the comments section on Bassist's (2012) article, there are blatant rape threats. Sapien6000 argues that "hecklers SHOULD be gang raped" while MJacksonVonDoobz seems to enjoy reveling in such imagery: "All hecklers deserve to be raped by neo-Nazi meth heads wielding 12 inch spiked metal dildos infected with AIDS." These rape threats are not reserved for general categories of people like "hecklers," though; the author herself received the brunt of the violence: a commenter by the name of Karina asks for "[s]omebody [to] rape Elissa Bassist. Like right now. I'm not joking. She makes the rest of us women look like whiny bitches and I hope somebody shoves a cock in her mouth to shut her up," confirming Marcotte's (2012b)

observation that “one reliable way of earning positive attention from men is to bash other women, especially women who speak out against sexism” (para. 10). ChrisCesario also argues that “the author of this writing needs a good ol fashioned rapin.” Finally, capncrunk summarizes succinctly the function of rape—to keep women silent and afraid of participating in the public sphere (Filipovic, 2008)—by asking: “Who let you out of the kitchen to write this? I hope you get raped.”

Rape is Not Violent (and “Non-Violent” Rape Isn’t “Real” Rape)

The final theme is the argument that rape is either not a violent act, or that rapes that are not physically violent are not instances of “real” rape. Tracheal and edtastic are again prominent contributors to Burge’s article. Tracheal’s comments include referring to the concept of rape culture as a “lie” and rape as a “RELATIVELY minor NON-VIOLENT SEX crime in most cases” and arguing that, “most rape is merely non-violent sexual robbery.” Tracheal consistently frames the issue in comparison to violence against men, stating: “Rather than the wholesale murder which is often everywhere MAN-kind’s fate. Rape is recoverable” and even goes so far as to say, “rape isn’t real violence.” Not only that, but Tracheal perpetuates the scare tactic of the violent stranger rape and attempts to delegitimize any rapes that do not fit this model by arguing that “[m]ost feminist rapes aren’t even close to real rape either because feminists so often lie about what constitutes rape.” One of Tracheal’s more offensive rants goes as follows:

[Girls and women are raped and savaged in war] because front line soldiers who suffer terribly on the way to victory, know instinctively that their real enemies aren’t their brothers on the other side but instead are the Glory Glory Hallelujah gals who stoke the war with sex from behind the scenes. Russian soldiers in Berlin at the end of WWII were intent on raping the pride out of the genocidal German women who were indirectly

responsible for the wholesale slaughter of Russian men, women and children. We also have to accept that something in women, something primitive and primordial basically, turns these situations into vice or proxy violence, that such bestial vice/proxy violence exists within women - unless taught otherwise, most likely from a very early age.

On Glosswitch's (2013) article, commenters demonstrating this theme include EvilPundit, who puts it simply: "Rape isn't always an act of violence." He also argues that if you have sex with someone while they're unconscious, "the victim isn't affected by the crime." This is another particularly egregious example requiring further analysis, because, while it is easy to dismiss such perspectives as the result of an anonymous, exaggerated online persona, public intellectuals have made precisely this argument. In the wake of the Steubenville rape trial, Steven Landsburg (2013), professor of economics at the University of Rochester posed "three dilemmas about public policy" (para. 2). The third of these "dilemmas" was whether or not "the law [should] discourage such acts of rape" (para. 5) when the victim is unconscious and if the rape "causes no direct physical harm—no injury, no pregnancy, no disease transmission" (para. 5). Not content with this heinous hypothetical (and impossible, practically-speaking) scenario, Landsburg specifically notes that "[t]he Steubenville rape victim, according to all the accounts I've read, was not even aware that she'd been sexually assaulted until she learned about it from the Internet some days later" (para. 5). He concludes, "As long as I'm safely unconscious [sic] and therefore shielded from the costs of an assault, why shouldn't the rest of the world (or more specifically my attackers) be allowed to reap the benefits?" (para. 11) and even asks if such rape should be illegal at all. The very phrasing of the act of rape—"reaping the benefits" of someone's body—shows absolutely no concern for bodily autonomy or for women in particular as human beings. Women are, in this view, objects to be used at leisure and with no thought for

the potential psychological and emotional damage being inflicted. Here, we have an educator effectively endorsing the same view as ‘EvilPundit.’

Commenter Tom Prescott also explains, incorrectly, that “rape is defined as forced sex... It is an inherently sexual act... If indeed I am wrong, and feminism has succeeded in defining rape as anything other than forced sex, then this newspeak is worse than I thought.” This is a widespread myth, that force need be applied in order for rape to be legitimate, when the reality is merely that a lack of affirmative consent is all that is required. Domush similarly seeks to discredit the idea that rape is an inherently violent crime, saying that this would mean “all sex is violent, which is patently false... Perhaps people would take rape more seriously if people like you weren’t so dishonest in its portrayal.”

Positive commenters on the article tend to find themselves arguing something that clearly needs to be made obvious to many men: sex and rape are not the same thing. Sammykaine offers an example to illustrate this point, saying, “Rape and sex are not the same action, in the same way having a straight-razor held to your throat by a barber, and having a straight-razor held to your throat by a mugger are not the same thing.”

In addition to these denials of rape as an inherently violent act, other commenters, such as Daniel, found it necessary to distinguish between “real” rape and what he describes as “untraumatic unconsensual or ‘too drunk to consent’ sex,” a distinction rtj1211 also felt was important:

Now if a woman is captured, held down, beaten, hurt and brutally humiliated by one or more men, particularly if she is under 18, then that is undeniably 100 times worse than a woman and a man hooking up in a disco, popping the odd pill, getting rather drunk, going back to hers, getting to the stage of penetration and then the woman changing her mind...

I think women need to get real about sex and get real about the nature of sexual arousal. You aren't a calm, analytical, restrained creature when you get a hard-on you know... I think society needs to reflect on whether they want sex between young people to be wild, exciting and transformational, which has the lower levels of rape as an unacceptable side effect, or whether they want sex to be regimented, ordered and formulaic, to remove all risk of rape. It's like the question of climbing mountains, really: if you remove the risk, you remove the excitement. Some mountaineers die, many others find life's fulfillment doing it.

This perspective is especially disconcerting because this commenter also claims that removing the risk of rape is the same as removing the excitement from sex—and even excuses the possibility, in his flawed analogy which compares men to mountains, that “[s]ome mountaineers [may] die.” As well, these comments promote a misconception that some rapes are not “real” rapes, or that some rapes inherently involve “more rape” than others. Rape is, quite simply, rape—if further physical violence is used in addition to that violent act, it does not lessen the initial violent act in any way, whatsoever. In fact, this confused perspective only serves to perpetuate myths, such as the notion that “if a woman does not fight back, then she cannot have experienced rape” (Harvey, Wyatt, & Butterly, 2013, para. 2). Yvonne Treynor from Rape Crisis explains that “[t]he general public are believing certain myths... There is no such thing as a varying degree of rape,” she says. “It’s going to affect women in exactly the same way” (para. 17). Arguments to the contrary only serve to excuse or minimize particular forms of rape, and, given the context in which many of the above commenters voiced such an opinion, it is likely these men, having been widely implicated in rape culture, are now trying to “get away with” or “define away” as much rape as possible by dismissing definitions with which they disagree.

On Freedman's (2013) article, a commenter by the name of Ordinary offers a full-page rant justifying rape, which I have shortened for brevity:

What is truly horrifying is that people who lack possess critical thinking (and therefore cannot be considered as proper human beings) have swallowed this idea [that rape is bad] so much to the point where they cannot even recognize the other side of rape that exists. Rape gives a great amount of sexual pleasure and fulfillment. The raping party gets such positive after effects. Also, it is an active demonstration of sexual liberation, one of the most precious human rights that liberals, unlike conservatives, have consistently rooted for... Charity is what raped women can practice. By getting raped, she can give him a great pleasure and share a memorable experience, all free of charge. She can feel grateful that she can help another person to release great sexual tension... The woman then can act mature, stop being selfish and open "herself", both physically and mentally, to the person who wants to "enter" her... I know that some people would object my thesis by stating the "traumas" or "psychological pains". However, the source of such feelings are nothing but social construction.

This particularly heinous manifesto touches on several rape myths: that victims somehow enjoy rape, that any negative after effects are the result of society's judgments (not the act of rape itself), that treating survivors as victims is the "real" problem, that rape has positive benefits, that survivors should be grateful, and that women who do not want to be raped are "selfish." This is male entitlement at its most brutal and convoluted.

Comments on Marcotte's article include those from RafaelHurts, who suggests sex without consent is not rape: "In other words, the law against forcing a woman to have sex should be applied to men who don't use force. (Or is there something magic about the word 'rape' – that

the law should severely punish any behavior to which we choose to apply the word?).”

TheyCallMeBruce also criticizes the notion that sex without consent is rape and that, therefore, rape is violent: “What’s truly confusing here is that feminists have been telling us for decades that rape is a crime of violence. How can something be a crime of violence when it doesn’t involve the slightest bit of force or even an implied threat of force?”

Finally, many commenters believe a lack of consent is in itself consent—and, therefore, sex without consent cannot really be rape: “If she’s conscious and goes along with it without force or coercion and doesn’t say no, how is that not consent?” jebtheman suggests that “being ‘pressured’ into having sex is not rape. You are responsible for your own behavior, even if you are a woman,” and elsewhere states that “the standard for what is real ‘rape’ should be objective, not simply what the woman’s emotions were at the time and after.” blue-dawg asks, “If there is no force, no threat of force, no resistance and no rejection of the advance, how can we call it rape?” Sphere is also unconvinced that sex without consent is rape, or that this type of rape is violent: “If you can’t even be bothered to say ‘no’ especially in a situations that are open to differing interpretations, the implication is that the harm is not that great.” bcs89 also voices his assumed entitlement to women’s bodies: “honestly, if she doesn’t at least say the word ‘no’, that sounds like consent.” Others take a more convoluted line of reasoning, with Gordo suggesting that, if a man does not realize he is raping someone, he really is not: “If you honestly believe she is consenting then it isn’t [rape].” In all of these comments, the idea that what a woman wants should be actively found out or even considered is dismissed, or is entirely secondary to what the man potentially raping her desires. As well, these comments promote the popular misconception that rape should require force or the threat of force (Atherton-Zeman, 2006). This is a common

tactic used to “[dismiss] an incident of sexual assault from the category of ‘real’ rape” (Burt, 1991, p. 27).

Further commenters demonstrate precisely why putting the onus on the victim to say “no,” rather than asking their partners to verbally ensure the sex is enthusiastic and consensual, is a poor approach by suggesting “no” really means “yes” anyway. JS jokes, “Is ‘No! It’s too big!’ really a no?” jebtheman also claims, “‘No’ often means: ‘Seduce me harder!’”

One positive commenter by the name of tinker raises an important point. While many of these same men will, when convenient, derail a discussion by emphasizing that “men get raped, too!” when it comes to gender-neutral rules for sexual activity, such as requiring affirmative verbal consent, all manner of caveats and rationalizations are offered. tinker rightly notes, “Men are raped, as well, often using the same type of intoxication/intimidation tactics [Amanda Marcotte] describes. Apparently none of the men commenting today have ever been in such a situation or perhaps they would not be so glib with their answers.”

Conclusion

The comments sections of these articles offer several examples of rape myths, which I discerned from my analysis. These include arguments from evolution and the idea that rape is the result of an overactive sex drive, which in turn leads to the idea that men cannot be expected to resist temptation at all times. Others promote the myth of the violent stranger rape and minimize the occurrence, nature, and effect of rape by arguing sex without consent is not “real” rape, that consent is not required, and that rape is a generally non-violent occurrence. Victim-blaming is also common, with many commenters suggesting women have an equal responsibility in preventing their rape: they should quit drinking so much and firmly say ‘no’ if they are uninterested in sex. Further comments interpret the discussion of rape (and its gendered aspect)

as an attack on men in general; many of these comments assert that being accused of rape (falsely or otherwise) is just as bad as being raped. As well, the myth that women are precisely as violent as men is popular. Many commenters argue outright against feminism and characterize it as a “hate movement” and there is a persistent interpretation of feminism as in some way “oppressing” men and a clear theme of fearful and hateful responses to the critique of male violence and entitlement. Finally, the concepts of “rape culture” and “affirmative verbal consent” were widely dismissed or actively challenged.

Having analyzed these online comments posted by readers of these six articles, I turned to the venue of Ontario curriculum, not only to analyze it on the basis of how and if it teaches boys and young men about rape culture and issues such as consent, but also to identify some key implications for education.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Curriculum Documents and Implications for Education

One advocated way for bringing the issue of rape to light is to address the problem explicitly in class, using curriculum materials (Corinna, 2010; Stein, 1993). Sex education in high schools still fails to adequately deal with the issue (although many parents feel it is their job to address these issues themselves), instead focusing on general lessons such as the proper use of a condom, the importance of birth control, and the risks of STIs and pregnancy (Rhymes, 2013). The issues of “LGBTQA+ rights, feminism, abuse, disability, sexism, bullying, [and] rape” (para. 1) are not given the same level of attention and are largely overlooked. Another concern is that teachers and curriculum materials often prescribe different sets of what are portrayed as “natural” behaviours for boys and girls (Culp-Ressler, 2012; McKay, 1998; SIECUS, 2009), merely reinforcing the notion of rigid gender roles, which, as noted, contribute to rape culture. This is part of the reason why incorporating anti-rape education into existing sex education curricula would be beneficial: in many provinces, men who teach physical education also teach sex education, and as sex education in high school is usually taken in grade nine or in grade ten, teenage boys’ only high school sex education is often provided by men who are likely to hold the rigid views of gender roles that accompany a lifetime of homosocial socialization in what is termed “jock culture” (O’Sullivan, 1993; Pappas et al., 2001). In fact, a study of pre-service Physical Education university students found students in this field to have higher levels of anti-gay and anti-lesbian prejudice than non-Physical Education students (O’Brien et al., 2012), and “authoritarian aggression was positively associated with greater anti-gay and lesbian prejudice” (p. 1). Teachers in this field, therefore, are more likely to endorse views of masculinity that are rigid, aggressive, and otherwise non-feminine, views that correlate with support of rape myths and other rape-supportive behaviours (Katz, 1999; O’Sullivan, 1993; Tatum, 2008).

Furthermore, due to the perception of teaching as a feminine profession, especially the primary grades, male teachers in general “are aware of other people’s attention to their masculinity and their professional choices” (McNamara, Geary, & Jourdan, 2010, p. 232) and therefore “tend to emphasize features of teaching that are conversant with conventional masculinity in order to resolve the contradictions of gender and occupational role” (p. 232). Such men, as a result, are often reluctant “to be associated with the teaching of sexuality education” (p. 232). Despite this, sexuality education in Ontario falls under the purview of physical education teachers, suggesting that the men least comfortable with the subject—as it complicates their presentation of masculinity—are usually those burdened with educating boys about it. There are, of course, exceptions to this in which a man-and-woman duo may teach the sex education portion of the Health and Physical Education curriculum, but in Ontario, this is not the norm.

One further concern here is that, by exposing high school boys to sex education through the same man who certainly encouraged competition and are likely to have encouraged aggression in physical education, boys may well begin to relate aggressiveness and competition with male sexuality itself. After all, the subject of physical education demands precisely the homosocial “boys only” scenario in which rigid gender roles, misogyny, and, consequently, rape-supportive attitudes flourish (Katz, 1999; O’Sullivan, 1993; Pappas et al., 2001). Also, given that such terms as “don’t cry,” “like sports,” “violence,” and “tough” are used to describe boys’ characteristics, while girls are described as “being nice,” “helpful,” “wearing makeup,” “liking guys,” and “crying” (Espinosa, 2003), physical education for boys would imply there is no room to consider empathy, emotion, or otherwise “feminine” behaviours. This further justifies the homosocial situation by inherently classifying girls as weaker. Again, this is an element of

heteronormativity in that the segregation of sexes is done largely with the aim to avoid sexual situations.

Competition and aggression are also often encouraged as fundamentals of many games and sports learned in physical education, including basketball, football, soccer, and field hockey. These team-based sports are, as mentioned, breeding grounds for rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours (Pappas et al., 2001), and here boys are being rewarded for playing these sports well by the very same man teaching them sex education. It is not unreasonable, then, for boys to conflate these demonstrations of masculinity. Relevant, too, is the absence of the concept of consent not only in health education documents (Oved & Kane, 2013), but also in the practices and emphases of physical education, where competition and aggressiveness are encouraged in men and boys seemingly fundamentally. Finally, and especially in the absence of explicit education about rape and obtaining affirmative verbal consent, the problem is compounded by the fact that many boys are taught by their “home environment and peers that violence is an accepted means of communication” (Tilling, 2007, p. 223). This is precisely the conception of masculine sexuality that contributes to and perpetuates rape-supportive behaviours and rape culture in general.

On the other hand, while it would be beneficial to provide anti-rape education, challenging rape myths and woman-hating, it might also be immensely helpful if these lessons came from men who otherwise conform to stereotypical conceptions of masculinity so as to show being “manly” does not require one to shut down all capacity to be tender or empathetic. After all, it has been shown that “physical educators have the capability to nurture positive lifestyle habits among their students by setting an example in the way they interact with their students” (Gold et al., 2012, p. 2). If the example physical educators set involves promoting less

stereotypical versions of masculinity, then it is more likely the students themselves would embrace this habit. As things stand, though, male physical education teachers—and, given the emphases of the subject, perhaps logically—tend to get along better with more “highly skilled” students (Drummond, 2003). As a result, it is suggested the teachers “must also attempt to develop a sense of empathy” (p. 5) with boys who do not fit the aggressive, competitive model promoted in physical education. Given, too, that “it is unlikely that students can be motivated to value fitness, an active lifestyle, and skillful performance when the message is delivered by a physical education teacher who is neither fit, active, or highly skilled” (Gold et al., 2012, p. 2), it is similarly likely that boys will not readily embrace visions of less-aggressive masculinity or place value on women and girls or on the concept of consent if their instructors, specifically physical education instructors, not only fail to demonstrate these values, but actively perform masculinity in a way that degrades or dismisses them. Half of the struggle is to demonstrate to boys that there are other ways of being masculine that do not require one to be emotionless and violent (Katz, 2006; Page McBee, 2012); the other half is to argue why this is beneficial to boys and to demonstrate that these conceptions of violent masculinity and aggressive sexuality that may otherwise be espoused are harmful to women. Many boys are understandably anxious about presenting and performing masculinity in ways that conform to the normative narrative (Davison, 2000; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). Because this presentation is a social construction, it is specific and restrictive, meaning many boys cannot or will not perform masculinity in this fashion, nor should they feel the need to. Unfortunately, many of the major “lessons of masculinity in schools take place in the physical education class” (Davison, 2000, p. 2) where the “masculine ideal” is particularly defined as a “jock.” What’s more, many students are intimidated not only by their fellow classmates, but the “‘traditional’ conceptions of

masculinity” (p. 2) reinforced in physical education actually create a “fear” (p. 2) of the instructor as well. Therefore, if teachers can explicitly educate boys on this issue, addressing the damaging assumptions promoted by these rigid gender roles and personally working to be more inclusive of various masculinities, hopefully this will help boys to realize that “their” masculinity and identity is no less valid than any other manifestation. As well, educators could openly “problematize contradictions, privileges, and oppressive masculine ideals” (Davison, 2000, p. 5) in the class. From here, boys may feel less pressure to perform masculinity in the traditional ways and less of a need to ‘prove’ their manliness by, for example, using women as objects to demonstrate their heterosexuality or bullying less stereotypically masculine boys. In order for this to be effective, though, in addition to improving existing curriculum documents and enlightening students on these issues, teachers of the topics of health and sexuality also need “professional development and support that is tailored specifically for male teachers” (McNamara et al., 2010, p. 230) and pre-service education for male teachers “needs to prioritize key issues such as gender roles and identity” (p. 230).

Because in the Ontario Health and Physical Education curriculum documents (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), “the words ‘consent’ and ‘sexual assault’ are nowhere to be found” (Oved & Kane, 2013, p. 2), I have analyzed the documents for grades 9 and 10. Health and Physical Education is usually taken in grade 9 or 10, and may well be the only relevant sex education many students encounter. Furthermore, the average girl and boy in Canada have begun to have sex by the age of 16.5 years (Rotermann, 2005).

I examined the documents for current learning objectives that could potentially be employed to foster anti-rape education in the classroom or address the more general topics of rape, rape culture, consent, and gender roles. From here, using the information gathered from the

Literature Review and my analysis of online comments, I sought to provide suggestions for addressing and deconstructing specific rape myths and rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours in the curriculum. Again, many of these recommendations should extend to education for girls as well as boys, because while the responsibility for ending rape falls solely to boys and men, rape myths are still taught to and perpetuated by girls and women, too, and it is equally as important for them to be aware that they are never to blame for what boys and men do to them.

The learning expectations in Health and Physical Education documents (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999) are broken down into four strands: physical activity, active living, healthy living, and living skills (p. 6). My analysis focuses on the healthy living strand—which addresses “the knowledge and skills that students need to make informed decisions related to healthy growth and sexuality” (p. 6)—and living skills—such as “effective decision-making, conflict resolution, communication, and interpersonal skills” (p. 6).

Beginning with healthy living, relevant overall expectations include identifying factors contributing to positive relationships with others; explaining the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community; and identifying strategies to minimize potentially dangerous situations (p. 10). Worth noting, firstly, is that the wording here—“the consequences of sexual decisions”—is problematic. If it only addresses, as the specific expectations suggest, the possibility of sexually transmitted infections or pregnancies, it does a disservice to the students by failing to note the importance of consent and the possibility of rape. Though the statement itself does not inherently exclude the importance of consent, the importance of consent is not addressed otherwise and cannot be assumed to be included.

While the specific expectations address methods of preventing pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, there is, as mentioned, no explicit reference to consent. However,

“describing the factors leading to responsible sexual relationships” and “demonstrating understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality,” such as avoiding pregnancies, are mentioned. As well, other expectations include “describing specific types of physical and non-physical abuse” and “identifying the causes of abuse and violence” (p. 10). Unfortunately, these expectations do not identify just what these “causes” of abuse might be, and describing varieties of abuse does not equate to deconstructing their deeper origins or the influence of the culture at large. A positive element is the inclusion of “factors leading to responsible sexual relationships” and an emphasis on “assertiveness skills,” but the application of these skills is again murky at best. One potential suggestion for improvement might be the inclusion of an explicit statement regarding the importance of affirmative verbal consent, such as “practicing responsible and considerate sexual behaviour (e.g., ensuring affirmative, verbal, and enthusiastic consent is obtained before any sexual activity).” Furthermore, it is important to note that any sex without such consent is potentially another form of abuse and violence, and it would be pertinent to address, perhaps through media analysis (Bragg, 2006), the influence of culture and entertainment media in “abuse and violence.”

Moving on to living skills, relevant overall expectations include, “explaining the effectiveness of various conflict resolution processes in daily situations” and “using appropriate social skills when working collaboratively with others” (p. 11). Within these categories, relevant specific expectations include “using assertiveness techniques to avoid escalating conflict,” “demonstrating active listening skills,” and “contributing to the success of the group verbally and non-verbally” (p. 11).

The emphasis on communication and interpersonal skills seem to be limited to group efforts and are never clearly connected to sexual interactions. Combined with the previously mentioned lack of reference to consent in any degree or fashion, this creates a powder keg because communication is vital for a healthy sexual relationship, especially given that there is still a prevalent myth that a lack of a firm “no” *is* consent and that one is automatically entitled to another’s body. Furthermore, the emphasis on assertiveness in these expectations, while a helpful life skill in general, can be misconstrued as a fault in one’s partner if said partner does not assertively say “no” to or physically refuse one’s sexual advances. This is, after all, a common argument, such as in the Steubenville trial, during which the defense claimed no rape had taken place, because “[the victim] didn’t affirmatively say no” (Abad-Santos, 2013, para. 2). This assumed entitlement to another person’s body is merely a manifestation of rape culture. As well, an emphasis on assertiveness in a context in which consent is never even mentioned can serve to facilitate rape myths that suggest it is the “girls’ job to keep the boys at bay” (Valenti, 2010, p. 107). What’s more, manifestations of “assertiveness” in girls and boys are influenced by gendered double-standards. In practice and particularly in the classroom, girls and women are conditioned to be passive and non-assertive (Espinosa, 2003; J, 2009), and when girls *are* assertive and speak up for themselves, their actions are “evaluated differently” (p. 14) than boys’ (Abrahams & Sommerkorn, 1995). Boys who speak out of turn in class, for example, are given “immediate attention” (p. 14), while girls demonstrating the same behaviour are “reprimanded to restrain themselves and to raise their hands for attention” (p. 14). Thankfully, an emphasis on “active listening skills” is also included in the learning expectations, but this is far from adequate.

Overall, for a unit intended to foster “healthy growth and sexuality” and “communication,” the absolute most important facet of healthy sexual interaction—consent—is never explicitly mentioned, nor is the fact that men and boys have been taught to use coercive sexual practices as a normal and acceptable aspect of sexual interaction. It is necessary to acknowledge, too, the prevalence of rape and sexual assault, particularly as crimes committed against girls and women and the impact they have on girls’ and women’s daily lives. Teachers should also highlight the ending of rape as a boys’ and men’s issue. It is similarly important to clearly deconstruct common rape myths, such as the notion that *anything* other than affirmative verbal consent can be taken to stand in for consent. For example, what a girl is wearing, how many boys she has slept with, or how friendly or flirtatious she has been in no way suggests consent has been given. The absence of a “no” is not a “yes,” and, despite what many boys believe, a firm “no” is not just a “yes” that needs convincing: if a girl is reluctant or uncomfortable with their advances, boys need to know that attempting to guilt or pressure her into sex is coercive and unacceptable. Relatedly, boys need to be encouraged to not tolerate sexist harassment, rape jokes, or language used to disrespect or demean girls and women in general. Ultimately, they need to be taught to value women’s voices and views.

Finally, boys need to be taught that there are other ways of “being a man” and that stereotypically feminine behaviours and emotions, such as empathy, are not negative attributes. It needs to be made clear how this normalized conception of aggressive masculinity contributes to a culture that excuses rape and accepts coercive sexuality. Rape is normalized as a routine and inevitable occurrence. Women are blamed for their own rape in a variety of ways, ranging from woman-hating to claiming women are less sexual by nature and are, therefore, responsible for men’s raging sexuality to arguing the responsibility for preventing rape falls to women. Men, in

contrast, are socialized to be aggressive and emotionless in general, and as a result, men's sexuality is often normalized as aggressive. Therefore, many common sexual practices are inherently rape-supportive or coercive. It is not only girls and women who would benefit from boys' education on this topic, after all. Boys and men are shortchanged, too, by this narrative of rape as an inevitability, suggesting that we cannot control ourselves, are destined to behave like "problem dogs"—unable to address or alter these so-called "natural" inclinations to violence—and we, therefore, do not have the ability or the responsibility to improve our behaviour. Just like girls and women, boys and men are fully-formed and autonomous people, and we should have enough respect for ourselves and each other to behave as such, and to raise our expectations of our behaviour. Education on rape culture is one way to begin this journey. Furthermore, boys and men are also victimized by rape culture. This sexually-aggressive construction of masculinity does not allow for boys and men to simply not be interested in sex, because that would suggest a deficiency in our manhood. Addressing rape culture can also empower us to genuinely engage with our desires and to not be pressured into behaviours that damage not only others, but ourselves.

Conclusion

By examining comments on online articles relating to rape and rape culture and Ontario's most recent grade 9 and 10 Health and Physical Education curriculum documents (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999), I have aimed to identify specific, commonly-held rape-supportive beliefs and behaviours, ranging from how people react to the subject of rape, to how it is framed in the media, and to how it is addressed—or ignored—in the classroom. I have, therefore, made specific recommendations for anti-rape education in the current sex education curriculum in order to address particularly troubling or widespread points of view identified in

my Literature Review and analysis of online comments. Hopefully, this will in some way contribute to doing away with the notion, once and for all, that rape should be routine, expected, or inevitable. As a man, I believe that challenging rape culture and ending rape are largely men's responsibilities. Education on this topic, then, should be beneficial to girls and boys, but the problem is men's to solve.

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**Appendix 1: “The Importance of Men Seeing Women as Human Beings” (2013) –
Kimberly Burge**

Before she was killed by Oscar Pistorius on Valentine's Day morning, Reeva Steenkamp planned to wear black the next day. The model wrote about it on Twitter and Instagram, but this was no mere fashion choice. Steenkamp intended to join a "Black Friday" protest to put the spotlight on violence against women, especially in light of the Feb. 2 rape and murder of 17-year-old Anene Booysen in Bredasdorp, a small town in South Africa's Western Cape province.

Booyesen's death has not received the level of worldwide attention as that of 23-year-old Jyoti Singh Pandey, the New Delhi woman raped and murdered in December. But their stories share chilling similarities in the details. Both women were gang raped. Both women were slit down the middle of their abdomens. Their attackers reached inside and ripped out their intestines.

Booyesen's aunt described her injuries to the Cape Argus: "Her throat had been slit, all her fingers and both legs were broken, a broken glass bottle had been lodged in her, her stomach had been cut open... That which was supposed to be inside her body lay strewn across the scene where they found her."

Both women later died as a result of their extensive injuries. Before they died, each gave a statement from her hospital bed to police that helped to apprehend the attackers.

These are anything but isolated incidents. South Africa has notoriously high levels of violence against women. In a survey in New Delhi conducted last October and November, before Pandey's rape and the public outcry that followed, 95 percent of women said they felt unsafe in public spaces. Nine out of 10 women reported they had experienced sexual violence in a public space in their lifetime, ranging from obscene comments to groping to stalking to rape.

Hundreds of thousands of Indians turned out for candlelight vigils after Pandey's death. Some protests turned violent. In South Africa, remembrances of Booysen have been fewer and more muted. But the country's president is finally taking notice of the issue publicly. In his state of the nation address on Feb. 14, Jacob Zuma, himself previously charged with rape and later acquitted, mentioned Booysen and, for the first time in his presidency, talked about "the need for unity in action to eradicate this scourge."

Treating girls and women as less than human is not behavior contained to developing or middle-income countries like India and South Africa. Next month in Steubenville, Ohio, high school football stars Trent Mays and Malik Richmond go on trial for the rape of a 16-year-old girl last August. She was also raped repeatedly and carried unconscious from party to party, her body hauled by her limbs. Photos were tweeted and put on Instagram. In a 12-minute video made that night, another party-goer, Michael Nodianos, turned the assault into a stand-up routine, laughing at his own jokes about the "dead girl." A sampling: "She's deader than O.J.'s wife." "She is so raped right now." Ohio Attorney General Mike DeWine said last week that he didn't have enough evidence to charge Nodianos with a crime.

In one moment from the video, behind the maniacal laughter, another boy can be heard off-screen: "That's, like, rape. It is rape. They raped her." You can hear the realization dawning in his voice. A few minutes later, the same voice asks, "But what if that was your daughter?"

That comprehension—drawing a line between the woman or girl who is lying there "so raped" and the women and girls in the lives of men who would rape and men who would stand idly by—could be the tipping point in stopping this violence.

"Men are part of the solution," says Stella Mukasa of the International Center for Research on Women. "There are programs that work to engage men and boys. We need to amplify those efforts."

Before Booyesen's death, I wrote about one of those programs by men in South Africa that works to change behaviors and attitudes in young men toward women. The Steubenville "rape crew" needs a similar program. Nodianos' giggled response to the question posed? "If that was my daughter, I wouldn't care. I'd just let her be dead." A stupid joke that makes an important point: Men first must place value on the women and girls in their own lives.

After a weeklong hearing, a South African magistrate granted Oscar Pistorius bail today. In this case, it's too early to know if Reeva Steenkamp was one more victim of intimate partner violence, or victim of a trigger-quick man afraid of burglars. On the day she was killed One Billion Rising organized what it called the biggest global action ever to end violence against women and girls. Events in 207 countries aimed to draw in one billion women and men worldwide to dance and raise their voices on behalf of one billion women on the planet who are raped or beaten in their lifetime. People rallied and danced for Jyoti Singh Pandey in New Delhi and for Anene Booyesen in Cape Town. In Steubenville, a flash mob descended on the courthouse steps, for the unnamed high-school girl.

If worldwide awareness and outrage lead to sustained action—changed behaviors by men and boys, arrests and prosecution for rape and gender-based violence—then maybe everyone finally gets the message. Women and girls are not bodies to be mauled and dragged around.

**Appendix 2: “Why Daniel Tosh’s ‘Rape Joke’ at the Laugh Factory Wasn’t Funny” (2012)
– Elissa Bassist**

I edit a humor column called Funny Women on TheRumpus.net, and during my first and last radio interview about “funny women,” the host asked me if I thought rape jokes were funny. She said, “Rape jokes are never funny.” I said I thought anything could be funny. I went a step beyond and said jokes about tragedy could take on a fierce power. They could be cathartic and empowering, they could help you reclaim control when you’ve lost something you’ll never get back or have been damaged beyond repair.

On Friday night, during his set at the Laugh Factory, the hugely popular Comedy Central host Daniel Tosh made a rape joke, stripping the experience of its weight, of its tragedy, of its crime: “Wouldn’t it be funny if that girl [referring to an audience member who “heckled” him about rape jokes not being funny earlier in his set] got raped by, like, five guys right now? Like right now?”

A friend of “that girl” wrote about the exchange on her Tumblr, and bless her for doing so. We must mark these verbal assaults to manage them. Tosh’s poorly capitalized retort, via Twitter: “the point i was making before i was heckled is there are awful things in the world but you can still make jokes about them.”

There are awful things in the world, and you can still make jokes about them. I have a rape joke myself. When I wrote about my sexual assault for a nonfiction workshop in my MFA program, I called the piece “rape-portage,” as in “reportage” as pronounced by arrogant MFAers as “re-por-taj” or “re-pər-’täzh,” if you want to get fancy. I’d laugh at my own joke, which I said aloud only to myself and a few close friends, feeling as if the worst thing that happened to me was something I could now own and talk about without feeling it was the worst thing that had

happened to me. I used humor to distance myself from pain, while never forgetting the pain or diminishing or devaluing it.

But would it be funny if this girl got gang raped right this moment, like right now right now? That's not a joke. It's an invitation. It's a celebration of a violent crime, which is itself another violation. It's not a way to cope. It's a "this is something we can do and then laugh about it, no big deal." When you reiterate these half-truths (there are girls in the world getting raped by like five guys right now), they authenticate themselves, as if by magic. To promote the insidious—"rape is hilarious"—is to join the crime at its own filthy level.

Tosh says he was joking. Comedians make rape jokes every day, so why is this one getting so much attention? Because Tosh was more than "just kidding." He was angry. His "joke" was reactive to the so-called heckler who called him out in front of an audience. He used humor to cut her down, to remind her of own vulnerability, to emphasize who was in control. The "joke" ignited a backlash because it was not a joke; it was vastly different from other jokes about rape. The debate over Tosh shouldn't be "are rape jokes funny?" That's misdirection: his statement was a wildly inappropriate putdown, reminder, and threat that this woman could be gang-raped, like right now. There's a distinction between making a joke to cope or to point out the absurdity of a situation and what Tosh did, consciously or not, which was to use humor to humiliate a woman who stood up for something she believed in. His "joke" was a tool to assert his power—the opposite of how my "rape-pær-'täzh" joke was a tool to reclaim mine.

Appendix 3: “Violence Against Women Is a Men’s Issue” (2011) – Michael Flood

Most men are not violent. Sure, most treat the women in their lives with respect and care, but very few actually do anything to challenge the violence perpetrated by a minority of men. In order for our culture to move toward non-violence and gender equality, men need to play a bigger part.

◆◆◆ Violence against women

In Australia for example, the Personal Safety Survey reveals that in the last 12 months, one in 20 women were the victims of physical or sexual violence. Women are most at risk in the home, and from men they know. Since the age of 15, 40 percent of all women have experienced violence. Close to one in three women (29 percent) have experienced physical assault, and close to one in five women (17 percent) have experienced sexual assault.

In the US, the National Violence Against Women Survey found that over one in five women have been physically assaulted by a current or former intimate partner in their lifetime. About one in 14 women (8 percent) have ever been raped by a current or former intimate partner. Close to one third (31 percent) of women in the US have been physically assaulted since age 18.

We know too that this violence has a profound and damaging impact on its victims and on the community as a whole. When women are physically assaulted, forced into sex, or constantly threatened and abused, this leaves deep physical and psychological scars.

An Australian study by VicHealth in 2004 found that, among women under 45, intimate partner violence contributes more to their poor health, disability, and death than any other risk factor, including obesity and smoking. Violence against women has long-term effects on men’s and women’s relationships, on their children, and on communities.

Violence against women is shaped by a wide variety of social factors at personal, situational, and social levels. But we know that this violence is more likely in situations where manhood is defined through dominance, toughness, or male honor. Most men don't ever use violence against their wives or girlfriends. But those men who do are more likely to have sexist, rigid, and hostile gender-role attitudes. There are higher rates of domestic violence in cultures where violence is seen as a normal way to settle conflicts, men feel entitled to power over women, family gender relations are male-dominated, husband-wife relations are seen as private, and women are socially isolated. Sexual violence is shaped by norms of a sexual double standard, victim-blaming, and the myth of an uncontrollable male sexuality. Poverty, alcoholism and drug abuse, and mental illness all are further risk factors. Violence against women also is shaped by race, class, sexuality, and other social divisions.

Of course, males are also the victims of violence. Boys and men are most at risk of violence from other boys and men. Ending violence to girls and women and ending violence to boys and men are part of the same struggle — to create a world based on equality, justice and non-violence.

◆◆◆ Men's positive roles

Men have a crucial role to play in preventing the physical and sexual violence that so many women suffer, and men have much to gain from doing so. If we are to end this violence, men themselves will need to take part in this project. A minority of men use violence against women. And too many men condone this violence, ignoring, trivializing, or even laughing about it.

There are simple, positive steps any man can take to be part of the solution. Find out about the violence that many women experience. Don't condone the view that the victim is to

blame. Check out how we treat the women around us. Speak out when friends, relatives, or others use violence or abuse. Be a good role model, whether you're a dad, a boss, a teacher, or a coach. And, beyond these individual actions, take part in public actions and campaigns such as the White Ribbon Campaign.

To really stop violence against women, we will need to change the social norms and power inequalities that feed into violence. Men must join with women to encourage norms of consent, respect, and gender equality, to challenge the unfair power relations that promote violence, and to promote gender roles based on non-violence and gender justice.

◆◆◆ A men's issue

Violence against women is often seen as a women's issue. This makes sense, as its focus is the sexual and physical violence that women suffer. But I want to stress that violence against women is also a 'men's issue.'

Violence against women is a 'men's issue' because it is men's wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends whose lives are limited by violence and abuse. It's a men's issue because, as community leaders and decision-makers, men can play a key role in helping stop violence against women. It's a men's issue because men can speak out and step in when male friends and relatives insult or attack women. And it's a men's issue because a minority of men treat women and girls with contempt and violence, and it is up to the majority of men to help create a culture in which this is unacceptable.

While most men treat women with care and respect, violence against women is a men's problem. Some men's violence gives all men a bad name. Violence against women is men's problem because many men find themselves dealing with the impact of other men's violence on the women and children that we love. Men struggle to respond to the emotional and

psychological scars borne by our girlfriends, wives, female friends, and others, the damaging results of earlier experiences of abuse by other men.

I've come to realize that violence against women is a deeply personal issue for men, just as it is for women. I've been saddened to realize how many of the women I know have had to deal with childhood abuse, forced sex, or controlling boyfriends. I've felt shock and despair in hearing about the harassment, threats, and humiliations that women experience far too often. I've felt angry at the victim-blaming I've sometimes heard from male colleagues and acquaintances. And I've been humbled and shamed in realizing my own ignorance and in reflecting on times when I may have been coercive or abusive.

At the same time, I've also felt inspired by the strength and courage of women who've lived through violence. I've found hope and energy in participating in a growing network of women and men who've taken on the challenge of working to stop violence against women. In making personal changes and taking collective action, I've found joy and delight in the enriching of my friendships with women and men and my relationships with women.

It has been particularly inspiring to see large numbers of men (and women) take up the White Ribbon Campaign, a campaign inviting men to wear a white ribbon to show their commitment to ending violence against women. The White Ribbon Campaign focuses on the positive roles that men can play in helping to stop violence against women. It is built on a fundamental hope and optimism for both women's and men's lives, and a fundamental belief that both women and men have a stake in ending violence against women.

◆◆◆ A better world

In campaigning against sexual and physical assault, it is important to remind ourselves of what we are for. We desire sexual lives based on consent, safety, and mutual pleasure. We hope

for friendships and relationships that are respectful and empowering. And we dream of just and peaceful communities.

Men have a personal stake in ending violence against women. Men will benefit from a world free of violence against women, a world based on gender equality. In our relations with women, instead of experiencing distrust and disconnection, we will find closeness and connection. We will be able to take up a healthier, emotionally in-touch, and proud masculinity. Men's sexual lives will be more mutual and pleasurable, rather than obsessive and predatory. And boys and men will be free from the threat of other men's violence.

Appendix 4: “There Is No Great Stigma Attached to Being a Rapist” (2013) – Glosswitch

There is no great stigma attached to being a rapist. Of course, it’s not a word anyone wishes to see applied to themselves. We’d all hate to be called rapists, just as we’d hate anyone close to us to be accused of rape. But when it comes to committing rape - actually having sex with someone who is not consenting? It seems a lot of us are totally cool with that. Go ahead, rape away, just make sure no one calls it by that name.

A 2010 survey reported by Sky News revealed 46 per cent of men aged 18 to 25 do not consider it rape if a man continues to penetrate a woman after she has changed her mind. Last week a survey conducted by Rape Crisis and Reveal magazine showed a third of women do not believe a rape to have taken place if an alleged victim did not fight back. It’s only eight years since a poll by Amnesty International suggested 8 per cent people believe a woman to be totally - that’s totally - responsible for rape if she’s had many sexual partners. The truth is, an alarming number of people are very comfortable indeed with the idea of rape in certain circumstances. Like George Galloway, they merely see it as “bad sexual etiquette”. Rape doesn’t horrify them, not a bit; rape accusations do.

Take the case of the actor Michael Le Vell, who was this week found not guilty of 12 charges relating to rape, sexual assault and sex with a minor. During the trial, the press pored over details of Le Vell’s private life, caring not one bit for the reputation of a man who had not (and still hasn’t) been convicted of anything. And yet it’s only now, once the trial’s over, that we discover the true horror of it all: the fact that Le Vell was accused at all.

Soon after the verdict Phillip Schofield tweeted his outrage, proclaiming it “bloody ridiculous a mans [sic] life & reputation can be so comprehensively trashed in this way” (it’s probably churlish to mention Lord McAlpine at this point, but still). Calls were swiftly being

made for anonymity to be granted to those accused of rape, with Christine Hamilton helpfully suggesting “it’s outrageous that we should know who the accused is but not the accuser, whom the jury obviously think is a serial liar”. Similarly keen on making up allegations about other people’s allegedly made-up allegations, men’s rights campaigner Peter Lloyd wrote in the Mail that “even UK charity Rape Crisis admit that almost 1 in 10 rape allegations are false” (Rape Crisis have of course refuted this false allegation). Amazing though it is, one acquittal has made it open season on rape allegations. Just what is going on?

Having no interest in his private life and no reason to question his acquittal I have a great deal of sympathy for Michael Le Vell. I don’t, however, feel I am in a position to call his accuser a serial liar (maybe the wives of disgraced Tory MPs have special instincts for these things). I pity all victims of rape whose credibility is undermined by insinuations such as those made by Hamilton, just as I pity the small number of men who are falsely accused of rape. It’s a mess. Yet what strikes me as particularly bizarre is that in a society so tolerant of rape, in which significant numbers of people believe many forms of assault don’t even count, it’s being suggested that rape defendants need anonymity because so much shame and stigma is attached to being a rapist. This is nonsense. We’re far less likely to excuse shoplifting or benefit fraud than we are rape. We’re fine with rape. We just don’t like those who accuse and we don’t like those who are accused, either.

Rape culture is so endemic that an actual rape trial doesn’t just put the accused in the dock; broader cultural attitudes are on trial, too. Unless we’re talking about the Yorkshire Ripper or John Worboys - those extreme, nowt-to-do-with-us types - an accusation of rape doesn’t just point the finger at an individual. It challenges the widespread assumption that sex without the consent of another person isn’t really a crime. I can’t help feeling there’s a serious amount of

wilful distancing in our shunning of those on trial for rape. We might not have done the things they're accused of, but we're way too close to them for comfort.

Hence the stigma but hence, too, the relief and triumphalism following an acquittal. Phew! So it wasn't them - it wasn't us - after all! Even though a not guilty verdict does not itself demonstrate that a complainant was lying (sorry, Christine), in terms of the fury it releases it might as well do. A litany of entirely implausible reasons for making a false accusation - such as a need for attention and fame - pour forth, together with contradictory demands that the fame-hungry attention-seeker's anonymity be revoked. Yet there's little to be gained from "crying rape" (as it's so tastelessly called). Four fifths of assault victims responding to Mumsnet's We Believe You survey had not made a report to the police, with most feeling that the media, the legal system and society at large are unsympathetic to rape victims. Oddly, we seem to think that if those accused of rape are losing out, those doing the accusing must be winning. This is rubbish.

Attitudes to those accused of rape can be terrible but let's not pretend for one moment that this is because we're overly sympathetic towards those making complaints. We're not. Both complainants and defendants face speculation, suspicion and dismissal. Whenever there's reasonable doubt, rather than support those we believe, we denigrate those we don't. This isn't because we're disgusted by rape. On the contrary, we just don't like anything that reminds us how tolerant we are of something we ought to despise.

Appendix 5: “Feminism’s Amazing Achievement: Changing the Conversation—and Laws—About Rape” (2013) – Estelle B. Freedman

The revival of the feminist movement during the 1960s, and its growing influence over the following decades, moved the public conversation about rape from silence to exposure and political activism.” Second-wave feminists tried to put women’s experience of sexual violence at the center of a new political analysis of rape. Although they built upon many of the historical precedents set in the suffrage era, including the demand for women’s legal rights, the new generation of feminists in the later twentieth century launched a more radical critique that explicitly linked the problem of sexual violence to male privilege. As it evolved from the radical margins to the political mainstream, the movement proved far more effective than its predecessors in changing both laws and institutional practices. The rapidity of the shift, evidenced by an explosion in media coverage and legal reform, suggests that the spark of feminist politics ignited a backlog of fear and resentment among American women, many of whom had felt both physically at risk and politically disempowered by the threat of rape. Applying the radical feminist dictum “The personal is political,” writers and organizers reframed sexual violence not merely as a private trauma but also as a nexus of power relations and a public policy concern.

Both the black freedom movement and the sexual revolution fueled this new analysis of rape. In the postwar decades black women in the South had begun to press rape charges against white men and to politicize interracial rape as a civil rights issue. Young white women who cut their political teeth in southern voter registration and community organizing campaigns in the 1960s brought the concept of personal empowerment they learned there into the revived women’s movement. At the same time, the “sexual revolution” created both new opportunities and new dilemmas for white women. The decline of the purity ideal, the belief that sex was

acceptable as an individual pleasure apart from any reproductive goals, and the availability of contraception all encouraged nonmarital sex. In the past, preserving chastity and preventing out-of-wedlock births had given them leverage in negotiating whether to consent to sex. In the new sexual order, the standard for consent had to be renegotiated. Why would a woman say no if sex presumably resulted in no harm? And who would believe that a woman had withheld consent, given new expectations of participation in the sexual revolution? Interracial relations created further dilemmas, as white women in the civil rights movement learned. While some chose to break the taboo on interracial sexual relations, others hesitated to acknowledge that they had unwanted sex with black men, knowing the consequences these men faced in the racist South. Aside from the blurred lines of sex among acquaintances, anxiety about personal safety made American women ripe for feminist analysis of sexual violence. In 1971 Susan Griffin published an essay in the radical press explaining that the fear of rape was a “daily part of every woman’s consciousness.” She exploded each of the myths about rape in American culture, addressed the legal obstacles to prosecuting sexual violence, named white male privilege as the heart of the problem, and recognized the particular vulnerability of women of color and the costs of the myth of the black rapist. Several years later journalist Susan Brownmiller elaborated many of these points in “Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape.” This best-selling book explored the power dynamics of rape in history, law, and culture; set an agenda for legal change; and alerted the public to the nascent feminist anti-rape movement.

In the early 1970s this new political campaign coalesced rapidly. Along with reviving many past strategies, it broke through earlier silences and created innovative approaches that went beyond legal reforms. Reflecting the radical feminist emphasis on moving from personal experience to political action, the movement gestated in consciousness-raising groups in which

women shared their experiences and then culminated in political demonstrations. A public “speak out” during a conference on rape held in New York City in 1971 jump-started the process. Rape, the women attending agreed, was a crime of violence, rather than a sexual act, and both law enforcement and women’s groups needed to address the problem.

Grassroots women’s groups devoted to stopping rape sprang up across the country, from Washington, D.C., to Seattle. In many communities feminists created rape crisis hotlines that women could call to report assaults. On a far broader scale than their predecessors in the 1890s, they established rape crisis centers, which soon became a cornerstone of the movement. By 1976 over four hundred centers provided counseling, social services, and legal support for women who had experienced sexual violence. The anti-rape movement redefined women as “survivors” rather than “victims” and renamed behaviors once associated with the masher as “street harassment.” While they often targeted men as the source of the problem of sexual assault, they also called on male allies to organize to help change gender conventions that contributed to sexual violence.

Quite a few of the methods of the feminist anti-rape movement resembled earlier campaigns. Like newly enfranchised San Francisco women in 1911, Wisconsin feminists initiated the successful recall of a judge, Archie Simonson, in 1977. The judge had treated several young rapists leniently and blamed their crime on women’s clothing. After the petition campaign, voters elected a female judge to replace the deposed Simonson. Like suffragists who championed female police authority, feminists questioned police responses to rape and called for the presence of female officers when women reported assaults. Groups such as Women Against Rape encouraged self-defense classes that incorporated the confidence-building goals first articulated during the response to the masher, when women trained athletically to claim their space on city streets. New strategies proliferated as well. During Take Back the Night marches,

women walked en masse through dangerous urban districts to signal the strength of numbers and a refusal to limit their mobility. In response to both rapes and a series of murders of black women, more than five thousand joined the 1979 march in Boston. Earlier efforts relied on donations and volunteers, but in an era of government funding to address urban problems, local groups began to apply for federal and state grants to support their anti-rape programs.

Along with radical local activism, on the national level liberal feminists who favored equal rights legislation turned their attention to rape statutes. In 1973 the National Organization for Women (NOW), founded in 1966, created a Rape Task Force to propose revisions to state laws. Women's groups challenged requirements of corroborative testimony and the use of "utmost force" to prove resistance. They called for revisions to police procedures and to the ways hospitals responded to assault. The concomitant push for full jury service for women, as well as the growing number of women lawyers and judges, seemed to fulfill suffragists' hopes for more equitable treatment in the courts. As the momentum for legal reform spread, established institutions weighed in as well. In 1975 the American Bar Association (ABA) approved a resolution on rape laws that urged the revision of corroboration requirements and penalties, as well as the establishment of treatment centers "to aid both the victim and the offender." The ABA resolution further pointed to a trend toward gender-neutral rape law when it called for "a redefinition of rape and related crimes in terms of 'persons' instead of 'women.'" Gender-neutral statutes, once a radical proposition of supporters of the unpopular National Woman's Party, spread through the country after the 1980s.

Though white women dominated both radical and liberal feminist organizations, women of color increasingly mobilized against rape, independently and in coalition with other groups. Following the tradition of Ida B. Wells and the black women's club movement at the turn of the

twentieth century, influential African American writers such as Angela Davis and Alice Walker called attention to the intersections of gender, race, and sexual violence. Analyzing the trial of a southern black woman, Joann Little, for murdering the white jailer who raped her, Davis called on the antiviolence movement to be “explicitly antiracist.” In the 1970s the National Black Feminist Organization co-sponsored events with New York Women Against Rape to create a more diverse movement than first-wave feminists had known. Boston feminists created the cross-race Coalition for Women’s Safety, which recognized that “women of color are singled out as targets of violence both because of their race and their sex.” Groups around the country addressed this problem. In East Los Angeles, Chicana activists established a bilingual rape hotline in 1976 to serve Spanish-speaking victims, while the Compton YWCA developed a rape crisis program to serve the black community just south of Los Angeles. Both black and Latina feminists helped to expand the services of the Washington, D.C., Rape Crisis Center and to diversify its staff. In 1980, under the leadership of black activist Loretta Ross, the Center organized a National Conference on Third World Women and Violence.

Despite these alliances, feminists replayed many of the racial tensions that characterized earlier anti-rape movements, as the response to Brownmiller’s book illustrated. “Against Our Will” exposed the injustices of lynching and the rape of black women, but her chapter on race raised hackles. Brownmiller questioned the continuing preoccupation of the American Left with the defense of accused black men. She also emphasized the rhetoric of radicals such as Eldridge Cleaver, who seemed to embrace rather than reject the myth of the black rapist. Most disturbing, perhaps, was her suggestion that Emmett Till had been trying to exercise male privilege when he whistled at a white woman, the act that led to his brutal murder by southern whites. Feminist scholars such as Angela Davis and Bettina Aptheker questioned “the racist dimensions” of

Brownmiller's book and accused her of distorting the historical record. Women active in the civil rights movement condemned her for "fanning the fires of racism." The controversy highlighted a contradiction that Aptheker identified "between being able to resist the racist use of the rape charge against Black men, and at the same time counter the pervasive violence and rape that affects women of all races and classes."

This conflict recurred as the anti-rape movement pressed for legal reforms, such as rape shield laws that would make a woman's past sexual history inadmissible as evidence. Resting on the chastity requirement, such testimony potentially deprived sexually active women of legal protection. To remedy this limitation, Michigan enacted a rape shield law in 1974, a reform soon adopted by other states. Feminists and civil libertarians who were concerned about the rights of defendants, many of them aware of the legacy of Scottsboro, expressed concern that these laws would eliminate a useful tool for countering false charges. The controversy flared up within the ACLU, where members debated the relative importance of protecting the sexual privacy of women and protecting the civil liberties of defendants, who remained disproportionately black men. The compromise that emerged in the ACLU called for closed judicial hearings to determine the relevance of a complainant's past sexual history. The ACLU opposed the federal rape shield law introduced in 1976 by Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, which became part of the Privacy Protection for Rape Victims Act that Congress passed in 1978. That statute compromised by allowing evidence only about a complainant's sexual history with the defendant, excluding any other past relations.

Feminists and civil libertarians did agree on other reforms. Both groups questioned the usefulness of the death penalty for rape and believed that reducing prison sentences could encourage convictions. In an amicus brief filed on behalf of both NOW and the ACLU, feminist

attorney Ruth Bader Ginsburg's arguments against capital punishment included the grounds that by treating women as the property of men, the death penalty for rape was a remnant of patriarchy. In 1977 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the death penalty for rape. At other times feminists split between those who sought expanded state regulation and those who wanted to protect freedom of sexual expression. Such was the case in the controversy over pornography. Some radical feminists believed that pornographic depictions, particularly of violent sexual acts, incited rape. As Andrea Dworkin put it, "Pornography is the propaganda of sexual terrorism." When Dworkin and legal theorist Catharine MacKinnon introduced municipal statutes that would allow women to sue distributors of pornography for violating women's civil rights, many feminists joined with the ACLU to reject this strategy as a dangerous form of censorship.

In perhaps the most striking divergence from earlier activists, feminists now confronted the marital exemption. Anarchist free lovers had long questioned the sexual rights of husbands, but suffragists had avoided a direct confrontation with the institution of marriage. Since the 1920s marital advice literature frowned upon the exercise of a husband's right to sexual services, yet the 1962 Model Penal Code left intact the marital exemption and extended it to common-law couples. Given the radical feminist analysis of power relations within the family and the emergence of a movement against domestic violence, the time seemed ripe for reevaluating this remnant of coverture.

Elaborating on arguments initially made by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Emma Goldman, feminists called for sexual self-sovereignty within and outside of marriage. Influenced by writers such as Brownmiller, legal scholars gradually began to question the marital exemption, paving the way for legislative change. South Dakota first outlawed marital rape in 1975. The following year the ACLU approved a resolution calling for the redefinition of rape that addressed the

exemption. In 1984 the New York State appellate court rejected the distinction between marital and nonmarital rape and declared the exemption unconstitutional. In language that incorporated the new feminist definition of rape, the judge explained that a “married woman has the same right to control her own body as does an unmarried woman.” By the end of the century most states had modified their rape laws to include relations between spouses. The new laws often set a higher standard of force and lesser penalties for rape within marriage, but they signaled an important cultural as well as legal shift. Along with legal change, feminists tried to educate the public about the problem of marital rape, a major focus of the National Clearinghouse on Marital Rape, founded in 1978.

Turning attention from stranger rape in the public sphere to unwanted sex in the private family helped expose the sexual abuse of children. For decades the media had represented the violent psychopathic stranger as the major sexual risk to children, an image closely linked to that of the homosexual predator. In the 1970s, opponents of the fledging gay rights movement successfully rallied under the cry “Save the Children” to repeal several of the first municipal statutes guaranteeing the civil rights of gay men and lesbians. At the same time, however, disbelief of children’s accounts of unwanted sex within families sustained the historical silence about incest. Then a spate of feminist analysis and personal testimony began to challenge these patterns and uncover the extent of child sexual abuse.

The title of Florence Rush’s book, “The Best Kept Secret,” epitomized the new approach. The molestation of children was far more widespread than previously thought, Rush explained, but it remained unreported in part because assailants often silenced children by threatening further harm if they revealed the abuse. Moreover, she argued, incest was not simply a private family affair but arose from broader cultural patterns that eroticized children and reinforced

patriarchal authority. Unlike the child-blaming authorities of the past, feminist psychologists now questioned Freudian doctrine about childhood fantasies. Social scientists began to document the extent of the problem. One study suggested that as many as one-fourth of North American children had experienced some form of sexual abuse. Novelists such as Toni Morrison, Dorothy Allison, and Jane Smiley portrayed the dynamics and the personal costs of incest for women from a range of race and class backgrounds.

The vast majority of assaulted children were female, but by the end of the century more men were acknowledging their histories of having been sexually abused in families, schools, and religious institutions. The literature showed a pattern in which men who held positions of authority—including teachers, coaches, and clergy—took advantage of both girls and boys in their charge. Although women only rarely abused children, the recognition that some did so contributed to an analysis of power, and not only of gender, as the underlying context for child sexual assault. New understandings of male vulnerability encouraged a redefinition of rape through gender-neutral laws. The revelations of sexual assault against children, along with lawsuits that held individuals and institutions responsible, put pressure on schools and hospitals to identify signs of abuse and establish reporting guidelines. In the late twentieth century, speaking out and child assault prevention programs began to displace the silence of the past.

Like the attention to familial relations, the identification of “date rape,” or “acquaintance rape,” expanded the definition of assailants beyond the historical stereotypes of black, gay, or psychopathic men. In the nineteenth century, antiseduction and age-of-consent campaigns targeted white men who sexually coerced young female acquaintances. By persistently using the term rape to describe these behaviors, second-wave feminists took the redefinition process further. Like incest survivors, women who had unwanted sex with men they knew began to

disclose their experiences. Social scientists documented the scope of unreported, unwanted, and often forceful sexual relations among the young. In one study, over a third of the women surveyed reported rape or attempted rape by an acquaintance, compared to just over 10 percent who identified strangers as their assailants. Yet, as the title of another exposé indicated, they “never called it rape.” Neither did the men. In response to these studies and to complaints from students, their families, and lawmakers, schools and colleges began to articulate policies that would undermine tolerance for this conduct and undercut the “no means yes” construction of sex. At the same time, a men’s antiviolence movement committed to ending coercive behaviors spread from campuses to communities. Men had been active in supporting earlier anti-rape movements, but now they organized as men who refused to objectify women sexually and who sought to undermine gender norms that privileged male aggression.

By the 1990s the modern campaign against sexual violence had achieved an impressive agenda. Most states had revised their sexual assault statutes; nonconsensual sex within marriage and between acquaintances could now be defined as rape; educational and medical institutions began to take more responsibility for identifying assaults; and fiction, film, and personal memoirs addressed the power dynamics that feminists identified as central to both coercive and violent sexual encounters. Internal disagreements among feminists persisted, but their overall analysis moved beyond the earlier focus on protecting women’s purity, beyond demands for formal political rights such as suffrage and jury service, and toward the assertion of women’s right to sexual independence.

Appendix 6: “States Shouldn’t Require Force for Rape to Count” (2014) – Amanda Marcotte

The concept that "no means no" has become so firmly ingrained in the public discourse that it may surprise you to learn that in most states in the U.S., the legal definition of rape requires more than just ignoring someone's protests, but also the use of physical force or threats. As Deborah Tuerkheimer, a law professor at DePaul University, argues in the Guardian, that needs to change.

The time is right: The American Law Institute is revising the Model Penal Code for the first time in more than 50 years. If they rewrite the code to define rape as having sex with a nonconsenting person, that could then help various states to revise their own laws to make it easier to convict rapists who use methods other than overt threats of violence to commit their crimes.

Tuerkheimer notes that while legal wording that says "that a woman could not be raped if she did not resist her rapist" has been "softened or eliminated" in most states, the requirement that force or the threat of it be present to consider the act a rape continues to be a problem in prosecuting many sexual assaults. Most rapists are smart enough not to use physical force or even overt threats to get their way. They prefer, instead, to isolate the victim physically and allow the implication that things could get even worse for her if she fights back to subdue her. In most cases, rapists also zero in on women who have been drinking, because it makes them more vulnerable to intimidation techniques. In cases like Steubenville, Tuerkheimer explains, the victim was so drunk as to be unconscious, which means her inability to resist is taken into consideration. "Had she been less drunk, though, the prosecution would have had a far tougher time of it," Tuerkheimer argues. "The woman's non-consent, even if the jury believed her, would not have been enough to prove rape."

So what should the model legislation look like? For starters, the prosecution should not be required to prove that force or the overt threat of it was present, but instead simply be able to prove that the victim refused to have sex. Ideally, too, they would lay out "a workable definition of consent that aligns with contemporary sexual norms," Tuerkheimer writes. Women should not be assumed to be consenting to sex unless they say otherwise in blunt language, especially since research shows that most people tend to refuse to go along with activities, sexual or otherwise, with demurring language instead of blunt refusals. Instead, Tuerkheimer argues, the law should expect that people actually display "demonstrated intent to have sex." Laying there like a dead fish with tears in your eyes, hoping that he gets this over quickly so you can get away from him shouldn't be mistaken for consent. That doesn't mean that the law would require partners to draft a contract before having sex, but it would mean that a rapist would have a harder time pretending that he didn't understand what it meant when a woman repeatedly asked to go home and refused to kiss him back and wiggled away when he tried to take off her clothes, all because she broadcast her refusals politely instead of yelling "no" at him.

How much would making these changes improve conviction rates for rape? It's hard to say, since the lack of violence in most rapes means it's easy enough for rapists to lie about consent. However, these changes could send the right message to victims and help shut down much of the second-guessing that they often go through. Instead of putting the victim on trial to determine if she fought hard enough or was sober enough for her rape to count, we can ask what's wrong with a man that would want to have sex with someone who doesn't want to have sex with him. Shifting focus from the victim's choices to the rapist's choices is bound to improve the conviction rate to some degree.

Appendix 7: *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Health and Physical Education (1999)* - Ontario Ministry of Education and Training

Une publication équivalente est disponible en français sous le titre suivant :

Le curriculum de l'Ontario, 9^e et 10^e année – Éducation physique et santé, 1999.

This publication is available on the Ministry of Education and Training's

World Wide Web site at <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca>.

Introduction

The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10: Health and Physical Education, 1999 will be implemented in Ontario secondary schools starting in September 1999 for students in Grade 9 and in September 2000 for students in Grade 10. This document replaces the sections in The Common Curriculum: Policies and Outcomes, Grades 1–9, 1995 that relate to health and physical education in Grade 9, and the parts of the curriculum guideline Physical and Health Education: Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, 1978 that relate to Grade 10.

This document is designed for use in conjunction with its companion piece, The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10: Program Planning and Assessment, 1999, which contains information relevant to all disciplines represented in the curriculum. The planning and assessment document is available both in print and on the ministry's website, at <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca>.

The Place of Health and Physical Education in the Curriculum

The health and physical education curriculum has been designed to provide learning experiences that will help students realize their potential in life. Students will develop:

- an understanding of the importance of physical fitness, health, and well-being and the factors that contribute to them;
- a personal commitment to daily vigorous physical activity and positive health behaviours;
- the skills and knowledge they require to participate in physical activities throughout their lives.

The expectations outlined in this document concentrate on the development of personal fitness, competence, skills, attitudes, and knowledge that will help students deal with the variety of personal, social, and workplace demands in their lives. The primary focus of this curriculum is on helping students develop a commitment and a positive attitude to lifelong healthy active living and the capacity to live satisfying, productive lives.

Healthy active living benefits both individuals and society in many ways: for example, by increasing productivity, improving morale, decreasing absenteeism, reducing health-care costs, and heightening personal satisfaction. Other benefits include improved psychological well-being, physical capacity, self-esteem, and the ability to cope with stress. The expectations within this curriculum promote healthy active living through the development of physical, social, and personal skills. This practical, balanced approach will help students to move successfully beyond secondary school.

Many of the expectations in health and physical education courses, such as those related to healthy living, active participation, and movement skills, are fully emphasized only in this curriculum. For example, such expectations as participation in physical activities for sustained time periods, knowledge of guidelines for safe participation in physical activities, and informed decision making related to healthy sexuality are central to this curriculum. The health and

physical education curriculum provides students with learning opportunities that will help them make positive decisions about all aspects of their health and encourage them to lead healthy, active lives.

The health and physical education curriculum also promotes important educational values and goals such as tolerance, understanding, excellence, and good health. These values are reinforced in other curriculum areas, as well as in society itself. Parents, schools, health-care agencies, peers, businesses, government, and the media are all vital partners in helping promote these values to students. Working together, schools and communities can be powerful allies in motivating students to achieve their potential and lead safe, healthy lives.

There are clear connections between the expectations in health and physical education and those in other subject areas, such as guidance and career education, science, and social science. For example, all of these subject areas share the goals of developing life-management skills, identifying social realities, interacting positively, working independently and collaboratively, enhancing healthy lifestyles, and examining contemporary social issues. The unique expectations of the health and physical education curriculum help improve student learning in all subjects. Subject matter from any course in health and physical education can be combined with subject matter from one or more courses in other disciplines to create an interdisciplinary course. The policies and procedures regarding the development of interdisciplinary courses are outlined in the interdisciplinary studies curriculum policy document.

The elementary curriculum for health and physical education is organized into three strands – healthy living, fundamental movement skills, and active participation – with living skills integrated within those strands. The secondary curriculum builds on these three strands,

while grouping living skills in a separate fourth strand that explicitly addresses many of the singular needs and challenges confronting adolescents as they move towards adulthood.

In the transition from elementary to secondary school, the expectations and learning experiences in each strand change to meet the evolving needs of students. For example, the physical activity strand refines and advances the movement patterns introduced in the elementary curriculum under fundamental movement skills, while the active living strand, which replaces the elementary curriculum's active participation strand, increases the emphasis on the promotion of lifelong participation in physical activities and greater responsibility for personal learning, behaviour, fitness, and health.

The Program in Health and Physical Education

Overview

The health and physical education program promotes healthy active living, and enjoyment and regular, enthusiastic participation in physical activity. The courses will help students understand how their personal actions and decisions will affect their health, fitness, and well-being. All courses in this curriculum address relevant health issues and provide students with a wide variety of activities that promote fitness, the development of living skills, and personal competence.

The health and physical education courses in Grades 9 and 10 are made up of four strands: physical activity, active living, healthy living, and living skills. In each course, students will develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to enjoy a healthy lifestyle and to build a commitment to lifelong participation in physical activity. The focus on positive, responsible personal and social behaviour in physical activity settings encourages students to make safe and wise choices.

These courses emphasize regular participation in a variety of enjoyable physical activities that will enhance students' fitness, health, and personal competence, and that will promote lifelong active living. Students will be encouraged to pursue physical activities outside the school program for fun, personal fitness, and health. In the living skills component of these courses, students will learn and apply decision-making, conflict resolution, and social skills. Issues investigated in the healthy living component include healthy growth and sexuality, mental health, personal safety, and injury prevention.

Courses in Health and Physical Education, Grades 9 and 10

Grade	Course Name	Type	Code	Value
9	Healthy Active Living Ed	Open	PPL1O	1
10	Healthy Active Living Ed	Open	PPL2O	1

Note: There are no prerequisites for the courses listed above.

A Note About Courses and Credits.

All courses offered in health and physical education are open courses, which comprise a set of expectations that are appropriate for all students. (See *The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10: Program Planning and Assessment, 1999* for a description of the different types of secondary school courses.)

Courses offered in health and physical education may be delivered as half-courses, each earning a half-credit. Half-credit courses, which require a minimum of fifty-five hours of scheduled instructional time, must adhere to the following conditions:

- Courses offered as half-credit courses must include a selection of learning expectations from all strands and must reflect the balance among strands that characterizes the full course.

– A course that is a prerequisite for another course may be offered as two half-courses, but the student must successfully complete both parts of the course to claim the prerequisite.

– The title of each half-credit course must include the designation Part 1 or Part 2. A half-credit (0.5) will be recorded in the credit-value column of both the report card and the Ontario Student Transcript. Students are not required to complete both Part 1 and Part 2 unless the course is a prerequisite for another course that the student wants to take.

The learning expectations of the Healthy Active Living Education courses outline the knowledge and skills that students are expected to demonstrate by the end of each course. Schools may develop their Grade 9 and/or 10 course(s) to focus on a particular group of physical activities as the vehicle through which students will attain the expectations. The possible groupings (with their corresponding course codes for Grade 9 and Grade 10 courses, respectively) are as follows: Personal and Fitness Activities (PAF1O, PAF2O), Large-Group Activities (PAL1O, PAL2O), Individual and Small-Group Activities (PAI1O, PAI2O), Aquatics (PAQ1O, PAQ2O), Rhythm and Movement (PAR1O, PAR2O), and Outdoor Activities (PAD1O, PAD2O). In the course description for these courses, a statement about the group of activities on which the course will be focused should be added to the relevant Healthy Active Living Education course description given in this document. (Some schools may wish to add a sixth character to the course codes to identify courses planned for co-educational, male, or female enrolment.) Schools may offer more than one Healthy Active Living Education course in Grades 9 and 10. A student may take more than one Healthy Active Living Education course for credit in the same grade.

All components of the health and physical education curriculum help students develop a healthy active lifestyle while in high school and the ability to maintain it after graduation.

Nevertheless, on the written request of a parent, or of a student aged eighteen or older, the right to withdraw from any component of a health and physical education course shall be granted, where such a component is in conflict with a religious belief held by the parent or student. Where such withdrawal involves a significant portion of the course time, an equivalent component of work in health and physical education shall be scheduled for the student.

Curriculum Expectations

The expectations identified for each course describe the knowledge and skills that students are expected to develop and demonstrate in their class work, on tests, and in various other activities on which their achievement is assessed and evaluated.

Two sets of expectations are listed for each strand, or broad curriculum area, of each course. The overall expectations describe in general terms the knowledge and skills that students are expected to demonstrate by the end of each course. The specific expectations describe the expected knowledge and skills in greater detail.

The specific expectations are organized under subheadings. This organization is not meant to imply that the expectations in any one group are achieved independently of the expectations in the other groups. The subheadings are used merely to help teachers focus on particular aspects of knowledge and skills as they plan learning activities for their students.

Many of the expectations are accompanied by examples, given in parentheses. These examples are meant to illustrate the kind of skill, the specific area of learning, the depth of learning, and/or the level of complexity that the expectation entails. They are intended as a guide for teachers rather than as an exhaustive or mandatory list.

Strands

The expectations in health and physical education courses are organized into four distinct but related strands: physical activity, active living, healthy living, and living skills.

Physical activity is concerned with refining and combining students' personal locomotor, manipulation, and stability skills. The curriculum expectations for this strand are designed to help students learn how to participate in a wide variety of activities, while developing the personal movement proficiency necessary to enjoy life fully.

Active living focuses on active participation, physical fitness, and safety. This strand addresses the knowledge and skills related to lifelong participation in a variety of sport and recreation activities.

Healthy living addresses the knowledge and skills that students need to make informed decisions related to healthy growth and sexuality, mental health, and personal safety and injury prevention. The topics included in this strand are "healthy growth and sexuality", "substance use and abuse", "personal safety and injury prevention", and "healthy eating".

Living skills helps students develop a positive "sense of self", as well as effective decision-making, conflict resolution, communication, and interpersonal skills. This strand includes the topics of "decision making", "conflict resolution", and "social skills". Expectations such as demonstrating active listening to de-escalate conflict, expressing feelings to help resolve problems, and demonstrating behaviour that is respectful and sensitive to others help students make the transition to adulthood. Through the expectations for living skills, students learn to develop and take responsibility for their decisions and behaviour, thereby enhancing their personal competence and well-being. The development of these abilities is particularly important during adolescence, a time of testing and risk taking, when students need to refine, practise, and apply their knowledge and skills to make healthy, safe, and wise choices. There are consistent

and significant reductions in unhealthy behaviour when school-based health programs focus on living skills.

Healthy Active Living Education, Grade 9, Open (PPL1O)

This course emphasizes regular participation in a variety of enjoyable physical activities that promote lifelong healthy active living. Students will learn movement skills and principles, ways to improve personal fitness and physical competence, and safety and injury prevention. They will investigate issues related to healthy sexuality and the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs, and will participate in activities designed to develop goal-setting, communication, and social skills.

Physical Activity

Overall Expectations:

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate personal competence in applying movement skills and principles;
- demonstrate knowledge of guidelines and strategies that enhance participation in recreation and sport activities.

Specific Expectations:

Movement Skills and Principles

By the end of the course, students will:

- use and combine movement skills in a variety of physical activities (e.g., apply locomotion/travelling, manipulation, and stability skills to a specific activity);
- demonstrate understanding of the importance of movement principles in performing isolated or combined movement skills (e.g., manipulation, locomotion, and stability);

- identify appropriate movement principles (e.g., that the production of maximum velocity requires the use of joints from largest to smallest) in learning and refining movement skills (e.g., an overhead clear in badminton);
- demonstrate improvement in their skills.

Sport and Recreation

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate understanding of specific rules and guidelines for participation in recreation and sport including team, group, dual, and individual activities (e.g., the scoring rules in rugby, etiquette such as allowing faster participants to pass on a cross-country ski trail);
- identify the requirements, including basic equipment standards, preparation (e.g., warm-up and cool-down exercises, training requirements), and specific safety issues that maximize performance and participation in recreation and sport activities;
- explain appropriate strategies or tactics that enhance performance in specific situations and conditions (e.g., passing versus dribbling a basketball against a defender, shifting gears in cycling to adjust to changing conditions);
- describe career opportunities related to sport and recreation.

Active Living

Overall Expectations:

By the end of the course, students will:

- participate regularly in a balanced instructional program that includes a wide variety of enjoyable physical activities that encourage lifelong participation;
- demonstrate improvement in personal health-related physical fitness;

- demonstrate safe practices regarding the safety of themselves and others.

Specific Expectations:

Active Participation

By the end of the course, students will:

- participate regularly in physical activities, choosing a wide range of activities (e.g., individual, small- and large-group, out- door, and aquatic activities);
- demonstrate positive, responsible personal and social behaviour (e.g., striving for personal best, practising regularly, encouraging others, playing fair) in physical activity settings;
- identify the factors that affect choices of activities with potential for lifelong participation and enjoyment.

Physical Fitness

By the end of the course, students will:

- monitor personal plans for daily, health-related fitness activities (e.g., self-designed or computerized programs) that reflect their personal fit- ness goals;
- participate in personal health-related fitness programs;
- maintain or improve personal fitness levels by participating in vigorous physical activities for sustained periods of time (e.g., a minimum of two ten-minute time periods or one twenty- minute time period for a minimum of four times a week);
- monitor exercise intensity (e.g., using a manual or computerized heart-rate monitor, breath sound check, talk test);
- describe the benefits of each health-related fitness component and its relationship to active living (e.g., the relationship of cardiovascular fitness to increased stamina and lower risk of heart disease; the relationship of healthy eating to improved well-being).

Safety

By the end of the course, students will:

- apply guidelines and procedures related to safe participation in physical activity (e.g., using equipment correctly, wearing appropriate attire, using appropriate facilities, meeting expectations regarding supervision, using proper posture to minimize injury);
- demonstrate behaviour that minimizes risk to themselves and others (e.g., participating in warm-up and cool-down exercises, checking ice conditions prior to skating, spotting for weight training);
- identify strategies to deal with emergency situations related to physical activities;
- demonstrate understanding of cardiopulmonary resuscitation (e.g., one-person adult CPR).

Healthy Living

Overall Expectations

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify the factors that contribute to positive relationships with others;
- explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community;
- demonstrate personal strategies to deal effectively with the social influences that contribute to the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (e.g., cannabis);
- identify strategies to minimize potentially dangerous situations (e.g., violence prevention, injury prevention).

Specific Expectations

Healthy Growth and Sexuality

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify the developmental stages of sexuality throughout life;

- describe the factors that lead to responsible sexual relationships;
- describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (e.g., abstinence, condoms, oral contraceptives);
- demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality (e.g., healthy human relationships, avoiding unwanted pregnancies and STDs such as HIV/AIDS);
- demonstrate understanding of the pressures on teens to be sexually active;
- identify community support services related to sexual health concerns.

Substance Use and Abuse

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify facts and myths related to the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs (e.g., cannabis);
- explain the effects of the use and abuse of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs;
- identify the major factors (e.g., environmental influences such as peer pressure, media influences, adolescent attitudes) that contribute to the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs;
- identify the school and community resources involved in education, prevention, and treatment with respect to alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs;
- demonstrate and use both decision-making and assertion skills with respect to media influences and peer pressure related to alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs.

Personal Safety and Injury Prevention

By the end of the course, students will:

- describe specific types of physical and non-physical abuse (e.g., manipulation, intimidation, sexual harassment, verbal abuse);

- assess the impact of non-physical abuse on victims;
- identify the causes of abuse and violence;
- describe solutions and strategies to address violence in the lives of young people;
- explain how the school, the local community, and other community agencies are involved in developing strategies (e.g., a school’s code of conduct) to prevent or end the violence in young people’s lives;
- demonstrate effective personal strategies to minimize injury in adolescence.

Living Skills

Overall Expectations

By the end of the course, students will:

- use appropriate decision-making skills to achieve goals related to personal health;
- explain the effectiveness of various conflict resolution processes in daily situations;
- use appropriate social skills when working collaboratively with others.

Specific Expectations

Decision Making

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify personal strengths and areas for growth;
- demonstrate how they have achieved short- term goals based on a personal vision;
- demonstrate understanding of the impact of parents, the media, and culture on values and goals related to healthy active living;
- produce sequential action plans to achieve personal health goals.

Conflict Resolution

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate understanding of personal values that can lead to conflict;
- use assertiveness techniques to avoid escalating conflict;
- demonstrate active listening skills (e.g., identifying non-verbal feelings expressed by others, paraphrasing the message, asking questions for clarification) when managing conflict;
- demonstrate the appropriate steps of conflict resolution in situations encountered in class, at school, with friends, and at home;
- demonstrate understanding of the triggers of conflict (e.g., defensive behaviour in a group situation) to prevent escalation;
- identify coping skills (e.g., involvement in physical activity, talking it out, participating in alternative activities or hobbies) to deal with the internal conflict and stress that often accompanies change.

Social Skills

By the end of the course, students will:

- contribute to the success of the group verbally and non-verbally (e.g., by completing a fair share of the group task, by acknowledging others' contributions to the task);
- explain the benefits and disadvantages of working with others;
- give and receive assistance (e.g., through peer mentoring);
- use appropriately a variety of methods for reaching group agreement (e.g., through consensus, by taking votes in which the majority rules).

Healthy Active Living Education, Grade 10, Open (PPL2O)

This course emphasizes regular participation in a variety of enjoyable physical activities that promote lifelong healthy active living. Student learning will include the application of

movement principles to refine skills; participation in a variety of activities that enhance personal competence, fitness, and health; examination of issues related to healthy sexuality, healthy eating, substance use and abuse; and the use of informed decision-making, conflict resolution, and social skills in making personal choices.

Physical Activity

Overall Expectations:

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate personal competence in applying movement skills and principles;
- demonstrate knowledge of guidelines and strategies that can enhance their participation in recreation and sport activities.

Specific Expectations:

Movement Skills and Principles

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate the use and combination of motor skills in a variety of physical activities (e.g., moving towards the ability to perform skills on their own);
- demonstrate understanding of the importance of movement principles in performing isolated or combined movement skills (e.g., manipulation, loco- motion, and stability);
- describe appropriate movement principles (e.g., maximum force requires the use of all the joints that can be used) in learning and refining movement skills (e.g., in an overhead serve in volleyball);
- demonstrate personal skill improvement.

Sport and Recreation

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate understanding of specific rules and guidelines for participation in recreation and sport including team, group, dual, and individual activities (e.g., the travelling violation in basketball, scoring rules in orienteering, etiquette such as replacing divots when playing golf, fair play);
- describe the requirements, including basic equipment standards, preparation (e.g., warm-up and cool-down exercises, training requirements), and specific safety issues that maximize performance and participation in recreation and sport activities;
- explain appropriate strategies or tactics that enhance performance in specific situations and conditions (e.g., tipping rather than spiking against an effective blocker in volleyball, hitting the ball to one side of the fairway to compensate for cross-wind conditions in golf);
- identify community sport and recreation opportunities related to personal interests;
- describe career opportunities related to sport and recreation.

Active Living

Overall Expectations:

By the end of the course, students will:

- participate regularly in a balanced instructional program that includes a wide variety of physical activities that encourage lifelong participation;
- demonstrate personal health-related physical fitness;
- demonstrate responsibility for personal safety and the safety of others.

Specific Expectations:

Active Participation

By the end of the course, students will:

- participate regularly in physical activities, choosing from a wide range of activities (e.g., individual, small- and large-group, outdoor, and aquatic activities);
- demonstrate positive, responsible personal and social behaviour (e.g., striving for personal best, practising regularly, encouraging others, modelling positive behaviour, playing fair) in physical activity settings;
- demonstrate leadership (e.g., leading an in-class activity such as a warm-up or cool-down activity);
- identify the factors (e.g., social interaction, enjoyment, relaxation, self-esteem) that will affect their choice of activities with potential for lifelong participation and enjoyment.

Physical Fitness

By the end of the course, students will:

- review and make appropriate revisions to their personal plans for daily, health-related fitness activities (e.g., self-designed or computerized programs);
- participate in revised personal health- related fitness programs;
- maintain or improve personal fitness levels by participating in vigorous physical activities for sustained periods of time (e.g., a minimum of two ten-minute time periods or one twenty-minute time period for a minimum of four times a week);
- assess the effectiveness of various activities for maintaining or improving health- related fitness (e.g., cross-country skiing versus downhill skiing).

Safety

By the end of the course, students will:

- apply guidelines and procedures related to safe participation in physical activity (e.g., using equipment correctly, wearing appropriate attire, using appropriate facilities, meeting expectations regarding supervision, using proper posture to minimize injury);
- demonstrate behaviour that minimizes risk to themselves and others (e.g., participating in warm-up and cool-down activities, checking ice conditions prior to skating, spotting for weight training);
- describe resources and community agencies that assist in emergency situations related to physical activity.

Healthy Living

Overall Expectations

By the end of the course, students will:

- explain strategies to promote positive lifestyle choices and relationships with others;
- demonstrate understanding of the factors affecting human sexuality as it relates to themselves and others;
- demonstrate understanding of the issues and coping strategies related to substance use and abuse;
- explain how healthy eating fits into a healthy lifestyle.

Specific Expectations

Healthy Growth and Sexuality

By the end of the course, students will:

- describe environmental influences on sexuality (e.g., cultural, social, and media influences);
- explain the effects (e.g., STDs, HIV/AIDS) of choices related to sexual intimacy (e.g., abstinence, using birth control);

- identify available information and support services related to sexual health concerns;
- demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making skills effectively to support choices related to responsible sexuality.

Substance Use and Abuse

By the end of the course, students will:

- describe the factors that lead to substance dependence;
- describe the physiological and sociological effects of substance use;
- demonstrate knowledge of the legal aspects of substance use and abuse (e.g., regarding under-age drinking, impaired driving, the Tobacco Control Act).

Healthy Eating

By the end of the course, students will:

- explain how healthy eating is beneficial to various physical activities (e.g., sports, school);
- explain the risks of dieting and other unhealthy eating behaviours for controlling weight;
- analyse the relationships among healthy eating, physical activity, and body image;
- make appropriate revisions to personal plans of action (e.g., using self-designed or computerized programs) that promote healthy eating and physical activity;
- explain strategies and ideas for focusing on a healthy lifestyle rather than on body weight;
- identify the relative effectiveness of different types of resources and support services related to healthy eating.

Living Skills

Overall Expectations:

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify ways of taking appropriate action in new situations based on knowledge of positive decisions related to healthy active living;
- demonstrate understanding of conflict resolution, anger management, and mediation;
- use appropriate social skills and positive attitudes when interacting with others.

Specific Expectations

Decision Making

By the end of the course, students will:

- identify short- and long-term goals for personal growth (e.g., using a student planner);
- analyse the impact of media and culture on decision making;
- produce a sequential action plan (e.g., using the IDEAL model) to achieve personal goals related to new situations (e.g., those requiring time management);
- explain their reasoning for their personal choices and actions related to health and well-being.

Conflict Resolution

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate understanding of the varied dynamics of conflict (e.g., the context, escalators, perception);
- describe different styles of handling conflict and their effectiveness in different situations;
- describe the benefits of developing anger management strategies;
- identify techniques for dealing with angry disputants;
- describe the impact of non-verbal (e.g., body language) and verbal responses;
- identify the characteristics of an effective mediator;
- describe the phases of mediation;

– explain the difference between mediation and adjudication.

Social Skills

By the end of the course, students will:

- demonstrate behaviours that are respectful of others' points of view (e.g., listening actively, showing appreciation, criticizing ideas not people);
- describe their own contribution to and effectiveness within a group.

Some Considerations for Program Planning in Health and Physical Education

Teachers who are planning a program in health and physical education must take into account considerations in a number of important areas. Essential information that pertains to all disciplines is provided in the companion piece to this document, *The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 and 10: Program Planning and Assessment*, 1999. The areas of concern to all teachers that are out-lined there include the following:

- types of secondary school courses
- education for exceptional students
- the role of technology in the curriculum
- English as a second language (ESL) and English literacy development (ELD)
- career education
- cooperative education and other workplace experiences
- health and safety

Considerations relating to the areas listed above that have particular relevance for program planning in health and physical education are noted here.

Education for Exceptional Students. Health and physical education provides exceptional students with opportunities to enhance their understanding of personal capabilities, challenges,

and potential. Appropriate modifications can enhance motor skills, motivate participation, improve self-worth, and provide physical and therapeutic benefits. Participation in health and physical education provides a unique vehicle for exceptional students to develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that promote lifelong healthy active living.

When including exceptional students in activities, it is important to understand any limitations they may have, as well as any corresponding needs they may have for program adaptations and support services, as set out in their Individual Education Plan. Once the nature of these needs and limitations and all the safety considerations have been identified and are understood, adaptations to provide opportunities for students' successful participation in a range of activities such as aquatics, games, dance, gymnastics, individual and team activities, and outdoor pursuits may be made.

In health and physical education, meeting the needs of exceptional students may involve making a variety of adaptations both to the program itself and to the learning environment. These adaptations should include:

- equipment adaptations that enable all students to perform to their full potential;
- program adaptations to promote integration and safety (e.g., altering the method of instruction, using alternative facilities, modifying the rules and guidelines of physical activities);
- assessment and evaluation strategies that accommodate a variety of learning styles and needs;
- encouraging as much student participation as possible in planning, instruction, assessment, and evaluation;
- using support systems extensively (e.g., specialists in the exceptionality, physiotherapists and other personnel with expertise in adaptive activity programs, educational assistants, and peer assistance).

The Role of Technology in the Curriculum.

Technology will offer ways for students to monitor themselves and become self-directed learners. For example, technology provides students with opportunities for personal health skills analysis and fitness assessment through the use of video techniques and electronic monitoring. In health and physical education, traditional sources and emerging technologies (e.g., computerized ergometers, video disks, CD-ROMs, interactive television, and information on the Internet) will give students access to a comprehensive collection of resources. The variety of multimedia resources will enhance opportunities for students to research, analyse, and communicate within the discipline and within real-life contexts.

English As a Second Language and English Literacy Development (ESL/ELD).

Health and physical education provides students with unique opportunities for fundamental language development and expression. It also minimizes language barriers by providing ESL students with opportunities to express themselves non-verbally in some activities through body movements. Adaptations to meet the needs of ESL students may emphasize visual learning to help them achieve the required expectations of the healthy living strand. Educators should provide learning opportunities for all students to recognize and develop a sensitivity to cultural differences as they relate to health and physical education.

Career Education.

The active participation component of health and physical education provides an excellent vehicle to address the interpersonal and work-related skills required to succeed in a given career. Students will develop coping skills and feelings of personal accomplishment. Employability skills (e.g., problem solving, goal setting, demonstrating self-esteem) are addressed directly in this curriculum. The promotion of these skills is an integral part of every

strand within the curriculum and will assist graduates as they move into further education and/or the workplace.

Cooperative Education and Other Workplace Experiences.

The interpersonal, team work, and leadership skills that are emphasized in the health and physical education curriculum can enhance the success of students in work settings. Work experiences can introduce students to a number of career and job opportunities (e.g., athletic trainer, private recreation entrepreneur, recreation professional, activities director, health educator, sports writer, researcher, teacher, fitness trainer).

Potential partners in cooperative education include community organizations and private recreation centres. Partnerships can facilitate students' commitment to lifelong activity and health. They can also encourage students to access community agencies for service, research, and employment.

Health and Safety.

The creation of challenging and exciting learning environments in health and physical education must also reflect a concern for safety, as physical activity always involves some element of risk. The primary responsibility for the care and safety of all students rests with the school board and its employees. School board policies and procedures must be developed to help prevent or minimize the risk of injuries or accidents. Safe programming also requires safety awareness by the teacher.

Planning for health and physical education activities should include safety considerations related to equipment, clothing, footwear, facilities, student abilities, special rules or instructions, and supervision. Students are expected to assume increasing responsibility for their own safety and the safety of others.*

Explanatory Notes

The following definitions of terms are intended to help teachers, parents/guardians, and students use this document.

Abstinence. A conscious decision to refrain from sexual intercourse.

AIDS. Acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

Breath sound check. An assessment tool in which participants can monitor the intensity of an exercise. When participants can “hear their own breathing”, the intensity of the activity is moderate to vigorous and their heart rate will be between 55 and 85 per cent of their maximum heart rate. **CPR.** Cardiopulmonary resuscitation. **F.I.T.T.** Fitness, intensity, time (a minimum of two ten-minute time periods or one twenty-minute period), and type.

Health-related physical fitness. Based on the assessment of the following: cardio- respiratory fitness, muscular strength and endurance, flexibility, and body composition.

HIV. Human immuno-deficiency virus.

IDEAL. A decision-making model based on identifying the problem or issue, discussing the options and their consequences, evaluating the options and deciding on one, acting on the best choice, learning from the experience.

Living skills. Lifetime skills that enhance personal well-being. Living skills include decision-making, conflict resolution, and social skills.

Locomotion skills. Skills used to move the body from one point to another.

Manipulation skills. Movement skills that involve giving force to objects (e.g., throwing, kicking, punting, dribbling, volleying, striking) or receiving force from objects (e.g., catching).

Movement principles. The seven biomechanical principles used to analyse movement (i.e., the principles of stability, of maximum force, of maximum velocity, of impulse, of the direction of the application of force, of the production of angular motion, of the conservation of angular momentum).

Movement skills. The movement skills of locomotion/travelling, manipulation, and stability form the foundation of all physical activity.

Peer mentoring. Students assisting other students with school work and in other areas.

Safe practices. Following the safety rules and procedures defined for each activity in the instructional program.

Stability skills. Movement skills that involve maintaining the position of the body in place or in space with possible movement around the body's horizontal or vertical axis (e.g., bending, stretching, twisting, turning).

STDs. Sexually transmitted diseases.

Talk test. An assessment tool used to evaluate aerobic activity during moderate to vigorous exercise.

Vigorous physical activity. The degree to which an activity is vigorous is directly related to its ability to raise the heart rate, to improve fitness, and to maintain this increase for a sustained period of time. Vigorous physical activities are aerobic in nature, enhancing the health of the heart and lungs dependent on frequency, intensity, and time.

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*For brevity and space, the assessment strategies included in the curriculum documents were not included.