

Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence:

A Preliminary Theory

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Curry School of Education

University of Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Jennifer L. Poole

B.A. University of Virginia, 2005

M. Ed. University of Virginia, 2013

May 2019

**Department of Leadership, Foundations, & Policy
Curry School of Education
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia**

APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation, Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence: A Preliminary Theory, has been approved by the Graduate Faculty of the Curry School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Chair, Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas

Committee Member, Nancy L. Deutsch

Committee Member, Christian L. Steinmetz

Committee Member, Rachel L. Wahl

3/27/2019
Date

Abstract

Advisor: Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas

Guided by feminist standpoint epistemology, this study addresses the following central research question: How do female college students construct their resistance to campus sexual violence? The subset of questions that pertained to this central research question include: 1) How do female college students construct campus sexual violence as a problem? 2) How do female college students describe their resistance to campus sexual violence, in terms of oppositional agency? 3) How do female college students utilize #MeToo as a discursive space, for thinking and talking about resistance to sexual violence? In order to answer these research questions, 11 focus groups were conducted with 54 undergraduate women at a large, residential, public university on the east coast of the United States. Constructivist grounded theory methodology was also used, to collect and analyze these perspectives into theory for resistance to campus sexual violence.

The findings of this study emerged as a substantive, discursive, theoretical process: ‘Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence,’ with the assistance of Corbin and Strauss’ (1990) coding paradigm (p. 18). This process was driven by six categories, grouped into three main concepts: the **conditions** surrounding female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence; the **actions/interactions** that comprised their construction of resistance; and the **consequences** of this discursive process, which emerged as four exemplary domains of women’s resistance: *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration*, *achieving consensual sex with male students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*. The grounded theory that resulted from this study has implications for empirical research, feminist scholarship, and the

administrative practices used to educate and empower women related to sexual violence. It also promotes the voices of female college students as authoritative sources of knowledge, to show that women need not be distant from victimization to be talked about and treated as resisting sexual violence.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my niece Lucy, who is strong, brave, and very much her own superhero. Never stop imagining a world that is better than the one you inhabit today.

“Because when you are imagining, you might as well imagine something worthwhile.”

L. M. Montgomery

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the love, support, encouragement, and wisdom of numerous people.

First and foremost, I am indebted to the eleven groups of college women who agreed to participate in this study and share their views on #MeToo and campus sexual violence with the world. After each conversation, you thanked me. Each time, I told myself, “This isn’t how research projects are supposed to go. I’m the one that is supposed to be thanking you.” Ultimately, I know that you have not had adequate space to talk to each other and your male peers about sex, consent, and relationships in ways that have felt productive and useful. You participated because you care about yourselves, your male and female peers, and your university. I hope that I have shown your lives and stories the same level of care and appreciation. Thank you.

To my committee members, thank you for your unwavering support for my dissertation topic and methods. Dr. Karen Kurotsuchi Inkelas, Dr. Nancy Deutsch, Dr. Christian Steinmetz, and Dr. Rachel Wahl, your words of encouragement and constructive feedback have profoundly shaped this research for the better. Karen, there is no other way to describe it: you rescued me as an advisee and saved my doctoral program experience. Conversations and courses with you have taught me how to think systematically on my way to shaping new knowledge through higher education research. Without you, there is no Dr. Jennifer L. Poole. Nancy, I leave this doctoral program as a sound, feminist, qualitative methodologist because of you. Our discussions of politics and the lives of women have shaped my feminist worldview while giving me the tools I need to live out my values in research and administration. Christian, thank you for making me feel welcomed and embraced from the moment I entered the higher education program, and for

teaching me much of what I know about female college students. Rachel, your kind, thoughtful, and honest feedback throughout this dissertation process has profoundly altered my perspective on violence, in a way that I still cannot fully grasp. Thank you for prompting me to check my prior, administrative prevention experiences at the door to hear college women speaking about sexual violence.

I want to acknowledge my partner, Todd Sacco. Throughout this process, you have looked me in the eye and said to me, repeatedly, “I am on your team. I believe in you.” You have supported me financially and emotionally. You have reminded me to leave the house and, when that has felt unmanageable, brought all the makings of a beautiful life home to me. Thank you for your selfless love, encouragement, so many flowers and tomatoes, and your edits.

To my extended family in Pittsburgh; my chosen family in Charlottesville, DC, and North Carolina; and my former colleagues and friends all over the world, I am humbled by your support from near and far. Thank you for listening to my feminist rants, liking my social media posts, and reaching out when I shared intimate details of my life on social media. Thank you for letting me know that I am not alone in my past experiences and political beliefs. You believed in me, especially in those moments when I felt challenged to believe in myself.

Finally, I am grateful for the support of my immediate family members, Mary, Donald, Tina, and Sam. I am who I am because of my mom, dad, twin sister, and brother, who together comprise a tough, loud, brilliant, and incessantly hardworking group of people. Thank you for never letting me give up on myself. One day, I will find a way to pay this feeling forward to the masses. Today, I hope this dissertation is a good start.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	4
DEDICATION	6
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	7
LIST OF TABLES.....	12
LIST OF FIGURES	13
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	14
CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM	14
PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	17
RESEARCH QUESTION	17
PURPOSE STATEMENT	18
RESEARCH APPROACH.....	18
RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS.....	20
KEY SENSITIZING CONCEPTS.....	21
<i>Women's resistance.....</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>#MeToo as a discursive space.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Campus sexual violence.....</i>	<i>23</i>
SIGNIFICANCE FOR KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE	23
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	26
OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW.....	26
FRAMING WOMEN'S RESISTANCE RELATED TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN COLLEGE	26
<i>Women's victimization and non-resistance.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Women's resistance as opposing male dominance.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Women engaged in risk management.....</i>	<i>36</i>
AREAS OF FEMINIST CONCERN	39
<i>Critique 1: Describing sexual violence as uniform "feminine suffering."</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Critique 2: Framing female students as risk managers.....</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Critique 3: Framing female students as victimized and dependent.....</i>	<i>44</i>
SENSITIZING CONCEPTS REVISITED	47
<i>Women's resistance.....</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>#MeToo as a discursive space.....</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Campus sexual violence as a series of #MeToo's.....</i>	<i>49</i>
SUMMARY OF LITERATURE REVIEW	50
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	52
RATIONALE FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH.....	52
RESEARCH DESIGN: CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY (CGT)	52
ASSUMPTIONS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM	54
<i>Symbolic interactionism as a strategic, feminist, theoretical stance.....</i>	<i>55</i>
RESEARCH METHODS	56
THEORETICAL SAMPLING PLAN.....	57
<i>Site selection.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>Participant selection.....</i>	<i>60</i>
DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES	67
<i>The benefits of focus group research.....</i>	<i>67</i>

<i>The use of peer focus group discussions.....</i>	69
<i>Focus group timing and location.....</i>	70
<i>Instrumentation.....</i>	71
<i>Data organization.....</i>	75
DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES.....	76
<i>Coding.....</i>	78
<i>Memo writing.....</i>	85
<i>Writing grounded theory.....</i>	90
CRITERIA FOR CREDIBILITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS.....	92
<i>External audit.....</i>	93
<i>Thick and rich description.....</i>	94
<i>Member checks.....</i>	94
RESEARCHER-AS-INSTRUMENT STATEMENT	96
SUMMARY OF METHODS	98
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	99
OVERVIEW OF THE SUBSTANTIVE PROCESS.....	99
FRIEND GROUP DYNAMICS AMONG WOMEN IN THIS STUDY	101
<i>Focus Groups 1 & 6: Friends and sorority sisters.....</i>	102
<i>Focus Groups 2 & 10: College sports teammates.....</i>	105
<i>Focus Groups 3 & 5: Friends from freshman year.....</i>	108
<i>Focus Group 4: Female pre-health majors.....</i>	110
<i>Focus Group 7: Female science majors.....</i>	112
<i>Focus Group 8: Female campus leaders.....</i>	113
<i>Focus Group 9: Female students in a religious fellowship.....</i>	115
<i>Focus Group 11: Female acquaintances.....</i>	116
#MeTOO AS A DISCURSIVE SPACE FOR NEGOTIATING RESISTANCE.....	118
<i>A space for uncovering “everyday occurrences” of sexual violence.....</i>	119
<i>A space defined by “personal narratives” of sexual violence.....</i>	123
FOUR EXEMPLARY DOMAINS OF RESISTANCE	130
DOMAIN 1: PROTECTING SELVES FROM SEXUAL VIOLENCE PERPETRATION	130
<i>Constructing the practices of sexual violence perpetration.....</i>	130
<i>Negotiating blame and responsibility for sexual violence perpetration.....</i>	136
<i>Securing personal safety from sexual violence perpetration.....</i>	140
<i>Missing conversations about and language for sexual violence perpetration.....</i>	145
DOMAIN 2: ACHIEVING CONSENT WITH OTHERS	153
<i>Constructing the practices of non-consent in heterosexual relationships.....</i>	153
<i>Negotiating blame and responsibility for non-consent.....</i>	159
<i>Achieving consent with male students.....</i>	164
<i>Missing knowledge and strategies for achieving consent together.....</i>	170
DOMAIN 3: RECOGNIZING WOMEN & VICTIMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE.....	175
<i>Constructing the practices of misrecognition.....</i>	175
<i>Negotiating responsibility for misrecognition.....</i>	196
<i>Recognizing women and victims in discourse.....</i>	201
<i>Missing support for the recognition of women and victims.....</i>	207
DOMAIN 4: ASSERTING SEXUAL AUTONOMY	215
<i>Constructing the practices of denying women’s sexual autonomy.....</i>	216
<i>Negotiating blame for denying women’s sexual autonomy.....</i>	225
<i>Asserting sexual autonomy.....</i>	228
<i>Missing areas of women’s sexual autonomy.....</i>	231

SUMMARIZING THE SUBSTANTIVE PROCESS	239
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, & CONCLUSION	245
RESTATEMENT OF FINDINGS.....	246
DISCUSSION & IMPLICATIONS	248
<i>Campus sexual violence is multi-form.....</i>	<i>248</i>
<i>Resistance is agentic.</i>	<i>253</i>
<i>Resistance is opposed to specific, problematic practices.....</i>	<i>256</i>
<i>Resistance is subjective and situational.</i>	<i>262</i>
<i>Resistance is connected to the negotiation of blame and responsibility.</i>	<i>266</i>
<i>Resistance is uncertain.</i>	<i>271</i>
<i>#MeToo is a space of personal and political resistance.....</i>	<i>276</i>
LIMITATIONS	280
CONCLUSION.....	284
REFERENCES.....	287
APPENDICES	316
APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP DETAILS	316
APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT EMAIL	319
APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT FLYER.....	320
APPENDIX D: ORGANIZATIONS & SPACES FOR RECRUITING	321
APPENDIX E: SOCIAL MEDIA RECRUITMENT.....	322
APPENDIX E: PRE-FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE	323
APPENDIX F: FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM	325
APPENDIX G: PRE-FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE.....	327
APPENDIX H: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PROTOCOL – VERSION 1	328
APPENDIX I: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PROTOCOL – VERSION 2	332
APPENDIX J: POST-FOCUS GROUP TEXT MESSAGE SURVEY	335
APPENDIX K: FOCUS GROUP NOTE-TAKING WORKSHEET	336
APPENDIX J: FOCUSED CODING NOTES.....	339
APPENDIX K: EXPLORING CATEGORIES.....	340
APPENDIX L: ASKING ‘AXIAL’ QUESTIONS OF CATEGORIES.....	341
APPENDIX M: OPERATIONAL MEMO EXAMPLE	342
APPENDIX N: AUDIT MEETING FOR DISSERTATION – SCHEDULE AND MATERIALS.....	344
APPENDIX O: SECOND MEMBER CHECK MATERIALS	346

List of Tables

Table 3.1	56
Table 3.2	61
Table 3.3	63
Table 3.4	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Table 3.5	Error! Bookmark not defined.

List of Figures

Figure 3.1	77
Figure 4.2	100
Figure 4.3	240
Figure 4.4	247

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a “historical moment of increased interest, and awareness of, campus sexual assault” in American higher education (Wooten & Mitchell, 2015, p. 15), female college students have been described as behaving, thinking, and speaking in resistance to peer-to-peer sexual assault, harassment, misconduct, and disrespect at their schools. Female students attend positive bystander workshops for campus sexual violence, trainings to learn how to support survivors of rape among their peers, and seminars on how to identify relationship abuses among their friends (Coker, Cook-Craig, Williams, Fisher, Clear, Garcia, Hegge, 2011; Powell & Henry, 2017). They hold their institutions and their peers accountable for injustice in rape investigation procedures: either through official complaints under Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 (“Title IX”) or by drawing local and national media attention to their schools (Dick & Ziering, 2016). They participate in speak-outs and campus-wide campaigns, including Take Back the Night and Slutwalks, to raise consciousness about campus sexual violence (Reger, 2015). They work within their student organizations to take on the causes of campus sexual violence, including changing the institutional cultures and rules around alcohol and partying (Schwarz, 2015). Female students join consciousness-raising conversations about sexual violence on social media, through such hash-tags as #MeToo, and #NotOkay (Namigadde, 2017).

Context of the Problem

Previously, researchers, scholars, administrators, and policymakers have used a series of under-explored, theoretical lenses to make sense of female college students’ resistance to campus sexual violence.

Using a lens of **victimization**, scholars have characterized female college students as non-agentic and lacking the “capacity to act” in their resistance to campus sexual violence (Ahearn, 2010, p. 28). Within criminological, sociological, feminist and public health discourses, in particular, researchers have described female students as subjugated by epidemic levels of sexual assault in college (e.g., Koss & Oros, 1982; Krebs, Lindquist, Berzofsky, Shook-Sa, & Peterson, 2016). For instance, researchers have used statistics – such as 1 in 4 female college students experience attempted or completed sexual assault (Koss & Oros, 1982), and 7% of their sexual assaults are reported to school officials (Krebs et al., 2016) – to frame these women as probable victims of sexual assault. Once female college students experience victimization, the research depicts them as incapable of redressing the traumas and injustices associated with their sexual assaults. With few notable exceptions (e.g., Germain, 2016), research has constructed female students’ post-assault agency as that which is refuted by administrators, lawmakers, and other students (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993; Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 1999; Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2009; Cantalupo, 2014).

Using a lens of **feminist resistance**, researchers and scholars have depicted women’s resistance to campus sexual violence as a fight against male dominance, even as it has long pursued “the equality of women” (Mouffe, 1995, p. 329). This understanding of female college students’ opposition is largely an artifact from historical, second-wave, feminist anti-rape movements in the U.S. (Bumiller, 1987; Mardorossian, 2002; Iverson, 2015). Nonetheless, it remains in use by researchers to understand female students’ resistance to sexual violence as that which is opposed to the “power differentials” between men and women in higher American education (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30). Individually, female college students resist campus sexual

assault and harassment because they are forms of injustice perpetrated against women as a marginalized, gendered group (Rozee & Koss, 2001; Kelly, 2013). If and when a female student becomes a victim, she resists characterizations of her survivorship that increase this marginalization (Germain, 2016). Collectively, female college students oppose sexual assault and harassment by protesting the problematic sexual behaviors of male students, patriarchy, and historical rape culture in the U.S. (Knisely, 2015). One way that they do this is by rejecting sexual assault investigations and trials that blame women for their experiences with violence (Dick & Ziering, 2016).

Using a lens of **risk management**, higher education researchers have narrated female college students' resistance to sexual violence as individual and group efforts to prevent sexual assault and the threat of victimization (Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004; Iverson, 2015). Over time, sexual violence prevention in schools has shifted: from stopping perpetrators and caring for victims, to surveilling and managing women and their bodies as spaces for risk aversion (Castel, 1981; Hall, 2004). Consequently, female college students have become targets for the prevention and management of sexual assault prevention and risk. This lens for prevention not only exists among researchers, but it is also used by administrators, policymakers, parents, and, possibly, female students themselves. Female students avoid sexual assault by living in perpetual fear of victimization, minimizing their exposure to unsafe habits and routines, and physically protecting themselves when self-defense becomes necessary (Hall, 2004; Wooten & Mitchell, 2015). Furthermore, female students' behaviors are the targets for interventions intended to curb sexual abuses among students, even when male students perpetrate the abuse (Castel, 1981; Hall, 2004; Wooten & Mitchell, 2015).

Problem Statement

In 2016, 21% of female college students experienced attempted or completed sexual assault while in college (Krebs et al., 2016). Campus sexual violence, including but not limited to sexual assault, remains a problem that female college students resist while attending colleges and universities in the U.S. (Gruber, 2015). Meanwhile, the theoretical and discursive frames available to explain female colleges students' resistance to sexual violence remain limited in size and scope. The frames that exist are largely historical, theoretical, or top-down, and begin with sources other than women themselves (Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004; Wies, 2015). Missing from the research and discourse on campus sexual violence is an original, empirical, grounded framework for understanding female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence, which begins with their voices and words.

Research Question

Accordingly, this dissertation study examines the following research question: how do female college students understand and construct their resistance to campus sexual violence?

The more specific set of questions that pertain to this central research question include:

- How do female college students construct campus sexual violence as a problem, especially beyond sexual assault?
- How do female college students describe their resistance to campus sexual violence, in the form of their *oppositional agency*? (Ahearn, 2010, p. 31)
- How do female college students utilize #MeToo as a discursive space, for thinking and talking about resistance to sexual violence?

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is exploratory and emancipatory, per Marshall and Rossman (2010). In terms of exploration, the purpose of this study is to uncover female college students' perspectives on and resistance to campus sexual violence. Grounded theory methodology was used to collect the perspectives of female college student friend groups at a large, residential, public college campus in the U.S., and analyze these perspectives into theory for women's resistance to campus sexual violence.

In terms of emancipation, the purpose of this study is to advance "women's experiences as resources for [the] social analysis" of sexual violence and resistance (Harding, 1987, p. 7). To this end, a feminist standpoint approach was used to explore the words and interactions of female college students and their friends. Devised by Nancy Hartsock (1983), Patricia Hill Collins (2000), Sandra Harding (1987; 2004), Dorothy Smith (1997), and Donna Haraway (1988), feminist standpoint theory and methodology is an approach that places women's historically marginalized perspectives at the center of studies such as this one. This study promotes female college students' opinions and interactions as essential to understanding the realities surrounding campus sexual violence and resistance.

Research Approach

Upon receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I conducted 11 peer focus group discussions with female college student friend groups, whose relationships to each other were various but indicative of closeness. The focus groups were comprised of teammates, women in the same clubs, women in the same fields of study, women who first met in high school, and sorority sisters. In total, I conducted focus group discussions with 54 traditionally aged female college students attending the same, mid-sized public university in the American

Southeast. I sampled participants through purposeful, theoretical sampling until I reached theoretical saturation.

I collected data through peer focus group discussions by first organizing each group with the help of one female college student, who recruited a group of their friends who all knew each other¹. Prior to the group discussion, participants filled out a simple demographic form which also collected information on their social habits and their involvement in sexual violence prevention and feminist organizations on-campus. To begin the discussion, I presented participants with an Op-Ed on the #MeToo movement and asked for their perceptions on the article. Upon sharing their reactions to the article, groups engaged in wide-ranging discussions that involved constructing various problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence under #MeToo, theorizing their resistance to such violence, observing and interacting with others, and expressing uncertainty. Each group discussion was then audio-recorded and transcribed. For quality control purposes, I also compared the audio and read the transcription together to shortly before coding the transcript, in a process of re-familiarizing myself with the data and conducting quality control. Upon transcription, I loaded each transcript into QSR-NVivo (“NVivo”) software. I created a classification for each group in NVivo that included a transcript, an observational memo, a short note that contains students’ responses to the pre-group questionnaire, a comment regarding the relationship between the women in the group, and a narrative memo.

¹ The exception to this process was one focus group of female college students – Focus Group 11 – whose participants were only familiar with the person who asked them to join the focus group discussion. I used this group as a comparison group, to check my assumptions related to friendship and women’s theorizing related to resistance

I analyzed the data as follows. First, I coded the transcripts using *in vivo* codes. I relied strictly on *in vivo* codes and categories for the first phases of analysis. During the latter phases of constructing grounded theory – which involved sorting data, codes, and categories into theoretical concepts – was when I began to take into account prior theoretical perspectives from agency scholarship and feminist research. Prior to this these phases, I conducted a literature review that explored the concept of women's resistance to campus sexual violence, as it has been understood through the lenses mentioned above: victimization (non-agency), risk management, and feminist resistance. Eventually, I positioned these three lenses, #MeToo as a discursive space, prior theories on agency and praxis (i.e., Giddens, 1979; Sztompka, 1994; Ahearn, 2010), and Glaser's (1978) theoretical codes and coding families as the theoretical backdrop for this study. Upon sorting data into theoretical categories, I conducted an audit with an external auditor using an audit trail comprised of memos, codes, data, and other artifacts from the research process. My auditor was a fellow doctoral student and a colleague who is not an expert on my topic area, but who is nonetheless familiar with grounded theory and qualitative methods.

Research Assumptions

Despite the anticipated utility of this study to the knowledge of female college students' agency related to campus sexual violence, there exist important assumptions that can and should come into focus for audiences of this research.

First and foremost, in conducting this study, I assumed that conversations with female college students and their friends would produce data on resistance to campus sexual violence. More precisely, I assumed that women talking about a prominent accusation of sexual assault in the #MeToo movement, and the problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex happening on and near their college campus, would produce data on resistance to campus sexual

violence. I also assumed that all female college students care about and oppose sexual violence between students who attend their school; even when they have not experienced victimization, and when they are inactive in feminist organizations and sexual assault prevention efforts. Relatedly, I assumed that female college student participants would have a basic vocabulary through which to articulate their feelings, thoughts, and resistance to campus sexual violence.

In conducting this study, I also assumed that recruiting female college student friend groups would lead to an intersectional grounded theory on resistance to campus sexual violence. As a result of my prior knowledge of William A. Gamson's (1992) research in *Talking Politics* – a book I explain later in this dissertation – and other forms of focus group research, I assumed discussions with female college student friend groups would produce a reliable and naturalistic study. While recognizing my presence and role in this study, I presumed that the method would unearth women's resistance to sexual violence, especially as the friend groups maintained high levels of “interpersonal contact” and “similarity of socialization” (Gamson, 1992, p. 192). Importantly, leading into this study, I also assumed that recruiting female friend groups would lead to homogeneous focus groups concerning racial, ethnic, sexual, and ability identities. Though these groups were homogeneous in terms of women's social interests, most were heterogeneous in terms of these identities.

Key Sensitizing Concepts

The following terms are essential to this study and revisited throughout:

Women's resistance.

This study pursues theory for resistance to campus sexual violence as it is described and lived by women. The concept of women's resistance is lifted directly from Laura Ahearn's (2010) work on agency and language, and in particular her concept of *oppositional agency*,

which she describes as the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act” in opposition to a series of problematic practices comprising campus sexual violence. In her work, Ahearn faults scholars for frequently narrowing the fuller spectrum of theories about *agency* to the concept of *resistance*. More precisely, she argues, “oppositional agency is only one of many forms of agency” (p. 30).” In this study, however, it is precisely this narrow slice of women’s agency that is of interest, researched, and constructed into theory for resistance to campus sexual violence.

#MeToo as a discursive space.

This study uses #MeToo as a discursive space for female college students and their friends to fill with their own constructions of sexual violence and resistance. In doing so, this study recognizes #MeToo as a discursive space for individual survivors and groups of people who are marginalized by the continued presence of sexual violence in the U.S.

At its origins, “Me Too” is a social movement that supports survivors experiencing sexual violence in their homes and within their communities (Rodino-Colocino, 2018). The movement originated in 2006 after its founder, Tarana Burke, missed an opportunity to openly empathize with a young Black girl, attempting to share her personal story of sexual abuse (Burke, 2013). Shortly after this encounter, Burke founded “Me Too” in order to connect survivors, and especially young women and girls of color, to resources and empathy (Parker, 2017). As a result, “Me Too” became a space for survivors of sexual assault to express their feelings, including the “anger and rage that victims feel (Rodino-Colocino, 2018, p. 98),” and receive recognition and empathy from others in personal conversations.

Then, in 2017, #MeToo evolved to become a “hashtag and a wider online movement” that draws attention to various forms of sexual violence (Rodino-Colocino, 2018, p. 98), including campus sexual assault (Jackson, 2018). After this evolution, which happened while

preparing the dissertation proposal and prior to data collection, I added #MeToo to this study. In this study, #MeToo is a discursive “space” for individual, female college students to resist the silencing of their voices and find “empowerment through empathy” (Rodino-Colocino, 2018, p. 97). Meanwhile, #MeToo is a space for female college students as an intersectional collective of women marginalized by various forms of sexual violence, to co-construct campus sexual violence and women’s resistance.

Campus sexual violence.

This is a feminist standpoint project, and thus it does not restrict female college students’ voices to narrating women’s resistance to gender-based violence on college campuses. Rather, this study positions their perspectives as truthful representations of campus sexual violence and a problem that faces all students. More precisely, it uses female college students’ conversations about a series of *#MeToo*’s to identify problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex on college campuses. The findings of this study label these problematic practices ‘campus sexual violence.’

Before data collection, however, it is necessary and useful to provide a provisional definition of the term ‘campus sexual violence.’ Campus sexual violence is “an all-encompassing, non-legal term that refers to crimes like sexual assault, rape, and sexual abuse” (RAINN, 2018, para. 1), experienced by college students on or near their campus. These crimes include rape, attempted and completed sexual assault, physical assault, harassment, and a series of other abuses lacking clear definitions and/or terms.

Significance for Knowledge and Practice

This research has significance for knowledge and practice in American higher education related to campus sexual violence and the lives of students. It also holds specific significance for

feminist knowledge and practice concerning efforts to know, support, and empower women's resistance to sexual violence during college.

This study contributes knowledge of campus sexual violence and female college students' resistance, while creating new threads for research and discussion on women and sexual violence broadly. This is because the study "breaks theoretical boundaries and reconceptualizes a problem or relocates [a] problem area" (Marshall & Rossman, 2010, p. 71). In this case, the boundaries broken are those that currently frame and limit knowledge of women's resistance to campus sexual violence. When thinking about conducting this study to break said boundaries, I read international perspectives on sexual violence and violence against women, including scholarship from feminist security scholars on the topic of human security. I also read reports from the World Health Organization's (WHO's) Global Campaign for Violence Prevention (2019), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations Human Security Unit (UN-HSU). These perspectives advocate that governments address sexual violence and violence against women through *protection* efforts ("top-down") and *empowerment* strategies ("bottom-up") (UN-HSU, 2009, p. 8). After immersing myself in these perspectives, I chose to conduct this study to revisit women's – including but not limited to female college students' – resistance to various forms of sexual violence. This involved positioning women's "bottom-up" lives and perspectives as those that are truthful representations of sexual violence (UNDP, 2005, p. 8). By conducting this work with these intentions, this study answers calls from feminist security scholars (e.g., Bumiller, 2013), feminist higher education researchers in the U.S. (e.g., Wooten, 2015; Germain, 2016), and feminist theorists (e.g., Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004), to amplify the voices of women and female college students in sexual violence discourse.

This study also contributes knowledge to higher education administration at the intersection of sexual violence, violence prevention, consent, and the well-being of college students in the U.S. This is, in no small part, a product of my training as practitioner-scholar in higher education who straddles the roles of administrator and feminist academic. By making female college students the starting place for knowledge of campus sexual violence, this study is intended to provide new knowledge to students, faculty, staff, administrators, parents, and policymakers: people whose role it is to prohibit campus sexual violence and promote equity among students. Though the findings of this study offer many questions and comparatively few answers, they point to a need for new administrative directions in addressing hookup culture, educating students about consent, providing space for female students to talk, and empowering female students on many fronts, including the prevention of sexual violence.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to develop grounded theory for female college students' construction of women's resistance, related to campus sexual violence. In turn, the purpose of this literature review is to show how others have theorized and empirically researched women's resistance to campus sexual violence on women's behalf, and often without the empirical perspectives of female college students. In line with the purpose of this study – which purports the need for new research and theory – this literature review focuses on the current frameworks used to give shape to female college students' agency, as it is opposed to campus sexual violence. This literature review also presents a feminist methodological critique of these frameworks, as they continue to be utilized and relied on in research.

Overview and Structure of the Literature Review

The structure of this literature review is as follows. First, this literature review calls out the common frameworks that scholars use to understand female college students' resistance or "oppositional agency" related to sexual violence (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30). Second, this literature review offers a series of feminist methodological concerns related to the use of these frameworks, especially as they are used by scholars to understand college women, campus sexual violence, and American higher education. Third, and in place of a predestined theoretical framework, this literature review concludes with a list of sensitizing directions for the development of grounded theory in this study (Blumer, 1954; Kelle, 2007).

Framing Women's Resistance Related to Sexual Violence in College

This literature review provides an introduction to three, common frameworks that scholars have adopted to understand female college students' opposition to campus sexual violence. At present, much of the literature is centered on two understandings of women's

opposition to campus sexual violence: a lens of non-agentive victimization, and a second-wave lens for women's resistance that centers on their opposition to structural male dominance.

Increasingly, however, there is also a third lens at play, which emphasizes women's neoliberal, risk management related to campus sexual violence.

Women's victimization and non-resistance.

The first framework used by researchers to understand women, and their opposition to sexual violence in the U.S. and on American college campuses, is one that centers on their victimization and non-opposition. Under this lens, women are not resisters, but instead lose their ability to oppose sexual violence as victims.

Denying women's opposition through unwanted sexual contact.

Female college students are described as victims of sexual violence, whose opposition to such violence is halted due to the following: non-consensual and unwanted sexual contact by peers (Koss, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Abbey, 2002; Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013; Jozkowski, Peterson, Sanders, Dennie, & Reece, 2014); forceful and incapacitating sexual violence by criminal perpetrators (Searles & Berger, 1987; Fisher et al., 2000; Kilpatrick, Resnick, Ruggiero, Conoscenti, & McCauley, 2007), and detrimental health injuries (Slaughter, Brown, Crowley, & Peck, 1997; Sugar, Fine, & Eckert, 2004; Amar & Gennaro, 2005; Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009). As a result of sexual violence, women are described as incurring incapacitating, physical traumas (Slaughter, Brown, Crowley, & Peck, 1997; Sampson, 2003; Sugar, Fine, & Eckert, 2004), and sexually transmitted illness (Prospero & Vohra-Gupta, 2008, p. 378). Women are also suggested to be weakened by mental health problems associated with experiencing sexual violence (Amar & Gennaro, 2005; Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009). This includes a debilitating fear of sexual violence, even

in instances where women experience it as a threat, and not first-hand victimization (Ferraro, 1996; Fisher & Sloan, 2006).

Once victimized, women are described as experiencing additional episodes sexual violence, and forms of victimization and agency-denial by others. Female college students survivors of sexual violence are discussed as more likely to experience repeat, recurrent episodes of such violence (Daigle, Fisher, & Cullen, 2008; Henriksen, Mattick & Fisher, 2015). They also experience additional forms of victimization, by others who have not perpetrated sexual violence first-hand. For instance, female college students experience a secondary victimization at the hands of campus and legal authorities, if and when they try to report their experiences as victims (Martin & Powell, 1994; Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 1999; Jones, Alexander, Wynn, Rossman, & Dunnuck 2009). This is because campus administrators and the police use processes to investigate and adjudicate cases of sexual violence that are psychologically damaging to victims (Campbell & Raja, 1998), and “chilling [of] victim reporting” (Cantalupo, 2016, p. 158). More precisely, researchers blame the formal definitions of peer sexual violence employed by institutions as those that disrupt reporting by victims (Finley & Corty, 1993; Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003; Krebs et al., 2009; Cantalupo, 2011; Wooten & Mitchell, 2015), as well as their pursuit of agency post-assault (Germain, 2016). In fact, college students underreport instances of sexual violence at a greater rate than non-students of the same age because of these definitions (Koss et al., 1987; Clay-Warner & Burt, 2005).

Moreover, in the context of rape culture among peers, female victims are described as being denied the opportunity to have their stories heard or believed by others (Armstrong et al., 2006). Rape supportive beliefs and attitudes among male students, in particular, play a role in

further denying agency to women who have experienced victimization first-hand (Martin & Hummer, 1999; Bleecker & Murnen, 2005; Armstrong et al., 2006).

Denying women's collective resistance through hostile climate.

As a gendered group, female college students' are also described as victimized by sexual violence, in terms of their collective agency. This collective agency is denied by a climate of gender-based oppression and discrimination in higher education, and requires women's reliance on protections of the State. In terms of discrimination, campus sexual violence is one form of sexual harassment, which oppresses women in the U.S. (MacKinnon, 1979), and limits the access of women to education as students (Lee, Croninger, Linn, & Chen, 1996; Sandler & Shoop, 1997; Guziewicz, 2002; Thelin, 2011; Loss, 2012). Historically, women have experienced gender-based discrimination and harassment at colleges and universities in the U.S., due to "organizational" and "societal" abuses of power committed against female college students on college campuses (Lee, Croninger, Linn, & Chen, 1996, p. 387). Beginning with the earliest forms of coeducation in the U.S., male students, faculty, and administrators demonstrated antagonism to the presence of women in higher education (Thelin, 2011; Loss, 2012).

Over time, and in response to such a history, policy has shaped an understanding of campus sexual violence as a form of sexual harassment on college campuses, facing women as students. More precisely, the work of feminist legal scholar Catherine MacKinnon (1979; 1998), the legal and educational scholarship during the 1990s (Steinberg, 1991; Faber, 1992; Sherer, 1993; Sandler & Shoop, 1997), and changes to Title IX related to campus sexual harassment and violence (Office for Civil Rights, 2001; Ali, 2011), policy has come to identify campus sexual violence as contributing to a hostile environment for women in schools. At best, this climate is a product of administrative negligence, in which administrators "bury their heads in the sand" with

regards to peer sexual violence as a broader campus problem facing women (Cantalupo, 2011, p. 249), and the epidemic of underreporting among female victims (Crosset, 2015; Martin, 2016). At worst, this climate is a product of administrative malfeasance, as investigations into campus sexual violence proceed in ways that privilege and protect the rights of accused, male assailants (Sokolow, Schuster, Lewis, & Swinton, 2016, p. 141).

Additionally, campus sexual violence is a problem that collectively victimizes and oppresses female college students, through “rape-prone” and “rape-supportive” campus cultures, particularly among male college students (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002; Armstrong et al., 2006; Suran, 2014; Crosset, 2015). A rape supportive campus culture is a “consequence of widespread belief in ‘rape myths,’ or ideas about the nature of men, women, sexuality, and consent that create an environment conducive to rape” (Armstrong et al., 2006). As researchers enter into the sex-segregated spaces of fraternity life and male college athletics, they describe these spaces as sites for “hostile masculinity,” “hypermasculinity” (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007, p. 146), “uncontrollable male sexual aggression” (Sanday, 1992, p. 41), “physical aggression,” and “sexual conquest” over women (Connell, 2000, p. 137).

This is not to suggest that fraternity brothers and male college athletes individually commit more individual rapes than non-athlete, non-fraternity male students. In fact, research is mixed on whether the beliefs held and perpetuated by athletes and fraternity men lead to sexually aggressive behaviors and violence against women (Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997). However, the presence of these male peer subcultures and sex-segregated spaces of athletics and fraternities is linked to a climate that is conducive to “higher incidences of sexual violence” against women (Cantalupo, 2011, p. 221). For example, even when the rituals of fraternity life do not escalate into the rape of individual women – and they do – these rituals help

to perpetuate a “rape-prone culture” in the college social scene (Sanday, 1992, p. 191). In the culture of fraternity life, college women are considered the sexual property of fraternity men, who join these organizations to access women as a commodity for improving their own social and competitive status (Sanday, 1992; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Wade, 2017). Fraternities create a climate in which women’s subjugation to men is part and parcel of the collective, organizational experience (Martin & Hummer, 1989). This is one way that colleges and universities propel a “system” of sexual relations that educate women in romance; for example, teaching women to be accepting of “attractiveness as symbolic capital” in ways that are dictated by male students, and in ways that suppress women’s resistance to such a culture (Holland & Eisenhart, 1992, p. 101-102).

Consequently, among the sex-segregated spaces of male college athletes, men are exposed to and socialized in a culture of “control, domination, competitiveness, physical strength, and aggressiveness” (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007, p. 146). For student athletes, this violence results in a “cultural spillover” of tolerance for interpersonal and sexual violence (Brown, Sumner, & Nocera, 2002; Crosset, 2015). This culture remains unchecked by administrators, who refuse to acknowledge the problematic structure of “sex segregated” athletic programs on college campuses, hold male athletes accountable for their support of rape culture, or craft “athlete-specific sexual assault prevention education” (Crosset, 2015, p. 104).

Women’s resistance as opposing male dominance.

The second framework used by researchers to understand female college students, and their opposition to campus sexual violence, is one that synonymizes resistance with opposition to male dominance. This is true of both individual episodes and/or the culture of campus sexual violence on college campuses, and gender-based inequality and oppression more broadly. Under

this frame, female college students' opposition is a form of second-wave, feminist political resistance, which is exerted against the "existing power differentials" or statuses between female college students and their male peers (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30).

Resisting unwanted sexual contact.

Female college students are described as individually resisting campus sexual violence, by using their words and actions to issue non-consent or consent to unwanted sexual contact. In terms of their words, women resist individual episodes of unwanted sexual contact by saying 'no' (Estrich, 1987; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987; McGregor, 1996; Abbey, 2002; Maitra & McGowan, 2010), in an expression of "overt non-consent" (Aliment, 2015, p. 195). That being said, they also resist unwanted sexual contact by providing *affirmative consent*, through "verbal and willing approval" of sexual contact (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992, p. 39). According to scholars and policymakers (e.g., Bussel, 2008; Lafrance, Loe, & Brown, 2012; Napolitano, 2014; Jozkowski, 2015), women's consent and non-consent to sexual contact are ways for everyone, including the women themselves, to draw an "imaginary line" between "sex and violence" in behavioral terms (Bumiller, 1987, p. 81). Thus, when a woman says 'yes' to sex, she clarifies her intentions with a sexual partner in a way that resists, and shields her from the possibility of, sexual violence due to miscommunication (Bussel, 2008).

In terms of their actions, female college students resist campus sexual violence by combating the use of force by perpetrators. This resistance includes self-defense techniques (Easton, Summers, Tribble, Wallace, & Lock, 1997; Sochting, Fairbrother & Koch, 2004; Hollander & Rodgers, 2014; McCaughey & Cermele, 2017), and/or by carrying a deterrent, like pepper spray (Cumiskey & Brewster, 2012). It is for this reason that scholars continue to recommend supporting women's resistance related to campus sexual violence, by training

women in self-defense (Easton et al., 1997; Sochting et al., 2004; Hollander, 2014; McCaughey & Cermele, 2017).

Once female college students experience campus sexual violence, their opposition is limited to post-assault forms of resistance, which are confined to that which can be had through policy and investigations. As described below, this includes but is not limited to taking part in investigations, pressing charges with criminal and institutional authorities, and/or working with medical personnel to file rape kits (Germain, 2016).

Resisting gender-based oppression through feminist activism.

Female college students are described as collectively resisting campus sexual violence, through feminist efforts to change the conditions surrounding campus sexual violence. This includes improving the information that students, faculty, administrators and other campus stakeholders have related to rape culture and the prevalence of campus rape (Sanday, 1992; Banyard, Moynihan, & Crossman, 2009; McMahon & Banyard, 2012; Mendes, 2015); by protesting and demanding changes to the treatment of victims of campus rape (Sanday, 1992; Armstrong et al., 2006; Mendes, 2015; Jessup-Anger, Lopez, & Koss, 2018); and by working with campus administrators and the authorities to improve protections for women and victims under Title IX and The Clery Act (Dick & Ziering, 2016; Germain, 2016).

In other words, their resistance is said to mirror the historical activism of feminist movements throughout American history, and especially during the 1960s and 1970s. This activism raised American awareness and women's consciousness to the prevalence of sexual violence against women (Bevacqua, 2000; Mardorossian, 2002; Hall 2004); protesting the conditions of women and victims through the women's liberation movement (Searles & Berger,

1987); and pursuing victims' rights protections under the law (Bevacqua, 2000; Mardorossian, 2002; Seidman & Vickers, 2005; Corrigan, 2013).

First, female college students resist campus sexual violence by raising the collective awareness and consciousness to rape culture on their college campuses (Sanday, 1992; Banyard, Moynihan, & Crossman, 2009; McMahon & Banyard, 2012; Mendes, 2015). Female college students take part in educational and health-outreach efforts, related to changing the attitudes and behaviors regarding sex and sexual violence among their peers (Armstrong et al., 2006; Banyard et al., 2009; McMahon & Banyard, 2012). They learn and teach others about intervening into rape culture as a positive bystander (Banyard et al., 2009; McMahon & Banyard, 2012), recognizing the signs and symptoms of intimate partner violence (Rothman, Paruk, & Banyard, 2018), and promoting healthy behaviors related to alcohol, sex, and sexual violence among peers (Lindsey, 1997).

Second, and in resistance to the continued presence of rape supportive attitudes and myths on their college campuses, female college students participate in and organize feminist demonstrations and speak-out events related to campus sexual violence (Sanday, 1992; Armstrong et al., 2006; Mendes, 2015; Jessup-Anger et al., 2018). For example, college women are responsible for organizing the first Slutwalks in Toronto, CA. In response to a police officer who told a group of college students, "women should avoid dressing like sluts if they want to avoid being victimized" (Davis, 2017, p. 300), female college students have organized and participated in Slutwalk marches all over the world. They have marched to condemn "victim-blaming and sexual violence [against women]... and to involve the community to keep people safe" (Mendes, 2015, p. 61). Female college students also plan events for Sexual Assault Awareness month in April (Lee, Caruso, Goins, & Southerland, 2011; Clark & Pino, 2016). For

survivors, Take Back the Night and #MeToo serve as speak-out opportunities to tell their stories, and share their experiences with sexual violence in college (Sanday, 1992; Baumgardner & Richards, 2005; Armstrong et al., 2006; Clark & Pino, 2016; Jessup-Anger et al., 2018).

Third, female college students resist campus sexual violence by working in conjunction with campus administrators and policymakers, to protect and advance victims' rights under Title IX (Brodsky & Deutsch, 2015; Cantalupo, 2016; Brodsky, 2017). This is particularly true of female survivors of campus sexual violence (Dick & Ziering, 2016), although these survivors are also joined by allies in a "Title IX Civil Rights Movement" in American higher education (Cantalupo, 2016, p. 281). Despite the extremely low rates of convictions for episodes of sexual violence under criminal law (National Crime Victimization Survey, 2015), and low rates of expulsions for perpetrators on college campuses (Kingkade, 2017), female college student survivors continue to submit their accusations to campus administrators and the authorities (Germain, 2016). They also band together, to launch formal complaints to the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights related to problems with campus climate (Bogle, 2014), and to hold their institutions accountable (Brodsky & Deutsch, 2015). When all formal options for submitting accusations and allegations to campus and legal authorities fail, female college student survivors and their feminist allies take action to draw attention to the problems related to campus sexual violence on their campus, and the negligence of administrators and legal authorities. They write Op-Eds in the national, local, and campus newspapers (e.g., Stephens, 2017), they publish books (e.g., Clark & Pino, 2016), and they produce documentary films on victims' stories related to campus sexual violence (e.g., Dick & Ziering, 2016).

Women engaged in risk management.

The third framework used by researchers to understand female college students, and their resistance to campus sexual violence, is one that centers on risk and risk avoidance (Hall, 2004; Iverson, 2015). In relation to the problem of campus sexual violence on college campuses, female college students and their bodies are described as risky, vulnerable, spaces for the prevention of campus sexual violence (Marcus, 1992; Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004; Iverson, 2015). Because female college students are more vulnerable to campus sexual violence than college men, “rape prevention is [framed as] the responsibility of individual women” (Hall, 2004, p. 12). Relatedly, women are described as “enterprising individuals” related to the problem of campus sexual violence (Apple, 2001, p. 414), whose opposition to sexual violence generates positive outcomes for all campus community members (Hall, 2004).

Women managing risk through routine activities.

Previously, researchers have described female college students’ behaviors as those that put them at risk for campus sexual violence, just by engaging in the “routine activities” of college life (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2002, p. 90). As female students drink, party, and casually hook up, researchers have argued, these students put themselves at risk for victimization by male peers (Armstrong et al., 2006; Hamilton & Armstrong, 2009; Iverson, 2015). This is particularly true, as female students exercise no formal authority over the social spaces where students experiment with alcohol (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Wade, 2017). If these women choose to drink, they must do so outside of their homes. Often, they choose to do so at fraternity parties, where they may not have access to reliable or safe transportation home (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013). Once female college students become intoxicated, they face “the threat of legal sanction while walking home or sexual assault in staying overnight with men they do not trust”

(Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013, p. 53). They also must rely on their male peers for overnight accommodations, in spaces that bring “the victim and the perpetrator together,” and create a situation that is right for the perpetuation of alcohol-fueled, acquaintance rape (Ward, Chapman, Cohn, White, & Williams, 1991, p. 65).

In turn, female college students are described as resisting sexual violence by mitigating risk. Their risk mitigation tactics include maintaining a perpetual fear of victimization by sexual violence, limiting their exposure to risky habits and routines while in college, and engaging in self-defense and resistance when it is necessary for bodily protection (Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996; Hall, 2004; Wooten & Mitchell, 2015). For instance, women “help themselves” by avoiding walking alone late at night, drinking too much, and leaving other friends alone at parties (Wooten & Mitchell, 2015, p. 17). They also help themselves by constantly assessing their surroundings, and protecting themselves from the “threat of acquaintance sexual aggression” (Norris et al., 1996, p. 129). Furthermore, not only do women’s efforts lower their risk of victimization by campus sexual violence, but these efforts also lower institutional risks (Hall, 2004), and the risk of male peer perpetration of campus sexual violence (Ehrlich, 2001).

Women mitigating risks through health.

Previously, researchers have described female college students as embodying a series “health-risk behaviors,” which “compromise the health” of women in conjunction with victimization by campus sexual violence (Brener, McMahon, Warren, & Douglas, 1999, p. 258). For example, female college students engage in heavy episodic drinking, and in doing so increase their risk of victimization by sexual violence (Weschler, Kuh, & Davenport, 1996; Brener et al., 1999; Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 2002; Abbey, 2002; Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2006; Durant, Champion, Wolfson, Omli, McCoy, D’Agostino, Wagoner,

Mitra, 2007). If and when they choose to use marijuana, or engage in sexual promiscuity – including multiple partners in a short amount of time, or being lax about taking birth control – they also engage in a health risk behavior that increases their risk for victimization (Brener et al., 1999; Champion, Foley, DuRant, Hensberry, Altman, & Wolfson, 2004).

These health-risk behaviors also exist for female college student survivors of campus sexual violence. As previously mentioned, female college students who experience victimization by sexual violence are more likely to experience repeat, recurrent episodes of such violence (Daigle, Fisher, & Cullen, 2008; Henriksen, Mattick & Fisher, 2015). Victimization is also associated with “some level of avoidance” on behalf of survivors, including “staying at home, withdrawal, disengagement, and substance abuse, which are associated with longer recovery time and higher levels of depression, anxiety, fear, and PTSD” (Campbell & Dworkin, 2009, p. 232).

Subsequently, female college students are described as mitigating the risk of campus sexual violence by avoiding these health-risk behaviors, both before and after victimization. As researchers and policymakers describe it, it is incumbent upon female college students to practice a constant, “healthy caution” in their lives (Hall, 2004, p. 8). Women either avoid these aforementioned health behaviors, or change them, as doing so can reduce the likelihood of their victimization by sexual violence (Brener et al., 1999; DuRant et al., 2007). Female college student survivors of campus sexual violence, in particular, are expected to avoid any “maladaptive approaches” to recovering from and/or surviving victimization, because doing so mitigates the risks for health-risk behaviors to continue (Campbell & Dworkin, 2009, p. 232). Relatedly, female college students are the rightful targets for preventative education and outreach related to drinking and sexual activity while in college (Abbey, Ross, McDuffie, & McAuslan, 1996).

Areas of Feminist Concern

Though scholars use these frameworks to describe female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence, as well as sexual violence in the U.S. more generally, such use is not without its limitations. Previously, feminist scholars across the fields of sociology, feminist theory, law, American politics, and social psychology have critiqued the ways that women's experiences with sexual violence continue to be understood – including but not limited to their experiences resisting sexual violence. To conclude this literature review, I apply these prior critiques to the current academic discourse on campus sexual violence, and the ways in which this discourse has or has not addressed female college students' resistance within this research. This is done to illuminate gaps in the current frameworks for narrating female college students' resistance to sexual violence, while highlighting the need for studies such as this one. In the end, this study pursues an alternative, feminist approach to understanding female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence in the U.S.

Critique 1: Describing sexual violence as uniform “feminine suffering.”

Research on campus sexual violence has tied the problem back to a theory of male dominance: a “conscious process of intimidation by which *all* men keep *all* women in a state of fear” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 15). This is true of aforementioned discussions of campus sexual violence as a product of an injurious, male-dominant, rape culture (e.g., Martin & Hummer, 1989; Sanday, 1992; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Armstrong et al., 2006; Johnson & Johnson, 2017). This is also true of researchers' discussions of campus sexual violence, as that which is connected to sites of cultural, male dominance on college campuses, including fraternities and fraternity parties (e.g., Armstrong et al., 2006; Wade, 2017), and male varsity athletes (e.g., Murnen & Kohlman, 2007).

There are two problems with this approach by researchers, who have connected and continue to connect campus sexual violence to a theory of male dominance over female students in American higher education. One problem with this approach – even as researchers discuss different forms of sexual violence in the U.S. and on American college campuses – is that it paints the truth behind women’s experiences with sexual violence, as that which is uniform and universal. Fundamentally, this approach is an artifact of second-wave feminist perspectives of the 1970s and 1980s. The other problem with this approach, linked to the problem of uniformity, is that it obscures the “subjectivity” of women’s stories in both the problem of and solutions to campus sexual violence (Hall, 2004, p. 2).

Moving on from second-wave feminist theory and male dominance.

Feminist scholars (e.g., Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004), and critical higher education researchers (e.g., Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015), have cautioned researchers and practitioner-scholars against connecting sexual violence, writ large, and campus sexual violence, writ small, to second-wave feminist theory and male dominance. Some of these scholars have advised researchers to put theoretical distance between the academic discourse on campus sexual violence and male dominance (e.g., Hall, 2004; Wooten, 2015). Others, however, have conducted research that is, in and of itself, intended to move the academic discourse past a “rape culture approach” grounded in second-wave feminist theory and male dominance (Armstrong et al., 2006, p. 485).

It is because of feminist redefinitions of rape, happening over the course of the 20th century, that there exists a language and a discourse for talking about sexual violence against women, in ways that have been informed by the voices of women. As Wooten (2015) notes, seminal pieces of second-wave feminist literature have had a “direct impact on cultural and legal

attitudes regarding sexual violence, and in some cases produced material changes in the law” (p. 57). During the 1970s and 1980s, the work of second-wave feminist scholars and activists established a historical link between sexual violence and the biological differences between men and women (Donat & D’Emilio, 1992; Mardorossian, 2002; Wooten, 2015). This is especially true of the work of Susan Brownmiller (1975), Catherine MacKinnon (1979) and Mary Koss (1985), which constitutes an “American feminist canon” on sexual violence (Wooten, 2015, p. 68). Through Brownmiller’s (1975) *Against Our Will*, in particular, rape as a feminist issue came to be defined in social and political terms that reflected oppression in women’s lives, rather than in terms that related to sexual or biological dominance (Travis, 2003; Henderson, 2007).

However, as a result of the second-wave feminist theory, and in particular male dominance, campus sexual violence continues to be understood as a product of an illimitable, categorical, dominance of men over female students. Even as male dominance is described as social, rather than biological (Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015), it theorizes women’s experiences with campus sexual violence as those that are at-once similar and uniform. Whether female college students suffer first-hand victimization by sexual violence, or merely know someone who has, they all live under the threat and “shadow of sexual assault” (Fisher & Sloan, 2006, p. 634). Their lives intersect with rape culture on their college campuses in similar ways (Mardorossian, 2002). Finally, college students are understood to suffer from and resist campus sexual violence in ways that are similar; even as their subjective identities related to sexuality, race, ethnicity, and other social categories diverge (Wooten, 2015). Though not all female students experience similar risks for experiencing sexual assault, and not all women experience first-hand victimization by sexual violence, all female students need administrators to take steps to prevent sexual violence through similar, “social administration” efforts (Hall, 2004, p. 1).

Critique 2: Framing female students as risk managers.

Research on campus sexual violence describes female college students' resistance to sexual violence, through the lens of risk management (Hall, 2004, p. 2). Prior to victimization, female college students face the institutional expectation that they will oppose sexual violence through prevention efforts on their college campuses (Hall, 2004; Bay-Cheng, 2015). Once female college students experience victimization, however, they are personally responsible for opposing sexual violence through their survivorship, in ways that are strong, active, and telling of their resistance (Mardorossian, 2002). One problem with this approach is that, without further research into women's perspectives on campus sexual violence, this risk management lens remains in tact. As it remains in tact, it puts pressure on women to avoid and fix campus sexual violence in ways that may not align with their own perspectives and wishes.

Using neoliberalism to understand women's resistance and survival.

Feminist scholars have refuted the ways that research and policy on sexual violence (e.g., Hall, 2004), and campus sexual violence in particular (e.g., Bay-Cheng, 2015; Jones, de Heer, & Prior, 2016), construct women's opposition to sexual violence through the lens of neoliberal risk management. This is because, in using this lens, researchers limit the notion of women's opposition to sexual violence, to that which aligns with a neoliberal, American pursuit of "law and order." Specifically, since the 1980s and 1990s, U.S. society and institutions have characterized living in "fear as responsible citizenship" (p. 11). Stemming from neoliberalism, then, is the understanding that it is women's role as good Americans and campus citizens to prevent sexual violence in the U.S. and on college campuses (Hall, 2004; Bay-Cheng, 2015; Iverson, 2015).

Nor is this kind of “performativity” a choice, on behalf of women (Apple, 2001, p. 416). Rather, women’s management of risk related to sexual violence is a compulsory part of women’s rationality (Hall, 2004; Bay-Cheng, 2015; Iverson, 2015). Women learn to oppose and prevent sexual violence through an institutional, “women’s safety pedagogy” related to sexual violence (Hall, 2004, p. 6). College women are more vulnerable to risk for campus sexual violence than college men. In turn, this pedagogy teaches women that it is their role to be positive bystanders related to campus sexual violence, and to engage mightily in efforts to resist individual acts of sexual violence and campus rape culture. For this reason, prevention programs and policies teach women to exercise a constant, “healthy caution” in their lives (p. 8). This includes avoiding walking alone late at night, drinking too much, leaving other female friends at parties, all while improving their personal behaviors and health-risks to reduce campus sexual violence (Wooten & Mitchell, 2015).

Essentially, female college students are “oversubscribed” to the burdens of preventing and redressing sexual violence against women, while male students are “undersubscribed” to such burdens. Presently, practitioners, policymakers, and researchers alike tend to accept that female college students are “constrained and victimized” by life on residential college campuses, due to the demands that they must meet related to preventing sexual violence (Wooten, 2015, p. 59). In contrast to female college students, however, male college students maintain “freedom of movement and power” to act as subjects on their campuses (Wooten, 2015, p. 59). For instance, male students are infrequently asked to oppose sexual violence by abandoning the single-sex spaces of fraternities and athletic teams. This is despite the fact that their contributions to these activities increase women’s risk for sexual violence (Sanday, 1992; Mustaine & Tewksbury,

2002; Armstrong et al., 2006; Suran, 2014; Crosset, 2015), and create the need for various parties to oppose campus sexual violence in the first place.

Critique 3: Framing female students as victimized and dependent.

Research on sexual violence, including that of campus sexual violence, constructs women as victims (Harding, 1987). In turn, this research propels a particular kind of ‘victimology,’ on behalf of women and victims of sexual assault. First, when it comes to sexual violence and victimization, women are described as victims who “have never successfully fought back,” and who “cannot be effective social agents on behalf of themselves or others” (Harding, 1987, p. 5). Second, if and when women experience campus sexual violence, female college students are described as non-agentic, lacking the “capacity to act” as a result of their victimization (Ahearn, 2010, p. 28), and dependent on others to survive (Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015). One problem with this approach is that it falls short in representing the myriad of ways that women – including women who have experienced sexual violence – resist campus sexual violence in all its forms.

Law and the non-oppositional victim.

Within feminist theoretical, historical, and legal writings (e.g., Bumiller, 1987; Searles & Berger, 1987; Mardorossian, 2002; Fineman, 2008), as well as higher education research (e.g., Germain, 2016; Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015), scholars have criticized the framing of victims as non-oppositional. For these scholars, such a victimology is socially and politically constructed. This is because it is a relic of the historical, victims’ rights movements that have existed in the U.S., including the one that took shape through changes to American higher education policy throughout the 2000s (Mardorossian, 2002; Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015).

Over time, there has been a shift in the status of female victims’ agency related to sexual violence, which began shortly before a series of American rape law reforms in the 1970s. Prior

to the anti-rape movement in the U.S., female victims of sexual violence were known to be angry, active agents, whose resistance to sexual violence was an integral part of the collective action surrounding feminist movements in the U.S. However, during the anti-rape movement of the 1970s, second-wave feminist scholars and anti-rape activists merged the issue of victims' rights onto the terrain of the State (Bevacqua, 2000; Bumiller, 2013). By turning their attention to victims' rights, as a movement, feminist anti-rape activists intended to improve the treatment and care of victims during trials, and within public discourse through material changes in the law (Rose, 1977; Corrigan, 2013). These intended improvement include evidentiary reforms, which eliminated the requirements around corroboration, and enacting rape shield laws; increasing the punishments surrounding rape according to severity of the offense; and abolishing gender-specific language surrounding perpetration and victimization (Searles & Berger, 1987; Seidman & Vickers, 2005).

However, there were unintended consequences of tying the anti-rape movement in the U.S. to victims' rights. One that has been particularly problematic, for victims, is the construction of female victims of sexual violence as "dependent subjects," whose rights and needs require constant protection (Mardorossian, 2002, p. 759). In order to increase the seriousness of protections for victims' rights under the law, and make it clear that victims' rights violations demanded intervention, female victims has to become known as "vulnerable" and "weak" without the assistance of the State (Wooten, 2015, p. 59-60). Over time, too, feminists – and now, the discourse surrounding women's victimization by sexual violence – came to understand the State as the "appropriate institution to control" violence against women (Matthews, 2005, p. 122).

What this means is that within policy and subsequent discourse surrounding American higher education and campus sexual violence, female victims continue to be described and known as “reliant on others, namely university personnel, to mediate their experience, support them, and keep them safe” (Iverson, 2015, p. 42). In terms of policy, Title IX, the Clery Act, and institutional-specific policies construct “victims (women)” as “passive and thus dependent on a masculinist organization for support and protection” (Iverson, 2015, p. 42). Furthermore, in terms of anti-rape efforts made by students on college campuses, activism continues to tie victims’ rights and livelihood to the protections of the state. For example, one powerful documentary film, “The Hunting Ground,” focuses almost squarely on the importance of federal policy in affording victimized women an opportunity to oppose sexual violence, post-victimization (Dick & Ziering, 2016). Similarly, feminist legal scholars behind *KnowyourIX.com* recommend Title IX as a piece of civil legislation that helps victims oppose sexual violence through civil law.

Unfortunately, for victims, this lens “oversimplifie[s] the problem and the solution” for victims, related to sexual violence (Bumiller, 1987, p. 84). For this very reason, Germain’s (2016) research constructs female college student survivors’ “post-assault agency” as that which consists of various forms of agency, including hope, responsiveness, and oppositional activism, alongside despondency (p. 100). Outside of Germain’s (2016) work, however, there is a dearth of empirical study that seeks to talk about victims as people who resist sexual violence, and separate victimization from an inevitable sentence of “suffering, passivity, and interiority” (Mardorossian, 2002, p. 766).

Sensitizing Concepts Revisited

Out of these aforementioned, feminist critiques of current research and discourse, and early analytical directions of the grounded theory, a series of “sensitizing concepts” and/or directions were constructed (Blumer, 1954; Kelle, 2007). Defined, sensitizing concepts are empirical, theoretical, and ideological tools that offer “a general sense of reference and guidance” for a substantive, grounded theory related to female college students’ constructions of resistance and campus sexual violence (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). Because this study is a piece of grounded theory, it does not force a theoretical framework onto the perspectives of female college students related to campus sexual violence (Glaser, 1992). Instead, it follows Kelle’s (2007) and Charmaz’s (2014) advice – grounded in the work of Strauss and Corbin (1994) – to use prior theory as tools for “emergence” (p. 191). This section reviews that sensitizing concepts that ground theoretical emergence in this study.

Women’s resistance.

This study centers on women’s resistance, as a result of both feminist critiques, and my early data collection and analysis. As previously described in Chapter 1, this study positions women as *oppositional agents* with regards to their talk and theorizing of agency, related to campus sexual violence (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30). Initially, I approached and positioned participants as resisting agents for feminist political and methodological reasons; mostly, to “contest the dichotomy between victimization and agency” that has existed in the discourse surrounding campus sexual violence (Hall, 2004, p. 14). When launching this study, I intended to represent participants’ empirical perspectives and interactions related to sexual violence as more nuanced, and more complicated, than this dichotomy suggests. Once I began data collection, however, I listened for female college students speaking as agents, who resist campus sexual violence.

More precisely, I recognized that women's voices were describing their resistance in opposition to campus sexual violence, in ways that have not yet been captured by the aforementioned frameworks. This includes women constructing their resistance in forms of "supra-individual" agency (Ahearn, 2010, p. 29), which extend the concept of opposition beyond that of individual agency. This also includes women as a collective, engaged in the feminist praxis of recognizing others (e.g., Fraser, 2000; Kruks, 2001; Baum, 2004), and women partnered with others, engaged in the praxis of consent. At this point, I returned to the literature, to review and include Laura Ahearn's (2010) work on agency and language.

#MeToo as a discursive space.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, this study constructs #MeToo as a discursive space for individual survivors and female college students, as an intersectional group of people marginalized by the continued presence of sexual violence at their schools. In 2017, #MeToo became a social movement that draws attention to various forms of sexual violence and abuse, via survivors' stories and experiences with violence (Rodino-Colocino, 2018). Thus, in 2018, #MeToo is available for use by authors like Jessica Bennett of the *New York Times*, and researchers like myself, to enable individuals and groups to name various forms of sexual violence, harassment, and abuse as problematic practices.

Furthermore, this study constructs #MeToo as a discursive space in response to the gaps that exist between individual's and groups' lived experiences of sexual violence, and the definitions of sexual violence available under law and policy (i.e., Hall, 2004). In this study, I presented focus groups with a #MeToo case – retold through strongly-worded *New York Times* Op-Ed, written by neoconservative columnist Bari Weiss – to encourage women to think critically of the ways that other people describe sexual violence. Then, I asked them to fill the

discursive space in the focus group setting with their perceptions and stories of campus sexual violence as they see it, know it, experience it, and resist it. In the course of this study, I also used concept of #MeToo as a noun – i.e., *female college students' #MeToo's* – to categorize women's various, problematic encounters with both sexual violence and sex as campus sexual violence, in ways that are not limited to rape, sexual assault, and sexual harassment. I posited #MeToo as a space for individual survivors of sexual violence and female college students, as an intersectional group of people marginalized by the continued presence of sexual violence on their college campus.

Campus sexual violence as a series of #MeToo's.

In the literature review, I define campus sexual violence in line with the definition of 'sexual violence' provided by RAINN (2018): "an all-encompassing, non-legal term that refers to crimes like sexual assault, rape, and sexual abuse" (para. 1), which takes place between college students. In data analysis, however, I define campus sexual violence through female college students' constructions of women's problematic encounters with both sexual violence and sex, as #MeToo's. Initially, I sought to construct campus sexual violence through women's words for because of the need for feminist standpoint research and theory on the topic. As previously mentioned, feminist standpoint theory and methodology is an approach to research that takes women's historically marginalized perspectives, and places them at the very center of discourses such as the one surrounding campus sexual violence (Harding, 1987; Collins, 1990). Moreover, the term – campus sexual violence – lacks specificity in research and practice. This is particularly true of descriptions of campus sexual violence that do not center on attempted or completed sexual assault, or sexual harassment.

However, as I began this study, it became clear that female college students also refrained from using terms like ‘sexual violence’ or ‘harassment’ when prompted to describe the fuller extent of women’s problematic, sexual experiences and encounters with peers under #MeToo. In turn, during data analysis, I used the category of *female college students’ #MeToo’s* to sort female college students’ perceptions of problematic practices related to sexual violence, as well as sex. Practices related to sex include peer-based sexual attention, touching, and encounters that are non-consensual, unwanted, and “gray.”

Summary of Literature Review

This literature review explores how prior research has theorized and empirically researched female college students’ resistance to campus sexual violence, on their behalf. It also presents a series of prior feminist concerns about the frameworks that have been used to understand college women, and their resistance related to sexual violence. Without further research on sexual violence as it is experienced, understood, and talked about by girls, women, and female victims in the U.S., these frameworks maintain empirical weaknesses, which can and should be supplemented by women’s oppositional perspectives. As Sandra Harding (1987) notes, it “needs to be stressed that it is women who should be expected to be able to reveal *for the first time* what women’s experiences are” (p. 7). At present, it is unclear whether these frameworks for understanding campus sexual violence accurately speak for female college students, in ways that resonate with their everyday perceptions, interactions, and feelings related to sexual violence.

Finally, this section concluded with a series of “sensitizing concepts” for generating theory for campus sexual violence and women’s opposition (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). These

concepts are used in place of a theoretical framework, which is not used for grounded theory research (Charmaz, 2006).

Chapter 3: Methodology

As previously stated, the purpose of this study is to develop grounded theory for female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence. To this end, this study employs a methodology that supports a feminist interpretation of the diverse voices of female college students into substantive theory.

Rationale for Qualitative Research

A qualitative research approach provides the basis for conducting feminist research on college women, their oppositional agency, and sexual violence, because it enables naturalistic and holistic inquiry (Patton, 1982; Lincoln & Guba, 1989). By using qualitative inquiry, I have access to an emergent research approach and tools to conduct this research. Furthermore, qualitative inquiry allows for “multiple dimensions to emerge from the data without making prior assumptions about the linear or correlative relationships among narrowly defined, operationalized variables” (Patton, 1982, p. 9). The specific tools that come along with this approach enable researchers like myself to embrace ambiguity and dynamism in research; knowing that our “questions may change, the forms of data collection may shift, and the individuals studied and the sites visited may be modified” (Creswell, 2014, p. 186).

Research Design: Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT)

The research design for this study is constructivist grounded theory (CGT). Established and refined by Kathy Charmaz (2006; 2008; 2014; 2017), CGT is an interpretivist methodology for developing theory from qualitative data. Researchers who use CGT pursue the “research process as a social construction,” and subsequently, gear their research to “collect[ing] sufficient data to discern and document how research participants construct their lives and worlds”

(Charmaz, 2008, p. 403). CGT is also an offshoot of the original, positivist version of grounded theory developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967).

Developed during the 1960s, classical grounded theory originated as an objectivist social science intended to support sociologists in the generation of better “theory from data systematically obtained from social research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2). Given the early goals of its founders, the method initially relied on the language and spirit of positivism, including “dispassionate empiricism, rigorous codified methods, emphasis on emergent discoveries, and a somewhat ambiguous specialized language that echoes quantitative methods” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 9). During the 1980s, however, grounded theory underwent a major philosophical shift, as Anselm Strauss altered the method for the development of interpretive theories (Charmaz, 2006). At this time, Strauss, and later Strauss and Corbin (1994), came to understand and define “grounded theories... as interpretations made from given perspectives as adopted or researched by researchers” (p. 279).

In turn, Charmaz developed constructivist grounded theory: an amalgamation of both Glaserian and Straussian strains of grounded theory, made possible by this “interpretive turn” in grounded theory (p. 127). As a method, CGT retains some of the basic “rules” of the classical form developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and carried forward by Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1998). CGT requires a “constant comparative” approach to collecting, coding, and analyzing sociological data and interpreting it into theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 103). It also demands “theoretical sensitivity” on behalf of researchers (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 46). Theoretical sensitivity refers to a researcher’s grasp of theory and grounded theory analysis techniques. Taken together, both enable a researcher to avoid forcing *a priori* theory onto grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kelle, 2007).

That being said, constructivist grounded theory is distinguished from classical grounded theory in its use of Glaser's (1978) approach to coding data, and Strauss and Corbin's (1998) approach to the role of the researcher. In terms of coding, CGT relies on Glaser's flexible, theoretical coding families for translating categories into grounded theory (Evans, 2013; Charmaz, 2014). In this way, CGT remains a method to be used by researchers who seek to construct grounded theory, while minimizing the impact of grand theories in analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998, Charmaz, 2014).

In terms of the role of the researcher, constructivist grounded theory prioritizes "reflexivity and relationality," in ways that align with Strauss and Corbin's interpretivist version of grounded theory (Hall & Callery, 2001, p. 357). CGT "shreds the notions of a neutral observer and a value free expert" (Charmaz, 2017, p. 38). As such, in studies that use CGT, a researcher's role cannot be untangled from the final construction of theory through participant perspectives. However, it is possible to clarify researcher biases and roles in the CGT research process. This happens by relying on Charmaz' (2017) concept of *methodological self-consciousness* (p. 34). My process for methodological self-consciousness is described in the section on credibility and trustworthiness.

Assumptions of Social Constructionism

Constructivist grounded theory is a *social constructionist* social science. What this means is that researchers who use CGT investigate truth as it can be represented in "multiple," "provisional," and "processual" ways (Charmaz, 2006, p. 126). In this study, CGT is not used to discover a "singular truth" about female college students and their negotiation of resistance related to campus sexual violence. Nor is the method used to obtain an objective read on women's perspectives or views. Rather, the method is used to explore the "multiple realities"

surrounding female college students' opposition to campus sexual violence (p. 127).

Furthermore, I use CGT in this study to develop a provisional theory for women's theorizing of their oppositional agency related to sexual violence. CGT allows for grounded theory that is situated in my subjectivity as the researcher and the subjectivities of my participants (Charmaz, 2014). As a result, the grounded theory that results from this study, related to female college students' resistance and sexual violence, "[has] different meanings to different people" (Evans, 2013, para. 35).

Lastly, constructivist grounded theory, as a method, relies on a particular kind of social constructionism known as *symbolic interactionism*. Symbolic interactionism is a "theoretical perspective that assumes society, reality, and self are constructed through interaction and thus rely on language and communication" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 9). As such, in this study, CGT is employed to construct women's concerns with sexual violence into a collective, intersectional, theoretical *social process* (Charmaz, 2006, p. 5). It is language that provides the opportunity to observe women's perspectives on resisting sexual violence, as participants interact, communicate, and constitute their social realities within the research experience. Thus, it is language that is used to construct grounded theory for female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence.

Symbolic interactionism as a strategic, feminist, theoretical stance.

It is useful to note here that my use of a symbolic interactionist method is strategic, as it allows me to represent women's resistance, actions, and interactions as necessary for understanding and framing sexual violence. As a practitioner-scholar, I am concerned about finding new ways for colleges and universities in the U.S. to educate and empower their female students, related to sexual violence. In turn, I strategically understand college women as

oppositional agents related to sexual violence, who “can and do think about their actions, rather than respond mechanically to stimuli” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 7). This is not in any way, shape, or form meant to place responsibility on college women for the structural mechanisms in American higher education and society that increase their vulnerability to victimization by sexual violence. Instead, this is an exercise in empowerment, meant to challenge the ways in which top-down policies, perspectives, and frameworks continue to be positioned as the preferred methods for informing education related to sexual violence, at the expense of women’s perspectives. In order to listen to women’s voices as authoritative, truthful, and worthy informants of educational programs related to sexual violence, I presume that women’s truths lie in the communication, language, and symbols they use to construct their social realities (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010).

Research Methods

The data collection and analysis procedures in this study follow those described by Charmaz (2006; 2014) for constructivist grounded theory. They also include steps for data collection and analysis as described by Glaser (1978), Strauss and Corbin (1994), Larossa (2005), and Wuest (2012). My use of CGT for data collection, analysis, and theory development unfolds in a series of overlapping and concurrent phases (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, 2008; Howell, 2013). These phases are outlined in Table 3.1, below.

Table 3.1
Methods & Procedures for Grounded Theory

Phase	Research Action	Details	Begins with?	Completed when?
1. Theoretical sampling plan	Site selection	Large, public, R1 university with defined campus and problem of campus sexual violence	Chosen in February 2018	N/a
	Purposeful sampling of participants (Initial)	Combined criterion sampling , snowball sampling , and maximum variation techniques for selecting eight female college student friend groups	May 2018	Development of early analytic categories

	Theoretical sampling of participants (Advanced)	Purposeful sampling process determined by the direction of my initial categories, to the ends of theoretical saturation	The development of early analytic categories (May 2018)	Theoretical saturation is reached
2. Data collection	Data collection	90-minute peer focus group discussions with female college student friends	The beginning of the study to initial coding (May 2018 through September 2018)	Theoretical saturation is reached
	Data preparation	Each focus group will have a data file containing: audio transcript, observational notes, and an early analytic memo written immediately after the focus group	Duration of the study	Completion of the study
	Data storage	Data file will be de-identified and stored on password protected drive; using QSR-NVivo qualitative software as site for data analysis	Duration of the study	Completion of the study
3. Data Analysis	Initial coding	Conducting open, line-by-line coding on audio transcript and open, incident-by-incident coding on observational notes	7-10 days after each focus group (May 2018 – September 2018)	Focused coding begins
	Focused coding	Using most frequent and/or prominent codes and incidents to sort through larger batches of data	After initial coding ends (May 2018 – September 2018)	Analytic categories discovered
	Writing substantive code notes	Writing analytic memos on early data	Throughout substantive coding (May 2018 – October 2018)	Focused coding ends
	Developing analytic categories	Grouping and arraying data into early analytic categories through memos	After focused coding (September 2018 – November 2018)	Theoretical concepts constructed
	Conducting “axial” memos (as needed)	Writing analytic memos that attempt to fill out my categories with substantive context	Between focused coding and theoretical coding (August 2018 – October 2018)	Theoretical saturation is reached
	Theoretical sorting	Sorting categories into concepts, using theoretical codes and coding families	As focused coding ends (August 2018)	Theoretical saturation is reached
	Theoretical coding	Coding categories and concepts for analytical properties, dimensions, and subcategories	As focused coding ends (August 2018 – October 2018)	Theoretical saturation is reached

Theoretical Sampling Plan

This study uses *theoretical sampling* for the development of grounded theory, per Patton (1990) and Charmaz (2006). Theoretical sampling is the process by which, people, information, events, and other forms of data are selected for their usefulness in developing analytic categories and theoretical concepts in grounded theory. My selection of a sample does not involve “randomly selected populations or to sample representative distributions of a particular

population” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189). Instead, the development of codes, categories, and theoretical concepts shaped the sampling of participants over the course of this research (Patton, 1990; Charmaz, 2006).

In this study, theoretical sampling played out in three ways: the selection of a research site; the purposeful selection of participants; and the direction of data collection and analysis during advanced stages of my research.

Site selection.

The site for this study is East Coast Historic University (ECHU): a large, public, majority undergraduate, four-year, primarily residential university (per Carnegie Classification), which received media attention for its Title IX investigations into sexual assault during the 2010s. Choosing this site was important to the development of grounded theory for sexual violence and female college students. This is because the site aided my sampling of participants who know about sexual violence as a social issue, without relying on women’s individual experiences with victimization. It also increased the likelihood that this study would be useful to administrators, as the administrators at this institution are already engaged in educational programming and prevention efforts related to sexual violence (Patton, 1990).

ECHU has a strong residential tradition, Greek life, and partying cultures, all of which have led administrators to engage in efforts to increase student awareness and knowledge of sexual violence. Most students live on or near the campus during all four years of college, and all first-year students live in residence halls. The “most common locations” for sexual violence are “dormitory rooms, apartments, fraternities, sororities, and parents’ homes” (Abbey, 2002, para. 11). For this reason, the student experience at this institution includes learning about sexual violence. Resident Advisors (RAs) are responsible for conducting educational programs

to help keep students safe in their residences, especially with regards to drinking, partying, and sexual violence. ECHU also has historic and robust Greek life traditions, which include students partying and consuming alcohol at large fraternity houses near the campus. Thirty-five percent of students take part in sorority and fraternity life at ECHU. Administrators are not legally liable for what occurs at these fraternity houses because they are not situated on the actual campus. They also tend to take a hands-off approach to addressing underage drinking and substance use in these spaces. However, ECHU administrators *do* target first-year students, who are allowed to rush during the second semester of their freshman year, with a variety of programs that educate students on the dangers of alcohol abuse and sexual violence while in college. Administrators also cater programs to students who are no longer in their first year of college, but who are nevertheless immersed in the peer culture of sorority and fraternity life on campus.

In recent years, the law has reiterated the responsibility of ECHU administrators to educate college students on the risks of sexual violence at their school. This has served to raise the awareness of sexual assault and violence on the college campus and among the students. As of March 2018, ECHU was one of 458 institutions of higher education that have been or continue to be investigated for violations of Title IX, related to campus sexual assault (“Campus Sexual Assault Under Investigation,” 2018). In March 2019, the institution remains engaged in an open Title IX case related to sexual violence. As a result of the institution’s various Title IX complaints, it has received campus, local, and national media attention for high-profile sexual assault concerns by undergraduate and graduate students. Students at ECHU also regularly receive announcements about crimes involving other students, including alleged sexual assaults, which occur on or near campus. These announcements are the product of the institution’s responsibilities under The Clery Act of 1993. As a result of the regular email announcements

that students receive, they are increasingly aware of crimes happening on or near the ECHU campus, including sexual assault.

Participant selection.

As with my site selection, I sampled female college student friend groups for participation in this study using theoretical sampling. In order to conduct theoretical sampling for participants, I followed the guide provided by Draucker, Martsolf, Ross, and Rusk (2007). Participants were selected in two phases. First, I conducted an initial phase of purposeful sampling for female college student friend groups during open and selective coding. Second, I conducted theoretical sampling for additional female friend groups during theoretical coding. Details about the female students who comprised the focus groups in this study are described in Appendix A, below.

Purposeful sampling of female college student friend groups.

The initial sample involved recruiting and conducting focus groups with eight female college student friend groups, whose focus group discussion data were used from the beginning of open coding to the early construction of categories (Wuest, 2012). To choose this initial sample, I used purposeful sampling. This included *criterion sampling*, *snowball sampling*, and *maximum variation sampling* (Patton, 1990; Draucker et al., 2007). The groups chosen are described in Table 3.2, below.

Table 3.2
Initial Sampling for Focus Groups 1-7

FG #	Group type	Socialize with alcohol? (Yes, No, Didn't Ascertain)	Sexually active? (Yes, No, Didn't Ascertain)	Active in feminist causes? (All, Most, Some, Few, None)	Active in violence prevention? (All, Most, Some, Few, None)	Racial composition? (White Women, Non-White Women, Mixed Group)
1	Sorority Sisters (1)	Yes	Yes	Few	Few	White
2	Club Sports Teammates	Yes	Yes	None	Few	White
3	Friends from Freshman Year (1)	Yes	DNA	Some	Some	White
4	Students in Healthcare Field	Yes	DNA	None	Some	Mixed Group (White, Black, Asian American)
5	Friends from Freshman Year (2)	Yes	DNA	Some	Some	White
6	Sorority Sisters (2)	Yes	Yes	Some	None	White
7	Students in STEM	Yes & No	DNA	Few	None	Non-White (Asian American)

First, I sampled female college student friend groups according to a series of *criteria*. I chose these criteria because they contribute to “information-richness” on the topic of sexual violence and women’s oppositional agency (Patton, 1990, p. 169). For this reason, I sampled female students who were at least in their second year of college, ages 18 to 23, and who were also enrolled at ECHU at the time of their focus groups. I also sampled women who, based on the research that is available, are considered proximate to the problem of sexual violence in college. Prior research suggests that white women, sexually active women, and women who socialize with alcohol are the most likely to experience victimization by sexual violence in college (Humphrey & White, 2000; Armstrong et al., 2006). Moreover, women’s engagement with sexual violence prevention and feminist organizations indicate that they are opposed to sexual violence on their campus, when compared with female students who are not engaged in these efforts.

Second, I selected focus groups through maximum variation sampling, also known as heterogeneous sampling (Suri, 2011). Previously, maximum variation sampling has been described as a useful, early place to begin theoretical sampling in grounded theory research (Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2006). In this study, maximum variation sampling served theory development because it is “explicitly directed toward seeking the broadest range of variation within salient sources” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxxiv). As I conducted open coding, wrote memos, and developed initial categories through which to generate theory, I used maximum variation sampling (Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2006). In the end, I sampled friend groups who I thought would bring heterogeneity to the sample in terms of their proximity to and concern for campus sexual violence. This was not done with the intention of generalizing the perspectives of women across groups, or to the ends of *representativeness* (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6), but rather in acknowledgment that these situational characteristics intersect with women’s perspectives on campus sexual violence and resistance.

For all focus groups, I also used snowball chain sampling to fill out focus groups for discussion. Snowball sampling is the process of gathering additional participants through “people who know people who know people who know what cases are information-rich” (Patton, 1990, p. 182). In this study, I worked with individual women to identify their friends and comprise a focus group. This step was necessary to organize female college student friend groups who were close with each other, and comfortable speaking about sex and sexual violence in conversation.

Theoretical sampling for participants.

Once categories began to emerge, I shifted from purposeful sampling to theoretical sampling. This timing for theoretical sampling follows the advice of Tweed and Charmaz

(2012), who state: “researchers engage in theoretical sampling after they have developed tentative analytic categories” (p. 133). I conducted theoretical sampling throughout the development of categories until I reached theoretical saturation. This process involved selectively incorporating female college student friend groups into the study, in ways that were driven by the development of categories and concepts, rather than the initial sampling plan.

Theoretical sampling for groups took place according to the guide provided by Draucker et al. (2007) and resulted in adding focus groups as outlined in Table 3. Using the guide written by Draucker et al. (2007), I employed a handful of additional, purposeful sampling techniques previously developed by Patton (1990), including *intensity sampling*, *extreme case sampling*, and *deviant case sampling*.

Table 3.3
Theoretical Sampling for Focus Group Participants 9-11

FG #	Group type	Socialize with alcohol? (Yes, No, Didn't Ascertain)	Sexually active? (Yes, No, Didn't Ascertain)	Active in feminist causes? (All, Most, Some, Few, None)	Active in violence prevention? (All, Most, Some, Few, None)	Racial composition? (White Women, Non-White Women, Mixed Group)
8	Student Leaders	Yes	Yes	Most	Some	Mixed Group (White, Black, Asian American)
9	Friends from Religion-Affiliated Club	DNA	DNA	None	None	Non-White (Asian American)
10	Varsity Sports Teammates	Yes	Yes	None	Few	White
11	Unfamiliar Women (Deviant Group)	No	DNA	Few	Few	Non-White (Hispanic, Asian American)

First, I pursued intensity sampling by selecting Focus Group 8, which was a group of female student leaders at ECHU who also described themselves as “liberal elites.” I added this group to the sample because they described themselves as “woke” and concerned with social justice related to race and gender (Merriam-Webster, 2017). I also added this group as a

politically important case (Patton, 1990, p. 180). These women have campus leadership roles where they perform an essential administrative function on behalf of the university. As a result, they are situated closer to administrators at the university than other groups in the sample.

Second, I pursued extreme case sampling by adding Focus Groups 9 and 10. I sampled a group of friends who are all involved with a Christian-affiliated student organization on campus. Prior research has described public and private religiosity as that which is protective related to violence (Wallace & Forman, 1998; Nonnemaker, McNeely, & Blum, 2003). Based on the data that is available, this research situates religious female college students at a distance from campus sexual violence. I also sampled a group of female student-athletes who are teammates on an intercollegiate varsity athletic team. Prior research has described female student-athletes as having an increased propensity for health-risk behaviors around alcohol use and binge drinking (Leichliter, Meilman, Presley, & Cashin, 2010), which are linked to an increased risk of victimization by sexual violence. Furthermore, this group of female student-athletes is close to and socializes with male student-athletes. Prior research has suggested that male college athletes are further entrenched into rape culture than non-athletes (Brown et al., 2002; Murnen & Kohlman, 2007; Crosset, 2015).

Third, I sampled a deviant case by recruiting a group of female students who were not friends with each other. In this instance, the one woman who helped to organize the focus group asked her friends, classmates, and co-workers who were unfamiliar with each other. It is important to note that this is a constructivist grounded theory study, and as such it does not abide by the rules of traditional grounded theory in using negative or disconfirming cases (Charmaz, 2006). Instead of using this case as a negative case, I incorporated it into the study to make substantive, qualitative observations about a group that diverges from others in the sample.

Recruiting participants.

In order to recruit female college student friend groups for participation, I used a series of steps. First, I contacted gatekeepers whom I expected would help me to reach female college students and their friends during the short timeframe for this research (Appendix B). These gatekeepers include campus leaders of student organizations, administrators who work with groups of female college students, faculty members who teach courses related to sexual violence, and residential advisors. In working with these gatekeepers to recruit participants, I sent an email about my project (Appendix C), and asked them to circulate it to any potentially interested female college students that they knew. I received a response from all gatekeepers, so no follow-up was needed.

Second, I also advertised the opportunity to participate in this research outside of individual gatekeepers. I promoted the opportunity in public spaces on and near the campus, as well as advertising the opportunity on social media. I printed flyers (Appendix C) and posted them in locations on and around the campus (Appendix D). I also purchased social media advertisements on Facebook and Instagram (Appendix E) and targeted students by age, location, and status as current students.

Tensions in recruitment.

I faced tensions in reaching my participants and conducting this research, per Marshall and Rossman (2010). Though this study did not survey women's personal experiences with victimization by sexual violence, the topic was a sensitive one for female college students to discuss. This was particularly true of groups that consisted of survivors, and the group of women who did not know each other as friends. I hoped that recruiting friends for participation helped to stabilize this tension, and that appears to have been the case for the 10 of 11 groups that were

friends with each other. However, I also offered incentives to counter any tensions that arose in my recruitment of female friend groups for participation. This included providing food at the focus groups, conducting focus groups in settings and at times chosen by participants, and providing coffee shop gift cards to each woman who participated.

To alleviate the tensions affiliated with women's participation in this research, I also underwent multiple trainings linked to supporting college students related to sexual violence and mental health. With regard to sexual violence, I have been trained by the university's women's center in supporting survivors of sexual violence. I am also a facilitator for bystander trainings through the national program *Green Dot* etc. I know how to recognize unspoken symptoms of sexual violence, and am trained to provide intervention in situations of possible harm. With regard to mental health, I am a certified Mental Health First Aider (MHFA), which is an international certification related to helping those experiencing mental illness acquire the help that they need. As an MHFA, I have been trained to recognize the signs of mental illness, trauma, and substance abuse, and to respond with mental health first aid measures that are appropriate for different settings and people. This was fully explained in the consent form that I asked students to sign prior to participation (Appendix F), a copy of which was provided to participants for their records.

Role chosen.

I approached data collection and analysis using Sandra Harding's (1995) call for a "strong objectivity program" of research through strong reflexivity. Strong reflexivity allows for the telling of a "less false" story of sexual violence through the perspectives of undergraduate women (Harding, 1995, p. 333), without insisting that researchers maintain neutrality in presenting participants' perspectives. In pursuit of a strongly objective project, I began each

focus group discussion with a more formal, “I-thou” relationship as described by Seidman (2006, p. 96). I attempted to maintain a sense of objectivity as I asked female students to consider and debate their understandings of #MeToo and sexual violence more generally. However, once the discussions shifted to women’s understandings of campus sexual violence at ECHU and their resistance to various forms, I brought participants further into the fold with regard to the purpose of this research. Then, at the middle stage of each focus group discussion, I transitioned to a “we” relationship with participants (Seidman, 2006, p. 96). I did so in acknowledgment of feminist research traditions, which characterize hierarchy in researcher-participant relationships as problematic and emphasize non-hierarchical research relationships as “intrinsically more valid” (Oakley, 1998, p. 711).

Data Collection Procedures

In this study, I collected data through the use of 90-minute, semi-structured, peer focus group discussions. Peer focus groups represent a variation on the traditional focus group method because they make use of the high levels of “interpersonal contact” and “similarity of socialization” between female college students. This is to the benefit of empirical knowledge about sexual violence as a social process (Gamson, 1992, p. 192).

The benefits of focus group research.

Generally, focus groups are a methodological tool for garnering information rich, qualitative data in research (Wilkinson, 1998; Patton, 2002). This is because focus groups have a unique capacity for producing “elaborated accounts” about phenomena, such as women’s concerns regarding sexual violence (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 334). In this study, focus groups enabled the examination of participants’ shared “opinions and beliefs” about the world, in ways that individual interviews do not (Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996, p. 230). More precisely,

the use of focus groups enabled data collection through women's "sharing and comparing" about sexual violence as a process (Morgan, 2012, p. 165). Through this method, I was able to use both *what* women said about sexual violence, as well as *how* women spoke and interacted with each other, to develop grounded theory for sexual violence.

Focus groups are also an important feminist research tool because they help to mitigate power imbalances in research (Vaughn et al., 1996; Wilkinson, 1998). Their use "shifts the balance of power" away from the researcher, and towards participants in a research setting (Wilkinson, 1999, p. 71). In this study, focus groups assisted the collection of empirical data in this research because participants were encouraged to "follow their own agendas" in conversation (Wilkinson, 1998), and were given a greater opportunity for "anonymity" than if they had individual interviews (Vaughn et al., 1996, p. 19). That being said, the use of focus groups allowed me to demonstrate feminist care for college women in the process of conducting this research (Wilkinson, 1999).

I also employed focus groups with the intention and eventual realization that doing so would provide an emancipatory, consciousness-raising experience for female college students related to campus sexual violence. Prior research describes participation in women's discussion groups as a method for raising the political consciousness of women (Mies, 1991; Fine, 1992; Henderson, 1995; Wilkinson, 1999; Pini, 2002), and the consciousness of women to sexual violence (Mardorossian, 2002). In this study, the use of focus groups gave women the space to honor their experiences with sexual violence as *material* experiences (Mardorossian, 2002, p. 764). "Through consciousness raising and speak-outs, women come to understand that an experience they might previously have perceived as interpersonal in nature is in fact rooted in historical and social relations" (p. 764). While participating in focus group discussions, female

college students disclosed their victimizations to their close friends, sisters, and teammates for the first time. They also encountered realizations about their relationship to campus sexual violence. As one participant, Ruby, noted, regarding the possibility of experiencing sexual violence at the hand of someone she knows:

I think, weirdly enough, [this conversation] just made me realize that I haven't prepared, if it's someone I know. I think I have heard the statistic that it's more likely it's someone you know, but I also just haven't – I have all of these game plans for strangers, but I don't have any if I know the person. So, I don't really know what I'd do.

This moment of realization, by one member of focus group #5, kicked off a discussion about what they would want and/or need as agents, to be able to address non-consensual sexual advances in a setting with someone they know.

The use of peer focus group discussions.

The specific format for the focus groups in this study was the peer focus group discussion. The peer focus group discussion approach to conducting focus groups is inspired by William Gamson's (1992) book, *Talking Politics*, which I was exposed to as an undergraduate student studying public opinion research. In this book, Gamson and his research assistants conduct 37 peer focus group discussions with individuals who know each other. He used open-ended questions – as well as a series of political cartoons, which he asked participants to describe – to observe conversation on political topics, and measure the use of collective action frames by participants to interpret and act on political issues (Gamson, 1992). In ways that are wholly inspired by Gamson's research, I also used peer focus group discussions to engage and observe college women in collective, political conversation regarding sexual violence. By constituting focus groups with friends, I had a different kind of access to the “natural vocabulary with which

people formulate meaning about the issues” (p. 192). Previously, researchers have described this kind of group discussion as one of the few opportunities to approximate interactions between participants, which would only otherwise occur in natural settings (Kitzinger, 1995).

As I learned more about peer focus group discussions as a focus group format, I came to recognize that feminist scholars have previously used the method to engage in contextual inquiries regarding women’s conversations and language (Kitzinger, 1995; Wilkinson, 1999; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2013). Peer focus group discussions enable women to verbally represent their realities in “contextual” and less “artificial” ways (Wilkinson, 1999, p. 225). It is for this reason that feminist researchers have used peer focus groups in studies of women and girls, and their perspectives related to gender-based issues (Warr, 2005; Lyons & Willliott, 2008; Rassjo & Kiwanuka, 2010). Previously, Warr (2005) used peer focus groups to study the interactions between “sociable” women, to generate a “collective narrative” through their perspectives on romance and love (p. 200). Similarly, Lyons and Willliott (2008) implemented peer focus groups in their study on women, gender identity, and alcohol use to maximize “rapport” and “honesty” among participants (p. 697). In another example, Rassjo and Kiwanuka (2010) found that “young people were more willing to talk about sex in peer focus groups” (p. 158). In these instances, a sense of familiarity between participants allowed researchers to elicit more contextual and less artificial qualitative data, which enhances trustworthiness, and demonstrate care for participants in the research setting. My pursuit of a deviant case, through Focus Group 11, supports the aforementioned research on focus groups as a feminist method.

Focus group timing and location.

The context for collecting and analyzing my data through focus groups was as follows. I received IRB approval to conduct this study in May 2018, at which point I began to conduct

focus groups. In this study, and as described earlier in Table 3.1, data collection and analysis happened simultaneously from May 2018 to October 2018. I conducted all of the focus groups during the summer, with students who were available in and near University City. I offered an opportunity to conduct remote focus groups, but no one decided to take me up on that offer.

As for the location of these focus groups, I offered participants a handful of options from which to choose a location that would be most comfortable as a research setting. The limitations were that the space needed to be a reasonably quiet room to conduct the recording, have space for 10 people to sit comfortably, and enable outside food to be brought in – ideally to be consumed in the minutes before our session. Under these guidelines, only one group asked me to come into their home to conduct the focus group. The rest of the groups utilized quiet library, classroom, and student meeting spaces on the ECHU campus, which I reserved in advance.

Instrumentation.

For this study, I used four different instruments to collect data: a pre-group questionnaire (Appendix G), an initial focus group protocol (Appendix H), an updated focus group protocol (Appendix I), and a post-group text message survey to confirm participants' comfort with the focus group (Appendix J). The purpose of the pre-focus group survey was to help me pursue a more diverse sample, in terms of women's experiences. In contrast, the purpose of the post-focus group survey was to confirm women's comfort level talking about sex and sexual violence in their group. The vast majority of responses came back as 4's and 5's, suggesting that women were "mostly" and "definitely" comfortable sharing their perspectives in the focus group. For any group that had responses lower than 4, I sent out a follow-up email that invited participants to share their perspectives with me online, or in a follow-up phone call. I received no responses to that email offer.

In terms of the focus group protocols, both were developed in consultation with the prior work of Morgan (2012) regarding the structure and purpose of focus groups, as well as the sensitizing concepts that were constructed from the literature review. Previously, Morgan (2012) has promoted the use of focus groups as a tool for observing participants' "sharing and comparing" of their thoughts and opinions in a research setting (p. 171). In this study, I used Morgan's (2012) recommendation to structure the protocol for the focus groups in a such a way that encouraged participants to share their individual perspectives, and allowed them to compare these perspectives with others over the course of the discussion. The questions included in the protocol were structured in such a way that posits sexual violence as a matter for women's interest and action. This choice was driven both by my sensitizing concepts, as well as the purpose of this research, which involves elevating the voices of women in theories about their oppositional agency related to sexual violence.

Negotiating #MeToo through an Op-Ed.

In the original protocol, I started the focus group discussion by asking women to talk about and negotiate sexual violence broadly – without pre-set definitions – by presenting them with an Op-Ed. The use of an Op-Ed was recommended by a committee member. However, I eventually agreed to include the Op-Ed based on my prior reading of Gamson's (1992) aforementioned book, *Talking Politics*. In his peer focus groups, Gamson used open-ended questions as well as "political cartoons" to stimulate discussion. One reviewer from *Contemporary Sociology* called the method of group discussion a tool for "focusing less on what people think than on their capacities for political discussion, and the resources they bring to bear on this task" (Swidler, 1993, p. 811). It is for similar reasons that I incorporated an Op-Ed into the discussion. I wanted focus groups to expand their sharing of perspectives beyond *a priori*

knowledge of #MeToo, sexual violence, and resistance, and create an opportunity to view female college students' capacities for constructing sexual violence and forms of resistance with each other.

The Op-Ed that I chose to use within this study was a *New York Times* article by neoconservative female columnist Bari Weiss' (2018): *Aziz Ansari Is Guilty. Of Not Being a Mind Reader*. I made this choice because the Op-Ed is a controversial interpretation of another woman's account of sexual assault committed by Aziz Ansari, a stand-up comedian, actor, and creator of the popular HBO television show *Master of None*, and the author of a book about dating for the millennial generations. The original account of sexual assault was published by Babe.net, at the same time that other accounts of sexual assaults perpetrated by male celebrities began to emerge within #MeToo (Way, 2018). In the Babe.net article, the woman – referred to as Grace, through the use of a pseudonym – describes multiple attempts by Aziz Ansari to coerce her into having a sexual encounter at his apartment. Grace also notes that despite her repeated indications of discomfort, Aziz continued to pursue multiple, unwanted sexual advances throughout the evening. Afterward, Grace wrote a text message to tell Aziz that she neither appreciated the unwanted sexual advances nor the multiple times that he misrecognized her discomfort. In his text message response, included in the Babe.net article, Aziz expressed confusion, an apology, and an admission that he did not share Grace's impression of the evening. The encounter, as it is narrated by Grace in the Babe.net article, does not constitute rape or completed sexual assault under various state laws. Meanwhile, reading Grace's account on Babe.net, it seems at-once possible and improbable that the encounter constituted an attempt at coercive sexual assault under the law. As a result, the facts surrounding the sexual encounter between Grace and Aziz are gray, open to interpretation, and stirring of debate and conversation

across audiences. The encounter has even stirred debate among self-described feminists, who disagreed over the legitimacy of Grace's claim of victimization and its incorporation into #MeToo (Shih, 2018).

In her subsequent Op-Ed response to the Babe.net article, Bari Weiss (2018) takes a strong stance against Grace's account of the evening. Specifically, she refutes the encounter as a case of sexual assault, and instead, describes it as an episode of "bad sex" while invalidating Grace's claims of victimization. She also argues that the sexual encounter and Grace's telling of it do not belong in the #MeToo movement. It is because of this insistence by Bari Weiss – that Grace's encounter neither constitutes sexual assault nor #MeToo – that I chose to use her Op-Ed to generate discussion among participants in this study. I hoped that the controversial nature of the article and the disagreement that it inevitably stirs would engender debate, dialogue, and the building of consensus among friends, as they constructed #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and resistance.

Discussing campus sexual violence and women's resistance.

After negotiating #MeToo as a discursive space and discourse, I transitioned to talking about the lives of college women with a somewhat broad "starter question" to each group (Morgan, 2012, p. 165): what does the group perceive to be the various forms of sexual violence that women experience at ECHU? After brainstorming on this topic – which I recorded in my notes for each group – I asked women to describe these matters as they might be prevented, intervened into, and addressed by female college students. I also asked women to describe what they perceived to be the role of their university and ECHU administrators in prevention and redressing these forms of sexual violence. To conclude the discussion, I asked the women questions that "consolidate their discussion" on sexual violence (p. 171). I prompted students to

think about the role of the institution in dealing with sexual violence on campus. I also asked them if there was anything else that I should know before wrapping up the discussion.

Updating the discussion protocol.

After the first two focus groups, I updated the discussion protocol in an attempt to refrain from pushing women into the use of particular language or frameworks. For this reason, I made the following changes to the discussion protocol. First, I backed away from using the term “sexual violence” explicitly, beyond the initial statement that I read to students about the study and IRB approval. Second, I walked back any language that specifically referred to “prevention.” This is because prevention at ECHU is defined almost singularly by a particular, sexual assault prevention program and positive bystander framework. Instead, I talked to women about the kinds of “things” they do, and think about, related to campus sexual violence. Lastly, I elevated a question related to the problems that women face in dealing with sexual violence in college.

Data organization.

Prior to conducting any data analysis, I began to organize my data files. These files were saved and stored on a password-protected drive for the duration of this study.

First, I organized the files that resulted from each focus group. These files included an audio transcript, a set of observational notes, and an early memo about the discussion. Each discussion was audio recorded, which meant that each focus group had one professional transcription data file. Moreover, I took observational notes on each discussion group, pertaining to the layout of the room, the arrangement of participants in relationship to each other and myself, and the overall comfort level in the room. The observational notes fed into a short ethnographic memo, which I completed immediately following each focus group. These memos

included details of what I visually and audibly observed in the room during and surrounding the focus group; prominent themes and common narratives that I constructed as a result of their conversations; initial thoughts about the kinds of questions I should ask of the data; and a parking lot for my reflections. The form used to collect these notes is located in Appendix K, and was taken from anthropologist Lorena Gibson's blog, *Anthropod* (Gibson, 2013).

As I put together this data file for each focus group, I also went through the process of de-identifying the individual names and group details in the raw data. First, I wrote participants' names and group details into a key, which links pseudonyms for students, their names, and contact information. This key resides in an Excel file, password-protected on my computer. Participants were assigned a pseudonym, using a random name-generator software. Then, I saved the audio files, the key, and the de-identified files in three different secure locations. After completing this study, I intend to destroy all audio files, and ensure that no participants' names remain linked to their files.

Once data files were de-identified, they were uploaded into NVivo for data analysis. I used NVivo for each phase of coding and for the writing of my memos. Doing so allowed me to capture an extensive paper trail of this research, and to keep memos linked to certain data, codes, and categories, which aided my data analysis.

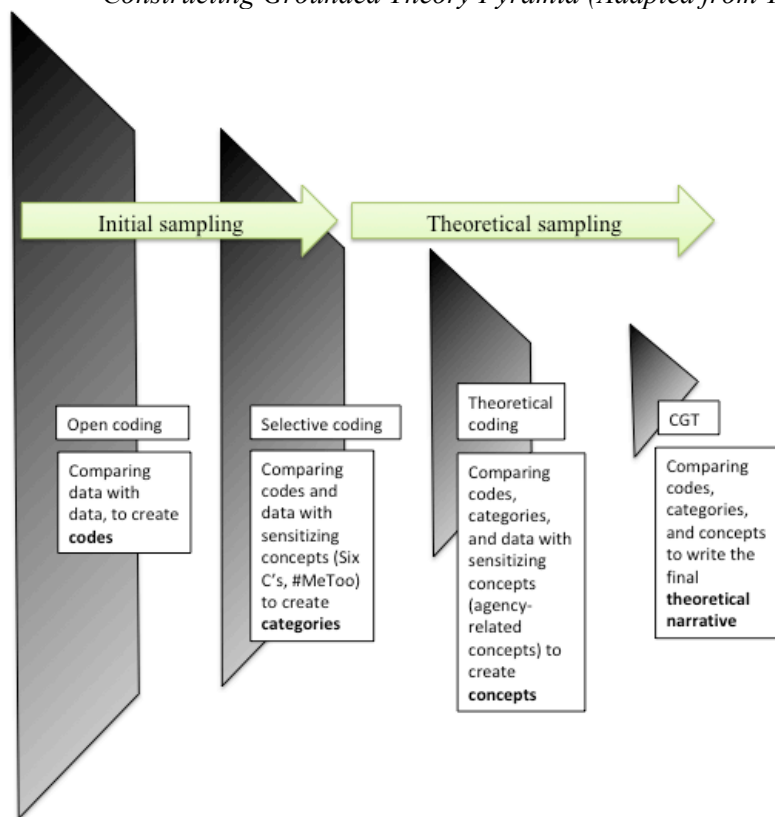
Data Analysis Procedures

In this study, data analysis unfolded in a series of overlapping phases. These phases aligned with those of constructivist grounded theory as described by Charmaz (2006; 2014), including creating open and substantive codes, developing analytic categories, and constructing theoretical concept(s) from categories. In the course of performing data analysis, I also wrote substantive, reflexive, analytical, and operational memos.

The sideways pyramid, located in Figure 3.1 below, provides a visual for how coding, writing memos, and overall data analysis unfolded in this grounded theory study. This diagram was adapted from Tweed and Charmaz (2012), who originally described the building of constructivist grounded theory in the shape of a pyramid. In this figure, I demonstrate how my “codes,” “categories,” and “concepts” come together to construct a theory for women constructing resistance to campus sexual violence (p. 132).

Figure 3.1

Constructing Grounded Theory Pyramid (Adapted from Tweed & Charmaz, 2012)



Once the earliest focus groups were complete, I began the initial data analysis by coding focus group data at the leftward, base of the pyramid. At the point that I had eight focus groups completed, I began the process of abstracting theory from my data, through theoretical sampling, concepts, and construction (Wuest, 2012).

Coding.***Conducting open coding.***

I began this research with open coding. This was a process of “labeling phenomena” within my data, such that these phenomena were organized and available for higher levels of analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 63).

More precisely, during open coding I turned my raw focus group data into the “foundational base” for the grounded theory (Tweed & Charmaz, 2012, p. 132). For audio transcripts 1-3, I conducted open, *line-by-line coding* on participants’ individual and collective sayings (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2006). After the first three transcripts, I transitioned to open, *incident-by-incident coding* on audio transcripts 4-11 (Charmaz, 2006; 2014). Coding for incidents – for example, a particular interaction or event in the focus group – illuminated the “patterns and contrasts” within the data. It also allowed me to understand how “people’s actions fit together or come into conflict” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 133). This was particularly important to begin to document women’s interactions with each other, and not just their individual sayings.

Two types of codes were constructed during open coding. First, a set of a set of *in vivo* codes were constructed, which allowed me to capture the “assumptions, actions, and imperatives that frame action” in the course of this research (p. 135). These codes were developed with particular attention to the language used by participants to describe their oppositional agency related to campus sexual violence, including their use of unique or “innovative” terms, terms that reflected women’s “insider” perspectives among friends, and sayings that “crystallize[d] participants actions or concerns” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 134).

Second, a series of gerunds emerged with which to code and organize the data (Glaser, 1978; Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, 2014). These gerunds included defining, “unmasking,”

negotiating, discussing, describing, recommending, and “putting self in another’s shoes.” Prior to transitioning to the development of categories, I had 183 codes, which I sorted into the following substantive buckets according to the flow of my discussion protocol:

1. Women **reacting** to the Op-Ed about #MeToo, Aziz Ansari, and Bari Weiss’ commentary surrounding “bad sex.”
2. Women **describing** and **negotiating** the kinds/forms of sexual violence, harassment, and misconduct that women would put under the #MeToo hashtag, on behalf of female college students, including themselves.
3. Women **providing** ideas on the ways that they resist sexual violence on behalf of themselves, and their friends.
4. Women **talking** about what the institution does, or could do better, to support women’s resistance to sexual violence, harassment, and misconduct.

Developing analytical categories.

Next, I developed categories, by grouping data and codes together as advised by the work of Larossa (2005), Corbin and Strauss (1990), and Charmaz (2006). At first, I created a basic set of substantive categories, by elevating a set of substantive codes. Table 3.4, below, provides a snapshot of the result of this early, straightforward process.

Table 3.4
Initial Categories for Grounded Theory

Initial categories	A sample of early subcategories
Negotiating #MeToo - what is it?	How is it qualified, Women expressing uncertainty, Moving from #MeToo to #NotMeToo
Describing female college students' #MeToo's	Sexual violence and harassment, Consent and non-consent, Sexual disrespect, Ghosting, Rape culture
Constructing solutions to female college students' #MeToo's	Self-defense, Bystander intervention, Supporting other women and survivors, Feminism
Dealing with blame or responsibility	Women's, Men's, Students', Alcohol, Assigning blame, Removing blame
Negotiating a "gray" example: Aziz, Grace, and Bari Weiss Op-Ed	Does it qualify as #MeToo?, Grace's role, Aziz's role, Bari Weiss' role as the Op-Ed author
Areas of uncertainty/disagreement	What constitutes #MeToo, Who is responsible, What is the role of the institution

However, as I began to consider raising the “analytic power” of my categories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 63), I began to think about grouping “putatively dissimilar but still allied concepts under a more abstract heading” (Larossa, 2005, p. 843). This included “arraying” substantive codes-turned-substantive categories, in ways that turn them into “dimensions” of an analytical category (Larossa, 2005, p. 843). For example, I split the substantive category, ‘constructing solutions to female college students’ #MeToo’s’ into two separate categories: ‘responding with resistance to #MeToo’s (campus sexual violence)’ and ‘proposed administrative solutions to campus sexual violence.’ Eventually, I disposed of the latter category, as it did not emerge in an organic way through the focus group discussions. I also dissolved the category ‘areas of uncertainty and disagreement,’ to make room for two, new analytical categories: ‘friend group dynamics among women in this study’ and ‘describing resistance as missing or in need of support.’

As I continued to proceed through the constantly comparative process of data analysis – jumping forward to considering theoretical concepts and a core process, and then back to refine my codes and categories – the following list of categories were constructed, which would serve as the basis for constructing grounded theory:

- #MeToo as a discursive space
- Friend group dynamics among women in this study
- Describing multiple forms of campus sexual violence
- Negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence
- Responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance
(Actions/Interactions)
- Detailing resistance as missing or in need of support (Actions/Interactions)

Sorting for theoretical concepts.

I constructed the ultimate “peak of the pyramid” for grounded theory through theoretical coding, which is more aptly described as a process of sorting for theoretical concepts (Charmaz & Bryant, 2010, p. 18). Mostly, this involved organizing my categories – alongside accompanying codes and data – into multiple, theoretical, process-oriented concepts.

The first step in this process resembled an adapted form of axial coding, per Charmaz (2006). I did not use axial coding per se, as it is spelled out in its original Straussian terms. Doing so would have required me to conduct “intense analysis done around one category at a time,” using a specific coding paradigm (Strauss, 1987, p. 32). However, I *do* employ axial coding as advised by Charmaz (2006), or as an optional step for developing and creating links between subcategories and categories in this study. During this phase of data analysis, I elevated my categories into theoretical concepts by relating them to each other, in consultation with

Corbin and Strauss' (1990) coding paradigm: "conditions, context, strategies (action/interaction), and consequences" (p. 18). For instance, I linked '#MeToo as a discursive space' and 'friend group dynamics among women in this study' in the theoretical concept, '**conditions** surrounding female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence.' I also linked four analytical categories – 'describing multiple forms of campus sexual violence,' 'negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence,' 'responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance,' and 'detailing resistance as missing and in need of support' – as the theoretical concept, '**actions/interactions** of female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence.'

In doing so, I refined the aforementioned list of analytical categories as follows:

- #MeToo as a discursive space for resistance (Conditions)
- Friend group dynamics among women in this study (Conditions)
- Describing multiple forms of campus sexual violence (Actions/Interactions)
- Negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence
(Actions/Interactions)
- Responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance
(Actions/Interactions/Consequences)
- Detailing resistance as missing and in need of support (Actions/Interactions)

As a constructivist grounded theory project, this process of sorting did not involve consolidating women's voices into a singular, abstract process or theory. As Charmaz (2006) notes, "Most grounded theories are substantive theories because they address delimited problems in specific substantive areas, such as a study of how newly disabled young people reconstruct their

identities” (p. 8). For this reason, the grounded theory that emerges in this study is substantive, not formal (Charmaz, 2006).

Identifying a core variable.

The construction of a core variable remains a defining feature of grounded theory research; even for projects like this one, which fall under the label of constructivist grounded theory.² Constructing a core variable involves naming “a process, a continuum, a range, dimensions, consequences, conditions” (Holton, 2010, p. 279), and it is a feature of all grounded theory research. Initially, I began construction of a core variable in this study through writing memos, about my theoretical concepts. Table 5, below, shows how I began to think about my categories in relation to a core variable, even before completing data analysis.

² Though Charmaz (2006) initially refrained from advising constructivist grounded theorists to pursue a core category or variable in their research, her later work describes constructivist grounded theorists in pursuit of core categories in their analysis (Charmaz, 2014).

Table 3.5
Initial Categories for Grounded Theory

	Six C's applied	Domain 1: Violence perpetration and self-defense	Domain 2: Non-consensual sexual relations and achieving consent	Domain 3: Misrecognition and recognizing others	Domain 4: Denying women's sexual choices and pursuing sexual self-determination
	Conditions: Women's understandings of #MeToo as a discursive space and movement; Individual uncertainty and collective disagreement				
Constructing campus sexual violence under #MeToo	Actions and interactions (the theory)	Constructing violence perpetration (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, physical assault linked to sex, coercive sexual encounters)	Constructing non-consent as a problem (e.g. emotional manipulation from men you know, miscommunication in sex, non-consent with incapacitated women, "ghosting")	Constructing misrecognition for women (e.g. disrespectful language from men towards women; ignorance of women's experiences, charging women with risk-management); Constructing misrecognition for victims (e.g. failing to deal with perpetrators, ignorance of victims' experiences, victim-blaming)	Constructing the denial of women's sexual agency (e.g. Male entitlement to sex and women's bodies; men refusing women's choices in sexual situations; the expectations surrounding hook-up culture for women)
Dealing with blame and/or responsibility	Actions and interactions (the theory)	Assigning blame to themselves and women; Removing blame from men and women	Assigning blame to men and women as a dyad; Assigning blame to themselves and women; Removing blame from men	Assigning blame to men and institutions; Assigning responsibility to women; Removing blame from men	Assigning blame to men
Describing women's forms of <i>oppositional agency</i> under #MeToo	Actions and interactions (the theory)	Describing an agency of self defense (e.g. managing the risk of victimization, defending themselves)	Describing an agency of consent (supraindividual) (e.g. Defining consent as continuous and affirmative; detailing how they communicate consent with partners)	Describing an agency of recognition for women and victims (e.g. Describing self-respect, recognizing less privileged groups, supporting women and feminism)	Describing an agency of sexual autonomy and choice (e.g. asserting sexual autonomy; saying no to or ignoring sexual advances)
Describing areas of women's opposition that are missing/in need of support	Actions and interactions (the theory)	Missing knowledge of sexual violence perpetration	Missing knowledge and strategies for achieving consent (e.g. how women and men can achieve consent together)	Missing support for women and men as recognizers; Missing conversations for victims	Missing support for women's sexual agency (e.g. how to express their sexual wants and needs; knowledge of sex; talk about sex and healthy relationships; talk that supports women's sexuality)

However, as I wrote about my theoretical concepts together, in the findings and discussion sections of this dissertation, this core process became more refined and streamlined. Through writing the findings of this study, I came to construct a core, substantive, discursive process: 'Female College Students Constructing Resistance To Campus Sexual Violence.'

Memo writing.

Over the course of each phase of coding – substantive coding, developing categories, and constructing theoretical concepts, and writing grounded theory – I wrote memos. In writing these memos, I followed the advice of Charmaz (2006), who advise researchers, like myself, to “develop your writer’s voice and writing rhythm. (Let your memos read like letters to a close friend; no need for stodgy academic prose)” (p. 85). Below, I detail the process by which I wrote substantive memos, reflexive memos, analytical memos, and operational memos. I also substantiate this process through memo excerpts.

Substantive memos.

Prior to constructing categories, I wrote substantive memos. These memos took shape around each focus group, and were comprised of two different elements.

For each focus group, I authored a memo generated from my initial, note-taking session following each focus group discussion (the form for which is located in Appendix L). The following excerpt shows how I used comprised substantive memos using my session notes:

...The scene for this group is an on-campus, non-academic space, which is available for group projects and meetings. The room is a 25’ by 25’ room, which houses a gray rectangular table and rolling chairs. Three women enter the room – Melinda, Claire, and Jess. The three women are all of different ages, and Jess is the one who asked the other women to come with her to discuss the group.

Melinda, Claire, and Jess are all white women. The three women are thoughtful, and approach the group with a sense of quiet. As they begin to talk, they appear to share definitions of problems, and solutions, and agree.

Melinda and Claire are quiet, thoughtful, and don't share any particularly unique insights about sexual violence that strike me as individualistic, or unusual. Melinda tends to waffle on her point-of-view, and has a hard time not articulating the "other side" in the conversation re: men's point of view, or needs. For Claire, it appears that sexual violence is a hypothetical.

Claire waffles less on the topic of sexual violence, and is clear that there are some issues she has a problem with on behalf of women, and herself...

Beyond using session notes, I also constructed substantive memos in the form of *we poems* for each focus group. I adapted this note-taking technique and listening strategy from Carol Gilligan's and Jessica Eddy's (2017) *The Listening Guide*, which they created to preserve the unique voices of interview participants in their study. In their work, the *I poem* "attends to the first-person voice of the other, asking how the 'I' speaks of acting and being on this particular psychological landscape" (p. 78). They also describe the construction of *I poems* as follows:

Separating each I phrase (subject and verb) from the narrative and listing it in the order of its appearance, one composes an 'I poem,' with each 'I' starting a new line of the poem and stanza breaks indicating where the I shifts direction or where a singer might pause for breath. (p. 78)

Given that this study uses focus groups, and not individual interviews, I constructed substantive memos in the form of *we poems* to preserve the unique, collectively generated voice of each focus group. In doing so, I mimicked the format used by Gilligan and Eddy (2017), while substituting 'we' for 'I'. In the *we poems* that I assembled for each group, I separated all of the 'we' phrases uttered by each participant (including subject, verb, and additional information as

useful). The excerpt below, from Focus Group #2's *we poem*, provides an example of how I used *we poems* to preserve the group's collective voice – as female teammates – in describing one of the ways that they oppose sexual violence, vis-à-vis looking out for fellow teammates at night.

We poem #2 – A sample

*we're on a sports team
 we usually have like pretty closed parties
 we took her home
 we do as far as looking out for each other.
 we have a lot of sophomores on our team
 we would always have a freshman squad*

*we'd all meet up at the bus stop together
 we all basically use the buddy system
 we don't feel safe walking by ourselves here at night.
 we're like 50 feet from home.
 we're on Oak Street, it's not that far*

we go to the library together a lot

Usefully, these *we poems* were also available for the presentation of results. Specifically, during the results section, I use excerpts of these memos to introduce and substantiate my theoretical concepts.

Reflexive memos.

From early coding through to development of theoretical concepts, I authored reflexive memos. I did so in line with the advice of Charmaz (2006), who notes, “Researchers need to be constantly reflexive about the nature of their questions and whether they work for the specific participants and the nascent grounded theory” (p. 32). While writing reflexive memos, I gave myself permission to explore all kinds of half-baked, haphazard, incomplete ideas about this study. I also gave myself permission to record my feelings about the study, and my participants.

Moreover, I used these memos as a parking lot for ideas about the implications of this research, as these ideas emerged prior to the end of the study.

Inevitably, I wrote lots of personal memos; free-written in structure, running over the course of days and weeks, and organized chronologically, rather than attached to any particular stage of data analysis. These memos were not only comprised of personal notes that I authored while sitting at my computer, working on this dissertation in a formal way. Instead, these memos were also comprised of jotted down thoughts and diagrams, which I composed while I was going about my daily routine. I wrote these informal notes on post-it notes while in meetings, on the backs of napkins while out with friends, and even on my phone, shortly before going to bed. These highly informal notes, combined with my personal notes stored in NVivo, comprised my reflexive memos in this study.

The excerpt below – taken from an August 2018 memo, after substantive coding but before developing categories – demonstrates how I utilized reflexive memos to work through and dismiss theories that did not fit the data:

At this point, I am tossing certain theories around as possible tools for helping to organize the codes. Most fail, but some illuminate the implicit things that women are saying, in less explicit ways. Moral agency and duty - duty becomes important? Intergroup problem between men and women - as different groups? Ecological model? No, not a good fit now. Agency as the pursuit of full humanness? In reading about dehumanization, I have come to realize - through Rudman and Mescher (2012) - that there is a theoretical link between male sexual aggression and the dehumanization of women. Their study makes this link explicit, by tying male propelled dehumanization of women as linked to a proclivity to commit sexual violence against women.

It was while writing this memo that I realized two things. First, I realized it was too early to bring in outside theory in August 2018. Second, I recognized the outside theories that I had prematurely attempted to apply to this study did not fit the data. At the end of this memo – which I comprised in multiple settings – I concluded with the following statement:

At this point, I realize: it is too early to bring in larger theories re: humanization. I tried, and failed. Humanization not what women's words are speaking to. I need to keep the coding structure that existed within the instrument - coding through the focus group, as it is was structured by the discussion instrument.

By authoring these memos, I started to refrain from using theory in a hasty manner, and allow for female college students' voices and perspectives emerge.

Analytical memos.

Throughout the study, I also wrote analytical memos, which comprised the center of my data analysis, particularly as such analysis extended past the development of categories.

In early transitions from substantive coding to developing categories, I authored memos that attempted to raise substantive codes into categories. The following excerpt shows the process by which, I attempted to raise a substantive code, *consent*, to a category through the use of memos:

Consent is... a heuristic for something else. As consent comes up during the early focus groups, I realize: I don't have a great grasp on what it is, as a theoretical concept. But early on, I can already tell of its importance to the women in these focus groups, and related to #MeToo. The prior literature also does not seem to help, here. Women are not talking about consent as a means for finding safety from sexual violence. They aren't talking about top-down protections for women. When women talk, top-down safety

protections are tangential to these conversations. Consent, as they tell it, seems to be remedial, but to the relationships that they have with male students – a way to change the terms by which they, women, relate to male students.

It was while writing such early, analytical memos that I began to find the need for outside theory. In turn, I used analytical memo-writing to explore the fit of certain, theoretical codes with my data. Within these memos, I talked about my codes and categories through Glaser's (1978) Six C's, and Corbin and Strauss' (1990) *conditions, contexts, and strategies*.

In later transitions from categories to theoretical concepts, I wrote memos that attempted to test my categories as parts of a theoretical whole. In these memos, I tested data, codes, and categories against each theoretical concept, to answer the question, "What does this segment tell me about the theoretical properties of this category?" (Wuest, 2012, p. 241). Once I determined that a category was a good fit for a theoretical concept, I wrote narrative memos that explicated the theoretical properties and dimensions of the category (Wuest, 2012). These memos are the basis for the results section of this study.

Using operational memos as a decision trail.

In the course of this study, I also wrote operational memos. These operational memos produce a decision trail of the process by which I conducted data analysis, such that it could be reviewed by an outside, peer auditor. The memo text located in Appendix M – which I included in full, rather than excerpting – demonstrates how I documented my process of conducting data analysis, through the use of operational memos.

Writing grounded theory.

As I wrapped up my coding and memo writing, I began outlining and pulling together the grounded theory, or the theoretical construction of female college students' opposition to campus

sexual violence, represented as a social process. Hallberg (2006) describes the write-up of constructivist grounded theory research as follows:

The result of a constructivist grounded theory study is more seldom presented as a theory than as a story or a narrative, including categories, told by the researcher with a focus on understanding of social processes. (p. 146)

In turn, I represent my final grounded theory in the form of a narrative analytical report (Charmaz, 2014). In fact, it is in part because of this narration that I chose to use CGT to construct the theory. As a method, CGT gives researchers permission to construct grounded theory as writers with a voice. This stands in contrast to the requirements of other methods – including other forms of grounded theory – which demand that researchers represent themselves as “disembodied technicians,” reproducing participant accounts through “voiceless, objectified recordings” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 177). In CGT, researchers are encouraged to write their final, contextual, nuanced, substantive theories as joint accounts of both the researcher and the researched. Through “evocative writing,” researchers who use CGT “weave our points of view into the text” in order to represent the development of our theories as interpretive. It is important to note, too, that while this is different from the final presentation of objectivist, formal grounded theory studies, it is no less analytical or conceptual than other forms of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

To present my final theory as a narrative, I used my ordered concepts and memos and wrote an introduction and conclusion to be placed around these organized elements (Charmaz, 2006). In this final narrative, I included quotations from my participants (Charmaz, 2006). I also included any diagrams that seem particularly telling of my data.

As a novice grounded theory researcher, I am fortunate that Charmaz (2006; 2014) provides an extensive depth and breadth of tools for researchers to use as writers, in transitioning from the more mechanical process of data analysis to the rich, narrative portrayal of constructivist grounded theory. These tools are far too numerous to detail in this dissertation, but for planning purposes, I will highlight just a few. First, as this is my first, official grounded theory study, I consulted Charmaz' (2006) tips on how to deal with ambiguity as I began my first draft. Second, I referred to the lists of questions that Charmaz provides researchers, which are intended for use in reflecting on the process of writing my final report. These questions center on how researchers craft and situate their arguments, describe the importance of their study, and elucidate the credibility of the research and final theory. Third, Charmaz describes writing as a particular kind of "social process," which takes into account the opinions of many others before producing a final, substantive grounded theory (p. 176). I followed this advice, and sought out the opinions of participants, my committee members, and other external experts as needed in the process of writing my final narrative.

Criteria for Credibility and Trustworthiness

This study attended to credibility and overall trustworthiness through an *external audit*, *rich, thick description*, and *member checking* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell, 2000). These modes of increasing the trustworthiness of qualitative research are built into constructivist grounded theory as a method, and thus are easily accessed over the course of conducting this study (Charmaz, 2006; 2014).

External audit.

This research pursued dependability through the use of an extensive audit trail, and the employment of an external qualitative researcher to audit my methods. The process of conducting the external audit, using the audit trail, was as follows.

First, I prepared the audit trail, which was a “residue of records stemming from the inquiry” of qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 319). Formally, an audit trail includes *raw data, data reduction and analysis products, process notes, materials relating to intentions and dispositions, and instrument development* (p. 319-320). In this study, the audit trail was comprised of raw data, ethnographic memos, decision trail memos, personal memos, and analytical memos. These materials were organized within NVivo software, and constitute a highly organized trail of “bread crumbs” through which to conduct the audit (Khalil, 2013). To further prepare for the final audit session, I printed and color-coded the aforementioned materials and organized them into piles representative of the different stages of data collection and analysis.

Second, I conducted the audit with my external auditor: a fellow doctoral student who was unfamiliar with my topic, but also uses qualitative methods in her academic and administrative work. The audit took place over the course of three hours in a conference room on campus, using the schedule located in Appendix N. Using this schedule, the aforementioned piles of documents, and a white board in the conference room, I walked my auditor through the choices that I made at each stage of data collection, analysis, and the development of grounded theory. I diagrammed the evolution of my model, the twists and turns of data analysis, and the process by which grounded theory emerged in this study.

At no point did my auditor disagree with the choices I made during data collection and analysis. However, she did ask me to clarify certain decisions that I made related to the use of axial and theoretical codes. We also talked at length about using participant checks for credibility, and the strengths and weaknesses of my approach in this research. When useful, the answers that I provided to her questions have been incorporated into this dissertation. Upon completion of the audit, she certified my efforts as transparent, accurate, and reasonably leading to the substantive grounded theory set forth in this study.

Thick and rich description.

This study pursues credibility through thick and rich description, which is also necessary for transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Previously, Lincoln and Guba (1985) have described “thick description” as that which is set apart from the actual findings of the study (p. 125). In this study, thick description is also set apart from the substantive grounded theory constructed in this study, which I have termed ‘Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence’ and is described fully in the results section. In order to substantiate this process, and add credibility to this study, I described the model through four domains of women’s resistance: *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration*, *achieving consensual sex with male students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*. These descriptive domains are filled with direct quotations, ethnographic descriptions of the interactions between focus group members, and snippets of the *we poems*, as described earlier within this chapter.

Member checks.

To add to the credibility of this study, this research also used member checks with participants (Creswell, 2000). In this study, I conducted member checking at two different

levels: at an informal level, shortly after each focus group concluded, and at a formal level, which took place post hoc.

First, I conducted an informal member check with participants, asking them to confirm the outcomes of their participation by scoring their ability to shape the focus group discussion. This check took place 48 hours after their focus group discussion was completed, in the form of a one-question text message poll:

Thank you for participating in Thursday's focus group discussion! On a scale from 1 to 5, did you feel that you were able to share all that you wanted to share during the focus group? 1- Not at all; 2- A little bit; 3- Somewhat; 4- Mostly; 5- Definitely. Please text your numerical response to this number.

Out of 54 respondents who received this message, 46 participants responded with a “4- Mostly” or “5- Definitely,” indicating a high level of comfort with the outcomes of the focus group discussion, in terms of their ability to contribute. Out of the remaining eight participants, two participants responded with a “3- Somewhat” and six participants did not respond to the poll. For the three groups that included participants who responded with a “3- Somewhat,” I offered participants an additional opportunity to talk about the outcomes of the discussion, via an individual interview or phone call. Upon sending this email, no participants chose to conduct a follow-up interview or phone call.

Second, I conducted a formal, post hoc member check with participants, asking them to confirm the outcomes of their participation by responding to the early themes that emerged from the study. At the completion of data collection, but prior to the completion of data analysis and before writing, I sent an email and a memo to each contact for the eleven focus groups, located in Appendix O. In this email, I asked participants to submit any substantive feedback within 10

days of receipt of the memo. I also offered participants the opportunity to offer no substantive feedback, if they felt as though the themes were adequate. In response to this second, formal check, zero of the eleven women who helped me to organize the focus group discussions responded to my email with the early summation of themes and findings.

Initially, the lack of response to the second member check came as a surprise. Over time, however, I came to understand this lack of response as unproblematic; in light of my offer to participants to opt out of this second check, and my having already conducted one, and in some cases two, previous checks with participants. While the post hoc member check was unsuccessful as a true measure of credibility, eventually, I chose to stop asking participants to engage in yet another opportunity to confirm their participation in the research, out of respect for their time and agency.

Researcher-as-Instrument Statement

I conducted this study from the perspective of a feminist standpoint theorist and methodologist, as previously described by the feminist standpoint perspectives of Donna Haraway (1988) and Sandra Harding (1993, 1995). It is useful to note, here, that the feminist standpoint is not a normative stance but rather an epistemological one. The feminist standpoint suggests that women's experiences with oppression in the form of campus sexual violence – not gender, in and of itself – bestow a standpoint unto them which provide “less partial and distorted beliefs” on campus sexual violence and women's opposition (Harding, 1987, p. 71). For this reason, I positioned the female participants in this study as the experts on the topic of campus sexual violence, resistance, and #MeToo.

I also pursued this research from the position of a feminist scholar of American higher education. Initially, I intended to conduct this study as a feminist, “practitioner-researcher” in

the field of higher education administration (Jarvis, 2000, p. 30). Prior to data collection and during the proposal stage, I approached this study practitioner-researcher who wanted to know female college students' opposition to campus sexual violence, to the ends of informing administrative prevention efforts. This was in no small part a product of my training as a doctoral student, as my experiences in graduate school have been highly administrative. Half of my time as a doctoral student has been serving in the Office of the Executive Vice President and Provost, working on administration, applied research, and policy as a graduate research and programs assistant. Additionally, one of my most important administrative experiences has been as a facilitator for sexual assault prevention, using a bystander intervention model. However, as I moved through the proposal phase, received feedback from my committee, and revisited feminist theory, I realized that this was not the position from which I wanted to pursue this research.

I also decided to conduct this research as a feminist researcher and writer who studies higher education, and who is concerned about the shortage of available language to describe women's lives and experiences related to sexual violence. Usefully, my minor content area is in the realm of political thought and feminist theory. However, it was an independent study in feminist theory and methodology that prompted me to consider the importance of feminist research for developing a different understanding of women, resistance, and sexual violence. As a result of this knowledge, I approached female college students as resistant to campus sexual violence throughout this study. I also attempted to frame campus sexual violence as a problem through their eyes as women, rather than through their eyes as victims.

Ultimately, it is important to note these biases and feminist theoretical directions for the sake of the reader and this study. To elucidate my biases over the course of this research, I have

also employed strong objectivity and strong reflexivity as two central tools to keep my biases clear and in check (Harding, 1987; 1995).

Summary of Methods

The methods that I have described above show how I constructed grounded theory on female college students, and their construction of their resistance to campus sexual violence. First, I outlined a process used to sample for my focus group participants, vis-à-vis theoretical sampling. This process included the selection of ECHU as my site, and female college student friend groups as my sample. Second, I outlined my methods for data collection, through the use of peer focus group discussions with female college student friend groups. I have also detailed my instrument, which is both a tool for garnering information on women's individual perspectives, as well as their interactions and collective perspectives in a group setting. Third, I outlined my procedures for data analysis, to the ends of constructing a narrative, substantive, grounded theory for female college students and their perspectives on sexual violence. To conclude, I constructed my researcher-as-instrument statement, which provides insight into my relationship to my participants and my research topic.

Chapter 4: Findings

This dissertation study examines the following research question: how do female college students construct resistance to campus sexual violence? The subset of questions that also pertain to this central research question include:

- How do female college students construct campus sexual violence as a problem?
- How do female college students describe resistance to campus sexual violence, as a kind of *oppositional agency* on behalf of women? (Ahearn, 2010, p. 31)
- How do female college students utilize #MeToo as a discursive space, for thinking and talking about resisting campus sexual violence?

The purpose of asking these questions within this specific study was to explore the voices of college women and investigate their knowledge of campus sexual violence and resistance in its various forms. To this end, a constructivist grounded theory approach was used to collect and analyze the perspectives of 11 focus groups of undergraduate women at a large, residential, public university on the East Coast of the United States. These participants are listed in Chapter 3, Tables 2 and 3, and described in greater detail in a subsequent section on the intragroup dynamics of female college student friend groups.

Overview of the Substantive Process

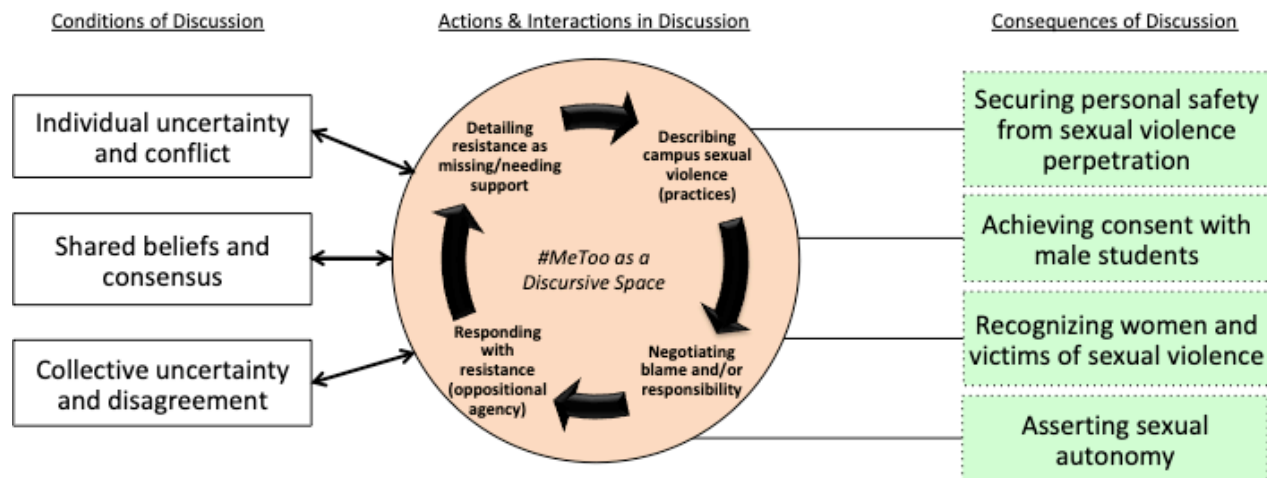
In this study, female college students constructed their resistance to campus sexual violence through a substantive, discursive process. This discursive process was comprised of a series of non-linear **actions** and **interactions**, through which college women came to discuss their resistance to campus sexual violence in this study. They included:

- I. Describing the practices of campus sexual violence
- II. Negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence

- III. Responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance
- IV. Detailing resistance as missing and in need of support

Figure 4.2, below, illustrates a working model of this substantive discursive process, as the process was situated in the context of this particular qualitative research study among female college student friends who attend ECHU, and within the confines of conversation about #MeToo.

Figure 4.2
Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence



This chapter presents the results of this study as follows. First, this chapter presents the **conditions** surrounding female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence. These conditions include the friend group dynamics among women in this study, and their understandings of #MeToo as a discursive space. Second, this chapter presents the aforementioned discursive process – that is, the **actions** and **interactions** through which female college students construct their resistance to campus sexual violence – via four exemplary **domains of resistance** that emerged from the focus group discussions. These domains include *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration, achieving consensual sex with male students, recognizing women and victims of sexual violence, and asserting sexual autonomy.*

These four domains also represent a series of **consequences** for the discursive process. For this reason, they are used as exemplary, organizational “buckets” to illustrate and narrate the results of this research.

While this chapter presents a substantive theoretical process, it is important to note that the process must be understood within the research confines of constructivist grounded theory. This is because the process represented in this chapter does not approach formal theory for women constructing resistance, as a process of problem delineation, assessment of responsibility and/or blame, and oppositional responses to campus sexual violence. Instead, the grounded theory in this study represents a substantive, “theoretical interpretation” of a contextualized, social process (Charmaz, 2006, p. 189). In line with this approach, the presentation of findings in this chapter is aided by the use of direct quotations from female college student friend groups. These quotations include individual contributions to discussion, lines of group dialogue, and segments of the narrative *we poems* that I comprised for each focus group discussion. The presentation of findings also includes text culled from substantive and analytical memos which were comprised after each focus group discussion and during data analysis.

Friend Group Dynamics Among Women in This Study

Friend group dynamics emerged among the female college students who participated in this study, as the women processed questions about #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and forms of resistance. These dynamics, narrated below through a snapshot of each group, include shared beliefs and coming to consensus; displays of individual uncertainty and conflict; and engagement with collective uncertainty and disagreement.

In Chapter Three – and specifically, in Tables 2 and 3 – I provided an introduction to the backgrounds of the female college student participants in this study, as they comprised a sample

of 11 focus group discussions. In this section, I present a brief description of the group dynamics that I observed as the moderator, as well as any controversial topics that appeared during discussions. I also include a snippet of the focus group's *we poem*, to provide insight into how each group "speaks of acting and being on this particular psychological landscape," related to resisting campus sexual violence (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017, p. 78).

Focus Groups 1 & 6: Friends and sorority sisters.

Two of the focus groups in this study – Focus Group 1 and Focus Group 6 – were comprised of white, female college student friends who are also sorority sisters.

Focus Group 1.

*We should be allowed to drink
and wear what **we** want
and go where **we** want
hang out with who **we** want*

***we** have to be constantly vigilant from guys touching us, raping us, assaulting us –
anything.*

Focus Group 1 took place at the off-campus apartment of five sorority sisters, who were also roommates at the time of their focus group discussion: Annemarie, who worked with me to organize the group, with Michelle, Bridget, Toni, and Alina. These participants were all in their fourth and final year of studies at ECHU. They were also the only group who invited me to their off-campus housing to conduct the focus group discussion. During the meeting, participants sat in an L-shape on two adjacent couches; wearing lounge clothes, and covered in throw blankets adorned with the ECHU logo. Even as the conversation turned to debates – especially about the responsibility of male students in campus sexual violence, as described below – participants remained in close, comfortable proximity to one another. Such debate did not appear to disrupt the connectedness of the group's members in sharing their opinions in conversation, but rather,

seemed to be a fixture of their day-to-day relationship as friends. Nor did it seem to disrupt the group's interest in continuing the conversation past our arranged meeting time.

While the perspectives of all five members comprise data from Focus Group 1 conversation and data, certain participants spoke more frequently and more loudly than others. This was particularly true of when the conversation turned to assigning blame and responsibility for sexual violence perpetration to male and female students at ECHU. On multiple occasions, Annemarie – a vocal, politically feminist participant who organized the focus group on behalf of her friends – found herself at odds with other members of the group, in her assertion that female students are not responsible for sexual violence perpetration by male students. In contrast, Bridget – a self-proclaimed, “feminist,” “woke” white woman – hesitated to wholly assign blame to male students for the problem of sexual violence perpetration at ECHU without also addressing female students' responsibilities in sexual violence perpetration. Bridget was joined by Toni in debating Annemarie on the topic of male and female students' blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence at ECHU. Though Toni was an initially timid participant in the focus group discussion, her confidence steadily increased throughout her participation. She eventually arrived at the position of defending her male peers as ignorant, and thus not worthy of blame when it came to their perpetration of acts of sexual violence. Though the group conversation was not limited to this single debate, the assignment of blame and responsibility created an ongoing tension in the group between those who were sensitive to male students' feelings, and those who resisted attempts to assign responsibility for sexual violence perpetration to female students.

Focus Group 6.

*we should be able to have these conversations with our parents
we do the sex education, but why don't*

we do the sexual assault education?

*“if **we** don’t bring up alcohol, they won’t think about alcohol?”*

*“if **we** don’t talk about it, people don’t know how to deal with it!”*

*we don’t have these conversations as I am growing up and learning
we need to talk about sex more.*

Focus Group 6, comprised of nine sorority sisters, was the largest discussion group in this study. Members included Chloe, a student who helped organize the group, with Rosemarie, Helen, Frankie, Rocky, Rochelle, Anisa, Flora, and Wendy. The focus group took place in a historic meeting room at the center of campus early one weekday morning over breakfast, before the students rushed off to class (on account of our conversation running over its designated time). Except for Helen, who was in her final year and preparing for graduate school at the time of our discussion, all of the other women participating in this group were sophomores and juniors at ECHU.

During this wide-ranging and amiable discussion, no small set of minority voices dominated the conversation. Nor was there an extended thread of disagreement among participants, which carried throughout the discourse. Instead, the conversation that took place among the group’s members often involved skipping over individual and potentially controversial commentaries. For example, the group only briefly acknowledged a series of commentaries provided by Anisa, who described #MeToo as a movement that should account for male feelings – per her boyfriend’s wishes – and ignore any woman’s story that does not include victimization by sexual assault or rape. As a result, there was adequate time and space for friends to come to consensus about the absence of important talk about sex and sexual violence, as part of their preparation for life as adults. Wendy and Flora discussed concerns over having missed important conversations with their mothers about sex prior to becoming sexually active in

high school and college. Meanwhile, Helen, Chloe, and Frankie – three women who had previously survived some kind of sexual or gender-based violence both before and during college – shared frustrations with the failure of adults to listen to young women, while describing their own experiences with victimization.

Regardless of the exact topic of conversation, the discussion among this group was boisterous. This was just as true when group members shared their grievances with male students and ECHU, as it was when they laughed together over the ways that they assert their sexual autonomy with hookup partners.

Focus Groups 2 & 10: College sports teammates.

Two of the focus groups in this study – Focus Group 2 and Focus Group 5 – were comprised of female college student friends who are teammates on two different athletic teams: one, a team club sport, and one, an individual varsity sport.

Focus Group 2.

*we took her home
we do, as far as looking out for each other*

*we have a lot of sophomores on our team
we would always have a freshman squad
we'd all meet up at the bus stop together
we all basically use the buddy system*

*we don't feel safe walking by ourselves here at night
we're like 50 feet [from] home.
we're on Oak Street, it's not that far*

we go to the library together a lot

Focus Group 2 was made up of five white women who are friends and teammates on the same club sports team: Charlie, a student who helped me organize the group, with Judy, Viviana, Hannah, and Shevon. In this group, students frequently displayed a sense of empowerment

while constructing their resistance to campus sexual violence. For instance, they talked about hosting “closed parties” where people unknown to the team are denied entry, in order to protect themselves from sexual violence perpetration. They also spoke of traveling in packs while partying or walking home from the library to minimize their risk of experiencing sexual violence perpetration. Additionally, participants shared the ways that they communicate consent with their boyfriends and sexual partners, and in doing so, diffuse opportunities for miscommunication that could lead to nonconsensual sex.

Notably, this group was characterized by their conversation about misrecognition on behalf of victims. During a lull in the discussion on campus sexual violence, Charlie shared her appreciation for #MeToo as a discursive space for victims. More precisely, she described #MeToo as a space where victims are free to “really openly” share their experiences of sexual violence perpetration and receive recognition for their stories. She also noted that prior to #MeToo, victims struggled to have these conversations even among close friends, because “the whole conversation” about victimization “is really taboo.” Then – in spite of my assertion that students did not need to share their experiences with victimization to participate in this study, which was mandated by the university’s IRB – Charlie disclosed her victimization by sexual assault to her fellow teammates, some of whom were hearing about her experience for the very first time.

In disclosing her experience, Charlie was brief and reluctant. She provided no details of the encounter other than to state that it had happened during the prior school year. However, upon disclosing her victimization, her voice grew louder and she became more noticeably confident in her opposition to victim-blaming at ECHU, while also criticizing the pattern of ignoring of victims’ stories. In the end, the conversation provided Judy – another vocal member

of the group – with a chance to disclose her victimization to Charlie in a moment of recognition for both students.

Focus Group 10.

*if we want to hang out,
we text them
we go get coffee
we talk, instead of having a whole conversation for an hour on Snapchat.
we just have tea and –
we're just here, together, or something like that*

Focus Group 10 consisted of five female varsity athletes and teammates: Joslyn, who worked with me to organize the group, along with Reese, Hadley, Monica, and Georgina. As the conversation began, the group's members were quiet and uncertain about discussing #MeToo as a social movement, and speaking on behalf of female college students. This uncertainty grew to reticence in the span of minutes, as the group's members withheld their perspectives on #MeToo and the problem of campus sexual violence at ECHU, beyond the brief mention of rape and sexual assault.

Eventually, this group dynamic shifted as students became comfortable sharing their perspectives on hookup culture at ECHU. This shift began as one participant, Georgina, started to utilize the group setting as a space to explore her own uncertain experiences with male students' denying her sexual agency and choices at ECHU. She questioned the persistent attempts by male students to engage her in sex after partying and hanging out at a strip of bars near ECHU's campus ("the Strip"), and willfully opposed this practice by refusing to respond to their advances. In sharing her personal experiences, Georgina also candidly described feeling "very, very used" by a close male friend, who pursued her for sex while dismissing her needs for the friendship. It was in response to their friend's experiences – and not to me the moderator – that participants opened up about their feelings related to hookup culture at ECHU. They

described themselves as opposed to hookup culture, because it denies female students the opportunity to shape their relationships with male students. They also discussed the problem of female college students being deprived of asexual friendship with their male peers at ECHU. This discussion included a shared sense of longing for the kinds of friendships that center on spending quality time with male friends and classmates, rather than connecting on social media for casual sex.

Focus Groups 3 & 5: Friends from freshman year.

Two of the focus groups in this study – Focus Group 3 and Focus Group 5 – were comprised of female college students who became friends during their first year in college.

Focus Group 3.

*we're all pretty –
we know our limits, and nobody really drinks to get trashed*

*we all just kept getting in the way of him
we were like dragging her
we're like, "No, dude, go away"*

*we're more aware of safety precautions
we're always dancing in a group together
if **we** had guys with us, it wouldn't happen at all*

Focus Group 3 was composed of three friends who came to know each other during freshman year: Jess, who helped me organize the group discussion, with Claire and Melinda. In this group, participants spoke a precise language for describing the perpetration of sexual violence at ECHU. They also spoke knowledgeably about the role of language in perpetuating campus sexual violence; not just in episodes of sexual violence perpetration and non-consensual sex, but also in the disrespect of female students at ECHU. Here, Jess played a central role in shaping the group dynamics. Prior to her participation, Jess shared that she was active in

violence prevention efforts and feminist clubs at ECHU. During the focus group discussion, she also noted that she was taking a women's studies course at the time of her participation.

Despite being adept at diagnosing various forms of campus sexual violence at ECHU, this group utilized a more singular vocabulary for constructing resistance. More precisely, this group described resistance to campus sexual violence by using a narrow, administrative lens provided by ECHU and sexual violence prevention efforts on their campus. This became increasingly evident as participants explored their own forms of opposition. For instance, they described themselves as positive bystanders who stop bad behavior by bad actors on behalf of potential victims. Claire used this lens to narrate her interventions with intoxicated male and female students while returning home from bars on the Strip. Even as Jess launched multiple, thoughtful critiques of ECHU's sexual assault prevention efforts – including the inability of such efforts to reach LGBTQ and minority students – she also relied on the administrative script of positive bystander intervention to narrate women's resistance to campus sexual violence.

Focus Group 5.

*we've been told our whole lives, and to tell the boys nothing...
we've been told this our whole lives
we should switch it up and tell the guys, "This is how you treat a woman"
we're exhausted of people telling us
what **we** can do for ourselves*

Focus Group 5 was comprised of three female college student friends who were also hall-mates during their freshman year in college: Ruby, who worked with me to organize the focus group, with Jenna and Naomi. Members of this group spoke effortlessly when sharing their personal strategies for avoiding sexual violence perpetration while in college. To this group, resisting sexual violence perpetration was merely a type of planning that is routine in their lives as female college students. Importantly, group members pointed to conversations with their

moms as the impetus for planning for their security, such that they would be prepared to resist sexual violence perpetration at a moment's notice. Naomi shared that she carries a "stun gun" while walking around campus at night, because "there's been a lot of sexual assault within my family." She also shared that "we never wear skirts to parties" – even skirts with shorts or pants underneath –to eliminate any chance of being groped while dancing. Similarly, Jenna shared that she always "knows where her exits are" and has "kind of like an emergency plan in my head, if something happens." She described herself as ready to resist sexual violence perpetration at all times, through "preventative measures" and "defensive measures."

After talking about the ways that they resist sexual violence perpetration, vis-à-vis planning for their personal security, the members of this group expressed anger towards ECHU administrators for perpetuating the notion that female college students are responsible for preventing campus sexual violence. For example, following a specific episode of sexual violence perpetration in their residence hall, participants characterized their interactions with administrators as interactions that assigned women the responsibility of preventing sexual violence where they live. Similarly, they described sexual violence prevention training at ECHU as that which linked sexual violence prevention to the role of female students. Conversely, participants in this group discussed ECHU administrators as seemingly unwilling to burden male students with the responsibility of preventing sexual violence perpetration. All three women expressed candid frustration with ECHU administrators and described a need for administrators to address the role of male students in campus sexual violence.

Focus Group 4: Female pre-health majors.

we intervene

we do it

the ways we intervene may not be effective

*we've learned to therapeutically communicate with everybody
we do listen very well*

*we are not experts in the sexual assault arena
we're not
that's just how **we** are*

Focus Group 4 was made up of four pre-health majors who are in the same cohort: Carmen, who helped me organize the group, along with Taye, Kelsey, and Akira. This group was racially heterogeneous, in that it featured two Black women (Taye and Akira), one Asian American woman (Carmen), and one white woman (Kelsey). The group was also heterogeneous in the sense that participants held unique views of #MeToo as a discursive space. When Carmen spoke about #MeToo as a social movement, she shared her belief that the movement should recognize women's voices alongside the voices of victims of more severe forms of sexual violence perpetration, including rape and sexual assault. Kelsey spoke of #MeToo as a movement that "lessen[s] the male side of stories" of victimization and needs to make additional space for male victims of sexual violence perpetration. In contrast to Carmen and Kelsey, Taye fluctuated in her thoughts on #MeToo as a discursive space. Initially, she described #MeToo as a movement to support victims of clear-cut forms of sexual violence perpetration. After speaking with her friends, however, Taye began to describe "gray" non-consensual encounters between two people as forms of sexual violence that are appropriately discussed in the context of #MeToo.

Despite their possession of unique lenses for understanding #MeToo as a discursive space, participants came to various points of consensus throughout the conversation. For instance, participants agreed that ECHU administrators are responsible for publicly acknowledging stories of sexual violence perpetration and holding perpetrators accountable. This consensus came about after group members described their opposition to campus sexual

violence as that which centers on listening to and recognizing students' stories of victimization. Kelsey described herself and others within the group as having a heightened ability to recognize others who are in duress, on account of their specialized, pre-health training. Carmen also shared her willingness to listen to stories of victimization among her peers, including victims who have experienced rape and sexual assault, and female students whose experience does not fit neatly into such categories. Upon sharing these sentiments, Carmen shifted the discussion to interrogate the role of ECHU administrators in recognizing and listening to victims of sexual violence. The group eventually concluded that it is ECHU administrators – not well-intentioned, underequipped undergraduate women – who are responsible for recognizing victims' experiences and resisting their "social subordination" at ECHU (Fraser, 2000, p. 113).

Focus Group 7: Female science majors.

*we see the drinking culture and how prevalent it is
we have to – it's up to us to be responsible to change those norms
we're all living according to those norms now
how do we get it out there to the greater community?*

Focus Group 7 consisted of three Asian American women friends who were also science majors: Elaine, who helped me to organize the group, with Keiko and Lina. In the beginning, this group expressed concern that the incorporation of victims who experience "gray" sexual encounters into the #MeToo movement would negatively impact the movement, and the movement's esteem among men. As time wore on, it became clear that the group shared similar reservations when considering non-consensual sex between one or multiple blackout drunk students as worthy of discussion under #MeToo. Before characterizing non-consensual sex or sexual violence perpetration among college students as #MeToo, participants in this group wanted to discuss student drinking behaviors and levels of personal responsibility.

Two group members were ultimately responsible for such reservations. The first voice belonged to Elaine: a female student engaged in a long-term relationship with a male student at ECHU, and a volunteer with the university's rescue squad. As a result of her experiences with the rescue squad, Elaine perceived students as negligent in their drinking and partying habits. She also described students' drinking habits as damaging to students' personal and community safety at ECHU. In turn, she rejected any notion by other participants that ECHU should take additional steps to stop non-consensual sex between students, if and when these students are engaged in drinking and partying behavior. The second voice belonged to Lina: a participant who described herself as smartly avoidant of behaviors like drinking to excess, or going on dates with her male peers. She described students as needing to own the results of their drinking and partying, which include non-consensual sex between students and sexual violence perpetration.

On some occasions during the focus group discussion, Keiko spoke up to defend students who drink alcohol and party from the questioning of her fellow participants. However, on other occasions, she held back her opinion, in what appeared to be a form of deference to Elaine and her strong opinions on alcohol abuse by students. By the end of the discussion, even Keiko came around to attach campus sexual violence to students' drinking. She assigned ECHU students the responsibility of changing the drinking culture at ECHU, such that it no longer results in sexual violence perpetration and non-consensual sex between students.

Focus Group 8: Female campus leaders.

*we all kind of hesitated about it
we have very concrete ideas of what sexual assault and rape look like
we've been taught
the rubric or framework that we do have for it*

*we should be more inclusive
we need to be reasonable and critical.*

Focus Group 8 was comprised of four friends who were also involved in campus leadership as student ambassadors/tour guides at ECHU: Morgan, who helped me to organize the group, along with Ada, June, and Alla. In their discussions about #MeToo as a discursive space, participants agreed that power is essential to shaping #MeToo and the outcomes of #MeToo for victims of sexual violence. For instance, the group shared a collective concern that #MeToo is inaccessible to marginalized groups of women in the U.S. and ECHU; especially, the women of color and low-income women for whom the outcomes of #MeToo movement feel most urgent. As the group shifted to talk about campus sexual violence at ECHU and #MeToo as a discourse among college women, they also shared the belief that #MeToo provides female college students with inadequate space for describing sexual violence as an intersectional problem that is linked with race, class, and sexual orientation. Ada, an African American woman, and June, an Asian American woman, both characterized #MeToo and talk about campus sexual violence as absent from the conversations that they share with African American and Asian American peers at ECHU.

This group struggled to construct resistance to non-consensual sex between two people, especially when this violence could not be linked to clear abuses of power, as in the case of another student perpetrating rape, sexual assault, and sexual harassment. When participants talked about multiple sexual assaults at ECHU that were perpetrated by male leaders of campus organizations, against female members of these groups, they spoke openly and at length. However, as the discussion broached the topic of “gray,” non-consensual, sexual encounters between two people – such as the encounter in the Weiss (2018) Op-Ed and another popularized by *Cat Person*, a widely circulated article from *The New Yorker* (Roupenian, 2017) – the conversation faltered. For example, Alla described the *Cat Person* article and the non-

consensual sexual encounter contained therein as “so subjective,” with “so much gray area [that] it’s really hard to navigate through” it. Additionally, when speaking about #MeToo more generally, she noted that even in their “incredibly privileged space,” “we” – female college student leaders at ECHU – “still don’t have the ability to explore and discover the nuanced pieces of this movement.”

Focus Group 9: Female students in a religious fellowship.

*we don’t want to go against anything that the Bible says
we might have these views growing up*

*what **we** have seen
what **we** have learned
what **we** believe now
these ideas **we** have grown up with may be totally opposite what our faith says.*

Focus Group 9 consisted of four Asian American women who were friends and members of the same religious organization: Connie, who helped to organize the group, with Annie, Jiang, and Adeline. This group constructed #MeToo as a vast, discursive space, bounded only by the limits of women’s and victims’ stories related to various forms of violence, harassment, and disrespect. Initially, Connie expressed reservation about such a broad application of #MeToo. Specifically, she described the incorporation of “gray,” non-consensual sexual encounters into the movement as a “slap in the face” to victims of more severe forms of sexual violence. However, others in the group disagreed with Connie. In the end, they convinced Connie to change her mind over the course of the focus group discussion. The group thus came to a consensus that the power and success of the #MeToo movement is linked to the volumes of victims’ and women’s stories, and increased visibility for all stories of sexual violence.

Armed with this open-ended understanding of #MeToo as a discursive space, the group then discussed campus sexual violence as a wide spectrum of problematic practices related to

sexual violence and sex facing women at ECHU. Participants spoke at great lengths about the more subtle forms of sexual violence that they face, including the disrespect of women by men in society. Jiang shared that some of her religious, Asian American, male friends at ECHU believe in traditional gender stereotypes for Asian American women and men in marriage. She did not assign blame to these men for these beliefs. However, she expressed concern that her friends were already inclined to adopt certain stereotypes regarding the role of Asian American women in marriage. Specifically, she expressed a fear that if her male friends adopt a particular stereotype of an Asian American woman – a woman who is a “mom-type,” acts as “the housekeeper [and] takes care of the kids” – they may disregard the autonomy of their future wives.

In response to this commentary, Connie and Jiang described how they resist subordination and disrespect in romantic relationships through religious beliefs and practices. For instance, Jiang spoke of the ways that she educates her male friends about respecting women, by linking esteem for women to the teachings and “person of Jesus and seeing how he treats women.” In contrast, Connie described her refusal to be mistreated by a man in a romantic relationship as a process of finding self-love through scripture in the Bible. She shared that by reading certain passages from the Bible, she was reminded of her own “value and worth” as a “woman of God.” As she spoke of sexual disrespect and #MeToo with other members of the group, Connie noted, “I can’t let guys treat me in a way that is not matching up with the Bible.”

Focus Group 11: Female acquaintances.

*we should not be teaching women how to avoid being raped
we should be teaching not to rape
why aren't we teaching that instead?*

*we shouldn't tell women to be cautious
we should be trying to prevent crime.*

Focus Group 11 was comprised of a heterogeneous group of four female students at ECHU whose connection to each other was limited to acquaintanceship. Before the focus group discussion, Ruth, Roberta, and Kristi were acquaintances who knew each other as friends of Elsie, the woman who worked with me to organize the focus group. Ruth was Elsie's co-worker in a university lab, Roberta was Elsie's current roommate, and Kristi was Elsie's friend from her freshman hall. As a result, this group lacked a sense of familiarity and comfort, especially towards the beginning of the conversation. Group members directed their questions to me as the moderator, or Elsie as their sole friend in the room. They also mostly avoided drawing on their own personal experiences and addressing each other directly. I use the term "mostly" in the prior sentence because Ruth did challenge the views of other participants in this group while drawing on her own, personal experiences in discussion. When talking about campus sexual violence and resistance, Ruth expressed anger at the idea that authority figures dissuade female college students from walking home alone late at night out of an abundance of caution for women's safety. She also addressed me directly to interrogate my use of the term "problem" in a question about forms of campus sexual violence facing college women. Ruth perceived my question as one that constructed womanhood as a "problem," and resisted the statement by saying, "I don't think being a woman is a problem because we have a lot of perks. I think being a woman is a beautiful thing." Later on in the discussion, she shared that as a Hispanic woman, she often found herself having to tell others, "No, being a minority is not a problem. Your ideology is a problem. You need to fix that."

In spite of their lack of familiarity as acquaintances, this group arrived at some shared understandings about campus sexual violence at ECHU and various forms of resistance. For example, participants shared in their opposition to parents, fellow students, and ECHU

administrators assigning female students responsibility for sexual violence perpetration. Kristi and Roberta disliked and opposed the ways that parents and institutions expected women to moderate their dress to avoid the risk of sexual violence perpetration. Likewise, Elsie, Ruth, and Roberta shared their frustration about the targeting of female college students for self-defense classes by ECHU administrators. This frustration only grew among participants, as they discussed the nonexistence of sexual violence prevention training for male students, featuring content like how to “not to chase women” and how “not to rape.”

#MeToo as a Discursive Space for Negotiating Resistance

#MeToo was the discursive space in which female college students constructed their experiences with, perceptions of, and resistance to campus sexual violence. Each focus group in this study began with a conversation: participants reading and responding to a strongly worded Op-Ed about the #MeToo movement: *Aziz Ansari is Guilty. Of Not Being a Mind Reader* (Weiss, 2018), and debating #MeToo as a discursive space for women and victims. Throughout their focus group discussions, participants also referred back to the article and #MeToo a discursive space multiple times. In this conversation, participants debated questions such as, what stories of sexual violence belong in the movement? Whose experiences should be shared, amplified, and validated? In doing so, they drew a set of boundaries around #MeToo as a discursive space. Then, using the space provided by this understanding of #MeToo, participants constructed multiple forms of campus sexual violence and resistance.

In this section, I present how groups negotiated #MeToo as a discursive space, and in doing so set the stage for constructing resistance to campus sexual violence. While discussing and navigating #MeToo, participants also articulated concerns about and uncertainties regarding the #MeToo movement; especially, possible threats to its success if certain stories of sexual

violence were to be placed at the center of the discourse. These concerns and uncertainties are represented as crucial to participants' negotiations of #MeToo as a discursive space.

A space for uncovering “everyday occurrences” of sexual violence.

Nine of the eleven groups discussed #MeToo as a space for exposing “everyday occurrences” of sexual violence, in addition to sharing stories of victimization by sexual assault, rape, and clear cases of sexual harassment under #MeToo. Claire, a feminist participant from Focus Group 3, provided the language of “everyday occurrences” for describing sexual violence.

We've talked about #MeToo in one of my classes, and how some people are mad because it was originally supposed to, I guess, just be about sexual assault and violent rape and all that, but it expanded to include sexual harassment and an entire range of sexual violence, which I think is important. So, it doesn't have to be something where you got attacked on the street by a stranger. It's important to show these everyday occurrences that happen to more women.

Within these eight groups, participants negotiated these everyday occurrences as episodic “cases” of sexual violence: “gray cases,” “ambiguous cases,” and “little stories” of sexual violence; “smaller things” and “uncomfortable things”; and “lower-level, mild #MeToo cases.” At the same time, they spoke of everyday occurrences of sexual violence as indicators of problematic “culture” in the U.S. and on college campuses, related to sexual violence. Sexual violence was described as indicative of problematic “rape culture,” “hookup culture,” and “a culture of sexual harassment and assault” on their campus.

Participants came to negotiate #MeToo as a space for exposing everyday occurrences of sexual violence for different reasons. Within some groups, participants referred to #MeToo as a space for redefining sexual assault and harassment. Members of Focus Group 3, comprised of

friends from freshman year, negotiated everyday occurrences of sexual violence as “different definitions of sexual assault and harassment” to which others have not yet been “exposed.” They also suggested that everyday occurrences of sexual violence “expand what sexual assault means, and show that it is not always so black and white.” Within other groups, participants also discussed #MeToo as a space for contextualizing the problem of sexual assault in the U.S., in ways that more accurately represent the lived experiences of victims. This was true of Focus Groups 6 and 10, who talked about everyday occurrences of sexual violence as cases that “could lead to” or “could become” sexual assault.

Not all groups found it necessary to describe everyday occurrences of sexual violence as precursors to “extreme” or “severe” forms of sexual violence for these occurrences to “count” as #MeToo. Participants in several groups described #MeToo as a space for “raising awareness” and “create a more meaningful discourse” for everyday occurrences of sexual violence, beyond the more narrow concepts of sexual assault and harassment. Adeline, one of the Christian women who comprised Focus Group 9, took a few moments to gather her thoughts before sharing her opposition to author Bari Weiss and her friend Connie, both of whom condemned Grace’s attempt to tie a less-severe form of sexual violence to the #MeToo movement.

Adeline: I have something to say.

Moderator: Yeah, you’re good.

Adeline: I think I disagree with the idea that it minimizes like real cases of like, rape, and more violent acts of sexual violence. I think that the idea is to bring up how prevalent this issue is, and that every story that comes up doesn’t have to be put on a spectrum. And that whether it’s like worse or better doesn’t make it any less of a problem as a whole.

Initially, Connie recognized but did not accept Adeline's description of #MeToo as a discursive space. In a follow-up comment, Connie designated #MeToo as space for victims who do not have the power to say "no."

I still think this does minimize more severe cases, but that's just me personally... In one of the parts of the article it says like, 'At last she uttered the word 'no' for the first time during their encounter,' but that just goes to show that she could've said no sooner and she didn't... I think, in her situation, she had the power to speak up for herself, and she chose not to. So I think for like the #MeToo, yeah, I can see how this is part of the #MeToo movement, but I also see how like— I don't know.

However, Connie's understanding of #MeToo began to shift when Adeline described Grace and other women as lacking "knowledge of [their] power to say no," on account of "the way girls are raised in this society." On this particular point, members of Focus Group 9 agreed that #MeToo should remain a space that is open to all women who want to discuss their inability to resist everyday occurrences of violence.

Inevitably, these groups negotiated #MeToo as a space for uncovering everyday occurrences of sexual violence out of "need." Participants shared that forms of sexual violence other than rape and sexual assault need to be "brought to light" within the #MeToo movement, and "start a conversation that needs to be had." They also advocated for #MeToo as a space where individuals are free to share the "non-consensual stuff" in their sex lives, including persistent, "verbal sexual harassment" in their social settings. In doing so, participants negotiated #MeToo as a space to contest how "we" – society – "believe that certain human beings" – men – "have more value than others... and get more rights than others."

Concerns about undermining or minimizing #MeToo.

Eight of the nine focus groups that negotiated #MeToo as a space for exposing everyday occurrences of sexual violence also expressed reservations about doing so. For example, participants pointed out that sexual assault and rape do not constitute everyday occurrences of sexual violence, because these forms of violence are “extreme” and “most unusual in day-to-day life.” They also hesitated to include everyday occurrences of sexual violence into #MeToo, as it could reduce the amount of space available for showing the “widespread” and “insidious nature” of severe cases of sexual assault and rape. This was the case for Keiko, one of the female college student STEM majors who comprised Focus Group 7.

I feel like #MeToo, at least at the beginning, was meant for survivors. Whereas if you get catcalled, you’re not really a survivor of sexual assault or anything. So, when people start saying I have also been catcalled by men, hashtag, #MeToo, that’s like, people lose sight of how widespread the problem of actual sexual assault and rape actually is.

Like other participants, Keiko hesitated to diminish sexual assault victims’ voices within #MeToo by including everyday occurrences of sexual violence that do not approach sexual assault and rape.

Participants also hesitated to include everyday occurrences of sexual violence into #MeToo because of their fears about undermining the movement’s potential to create social change. For example, they expressed their concerns about limiting collective action by #MeToo supporters. The female college student leaders who comprised Focus Group 8 described the potential for confusion among the movement’s supporters, in “knowing where does the problem start,” and how to “correct behavior” that perpetuates sexual violence and the need for #MeToo. Participants also shared their fears of reducing the legitimacy of the movement among men. This

was the case for Anisa, one of the sorority women in Focus Group 6, who shared a prior conversation with her boyfriend about the Bari Weiss Op-Ed.

To me, I want to say, ‘Oh, any story about uncomfortable situations belongs,’ because then women can show we feel uncomfortable so often, like, ‘This is a problem!’ But at the same time, if we’re saying that we have so many sexual assault issues... these stories draw away from #MeToo. Because then a guy’s gonna read about the movement and be like... I mean, my boyfriend read this [Op-Ed] and he was like, ‘Wow, sexual assault, what a problem!’

As Anisa described the conversation with her boyfriend in greater detail, it became clear that she wanted to convince him to support #MeToo. However, her boyfriend and his friends did not perceive episodes of sexual violence outside of rape and sexual assault as valid claims of #MeToo. Knowing this, Anisa, and other participants too, expressed fear that men might not “take #MeToo as seriously” if everyday occurrences of sexual violence are included.

In the end, these concerns neither precluded individual participants nor entire focus groups from seeing #MeToo as a discursive space for the telling of “milder” forms of sexual violence. Seven of the eight groups whose members expressed hesitation also, eventually, shifted their understandings of the #MeToo movement to account for forms of sexual violence that do not constitute sexual assault.

A space defined by “personal narratives” of sexual violence.

Eight of the eleven focus groups negotiated #MeToo as a discursive space that is delimited by women’s personal narratives of sexual violence. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, provided the language of “personal narratives” to describe #MeToo as a space for women’s interpretations of their experiences:

When I think of #MeToo, I think of a collection of events and personal narratives... For my women's studies class, we read an article called, 'She's a slut, He's a stud.' And [it's important to] just talk about the double bind that women are in.

Participants discussed #MeToo as a space for women's "stories" and "interpretations" of their experiences with sexual violence, as well as their problematic "personal encounters" related to sex. They also discussed women's personal narratives of sexual violence as those that represent a "range" of experiences, which may or may not match "legal definitions" or "dictionary definitions" of victimization.

Participants came to consider #MeToo as a space bounded by women's personal narratives of sexual violence for an array of reasons tied to recognizing other women. In several groups, participants described themselves as empathic to women, and wanting to women to have a space to receive acknowledgment for their stories of problematic, sexual encounters under #MeToo. They showed this belief by resisting Bari Weiss's attempts to invalidate Grace's claims of #MeToo in the Op-Ed. This was true of Judy, a member of Focus Group 4.

I think this story definitely does fall under the #MeToo movement, just because it is a personal experience that [Grace] felt she did not have control over. So, I think that counts. You're allowed to feel uncomfortable even if the person you're having sex with or engaging in doesn't feel the same way. [Bari Weiss] can't invalidate someone's feelings like that, just because it's not as bad as being raped on the street, or an experience like that.

Within other groups, participants shared this belief by identifying Bari Weiss' invalidation of Grace's claims of sexual violence as its own problem under #MeToo. As Kristi, one of the female acquaintances who comprised Focus Group 11, noted, "To me, being invalidated is part

of the movement. That's something that the movement is trying to bring attention to. I think a big part of sexual assault is people not believing you." For these participants, #MeToo was an important space to "promote conversation" about victimization beyond the initial perpetration and harm of sexual violence. They described #MeToo as a space to decry the discrediting of victims, especially as this discrediting generally comes from high-profile authors, celebrities, politicians, religious authorities, and male peers.

Participants also discussed women's personal narratives as necessary boundaries for #MeToo, because these narratives constitute more truthful representations of the lived experience of sexual violence. This was true of club sports teammates in Focus Group 2, including Carlie and Viviana, who talked about including Grace's narrative of sexual violence into #MeToo because it is representative of the behavioral and psychological effects that victims experience. From Carlie, on the Op-Ed and Grace's story:

To me, #MeToo means you had an encounter that was something that you would define as sexual assault... this probably will change how she interacts with men going forward, which I think – if you had an experience that changes how you deal with men and think about sex, I think that counts.

From Viviana, on the same story:

Just considering that psychologically, we all are on different spectrums and for [Grace] to have experienced that, and how she interpreted the situation, that defines her experience.

So, therefore, it should be included as #MeToo.

For these participants, utilizing women's narratives to set the boundaries of #MeToo allowed women to define their experiences with various abuses as sexual violence. In doing so, they

began to consider #MeToo as a space for shifting definitions of sexual violence, such that these definitions more adequately represent women's lived experiences.

A space for women to find support and empowerment as survivors.

Out of the eight groups that described #MeToo as a space delimited by women's personal narratives, six of these groups talked about #MeToo as a space for women to "show support" for each other's stories and find "empowerment" that strengthens their narratives and lives.

Participants in these groups negotiated women's personal narratives as those of survivorship.

In terms of showing support, participants discussed #MeToo as a space for women to "bond and share stories with other girls they know" and to "collectively be there for each other." They expressed a desire to see #MeToo as a space for women to "show" each other that "you are not alone" in your survivorship, and "you are not the only ones out there" with narratives that include victimization by sexual violence. Members of Focus Group 6 linked this understanding of #MeToo to a need among female members of the Greek community at ECHU, which they described as a specific "need [for] girls to care more for girls." Participants discussed a need for kinder words between women on and off social media. They also discussed a need for a climate of encouragement for female victims of sexual assault in the Greek community, especially for those who choose to publicly accuse male fraternity members of sexual assault.

In terms of empowerment, participants described #MeToo as a space where women help themselves and help other women to survive. Groups discussed women's sharing of personal narratives as that which enables survivors to "feel stronger" in their survivorship. By having their stories "validated" under #MeToo, participants felt that survivors may "want to speak out more" about their experiences with sexual violence. Subsequently, participants described #MeToo as a means to help women process the trauma of their victimization. They also noted

that by speaking out about rape and sexual assault under #MeToo, women can “share what happened to them, and help other people” who are actively experiencing trauma stemming from victimization.

Concerns about protecting less powerful women.

As these eight focus groups delimited #MeToo through women’s personal narratives of sexual violence, they also expressed caution in doing so. In five of the eight groups, participants discussed wanting to reserve #MeToo for women whose narratives include “more severe,” “serious,” “extreme,” and “really traumatic experiences” related to sexual assault. These five groups achieved consensus by constructing #MeToo as a space that is accepting of women’s personal narratives regardless of the severity of their victimization.

In two of the eight groups, Focus Groups 7 and 9, participants weighed “power” imbalances – which they also labeled “abuses of power,” the “power structure,” and “power dynamics” – as important to their understanding of #MeToo as a discursive space. Initially, members of these two groups refused to consider #MeToo as inclusive of all women’s personal narratives of sexual violence. They rejected Grace’s situation as #MeToo because she was “empowered” or had “the power” to “walk out of” her sexual “situation” with Aziz Ansari. However, they also accepted other situations as #MeToo because women “in the workplace... are afraid to speak out against their boss,” whether they work in “Hollywood studios” or on the “factory floor.” Participants described this latter group of female workers as individuals who have a “dependency on [men] for their wellbeing and their livelihood.” After a period of conversation, members of these two groups grew increasingly willing to categorize #MeToo as that which is broadly inclusive of women’s narratives of sexual violence.

In contrast, within two other groups – Focus Groups 8 and 10 – this question of power led participants to resist characterizing #MeToo as a space that is overly inclusive of women's personal narratives of sexual violence. These participants labeled #MeToo a space for women to describe clear “abuses of power” by male perpetrators and bosses while rejecting any attempts by women to describe “gray,” “literal dating situations” as #MeToo.

Uncertainties about how their personal narratives ‘fit’ with #MeToo.

In all eight of the focus groups that negotiated #MeToo as a discursive space for women's personal narratives of sexual violence, participants questioned whether their personal narratives of sexual violence ‘fit’ within #MeToo as a discourse. In Focus Group 1, one of the two groups of sorority women, Alina and Bridget shared that they had both hesitated to add their narratives to #MeToo in 2017.

Bridget: When #MeToo was first happening, I sat there, and I'm staring at my Facebook page trying to figure out, 'Do I qualify? Me, personally, can I say #MeToo?' I've been harassed. I've almost been assaulted. I haven't been assaulted because I was able to get myself out of that situation. But had I been more passive, it would have been... I was being passive, so I let it happen, so it was my fault... but it isn't supposed to be my fault because I didn't consent to it... but I also didn't NOT consent to it... so it's this whole really gross, blurry situation. In which case, I just stared at the page and then closed my browser window because I'm like, 'I don't count'...

Alina: I definitely experienced something very similar when the #MeToo movement was beginning. 'Wow, this is so horrible, these women's

stories are really heart-wrenching.’ I thought about it, and I was like, ‘No, I don’t count for the #MeToo movement. Nothing truly traumatizing has happened to me.’ And then, you let it sink in, and you let it simmer, and you think about what #MeToo really means and what it meant to me personally, and the longer I sat and the longer I thought about it – You block out the things you don’t want to remember, right? When that comes back in whatever way, shape, or form, I very well could have written ‘#MeToo,’ and I think that would have been completely fine. But, I think the other thing with #MeToo is that it’s in this weird place because it’s accepted, but it’s not comfortable, and it’s not necessarily something you want to be a part of by any means.

This feeling was shared by participants who experienced attempted sexual assault while under the influence of alcohol, as well as participants whose narratives do not constitute more severe forms of sexual violence. While talking about #MeToo generally, participants included women’s narratives of “feeling fear, and the danger of being a woman” and being “catcalled” on or near the ECHU campus. They also characterized women’s interactions with men who were not “straightforward about their intentions” as encounters that belong in the #MeToo movement. However, these same participants often refrained from describing their personal narratives as #MeToo. They amended their narratives of sexually abusive encounters with statements like, “I don’t know where this ties back in” to #MeToo, or “I don’t know if this belongs here” in a conversation about #MeToo. When participants expressed a willingness to link their experiences to #MeToo, they appeared to do so because of outside events and prior learning. For example,

one participant shared that she came to understand her experience as #MeToo upon learning that alcohol is the “number one date rape drug used” in coercive sexual assault.

Four Exemplary Domains of Resistance

This section presents the consequences of the aforementioned discursive process: four exemplary **domains of resistance** in this study, which include *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration*, *achieving consensual sex with other students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*. These four domains represent substantive arenas of conversation between female college students and their friends, in which they negotiated and contemplated their resistance to campus sexual violence.

Domain 1: Protecting Selves From Sexual Violence Perpetration

In their discussions of #MeToo and campus sexual violence, female college students constructed their resistance as a process of planning for their safety from sexual violence, including rape, sexual assault, and various forms of battery and harassment. In this section, I present how the process ‘Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence’ played out in their focus group discussions, as participants characterized episodes of sexual violence perpetration by male students at ECHU and women’s plans for resistance.

Constructing the practices of sexual violence perpetration.

Participants described sexual violence perpetration through unwanted, forced, and coerced episodes of physical and sexual contact by men, including but not limited to their male peers at ECHU. In all eleven focus groups, participants considered #MeToo and campus sexual violence in the lives of female students by ticking off a series of “more severe” and “extreme” practices of sexual violence perpetration. These forms of perpetration include rape, sexual assault, physical assault, and various forms of sexual harassment.

Rape and sexual assault.

Rape and sexual assault were discussed as “obvious” forms of sexual violence perpetration. While some participants labeled “rape” and “sexual assault” as such, others used coded language to describe attempted and completed sexual assaults. These codes include terms like “almost sexual assaults,” episodes of “being taken advantage of” by a man who “ignores signals,” and “uncomfortable” sexual encounters with a male sexual partner. One participant shared her encounters that are, by definition, constitutive of sexual assault.

When you’re with someone, [and] they do stuff that you explicitly say you don’t want and they continue to do it, like – ‘Can you not bite my lip like that?’ or ‘Can you loosen up?’ or ‘Can you not slap my butt?’ ... Seriously. I just think that’s not respecting the other person’s wishes.

Nonetheless, she characterized these encounters as those that are “not technically sexually assault or rape.”

Frequently, participants described sexual assault in the context of “situations where there is a lot of alcohol” consumed by male and female students while partying at bars and fraternities. Specifically, they characterized sexual assault as a practice in which “blackout drunk” male students – in an amnesiac state as a result of achieving a high blood alcohol content (BAC), but having not lost consciousness (Lee, Roh, & Kim, 2009) – pursue “coercive” and “non-consensual sex” with their “incapacitated” female peers at ECHU. These female peers include students that these men have “met before and kinda know” as classmates and friends, as well as students who are “stumbling” and “vomiting” due to the physical effects of alcohol consumption.

Physical assault.

In addition to rape and sexual assault, participants described physical assault as a form of sexual violence perpetration facing female college students. They described “creepy” and “unwanted” episodes of physical contact by their peers; “mostly, male students.” They described women as being “touched,” “grabbed,” and “groped” by male students while partying and dancing with friends. Participants did not use the term “physical assault” to describe such episodes. However, multiple groups discussed an interaction that was perceived as troubling between male and female students, in which male students “come up behind you and grab you and start grinding on you” or “grab your hips and start dancing behind you.” Participants shared that men will “grab your butt and push you to the side” to move you out of the way at the bar, instead of “touching your arm or something to get by.” They described how men will “come up to you, grab you, and start making out with you” without asking for consent. Joslyn, one of the varsity sports teammates who comprised Focus Group 10, shared her experience with this type of non-consensual touching as both frequent and unwanted:

[At the bar], guys will always grab you or just touch you the way you don’t want to be touched. I wasn’t talking to you, I was facing the other way. I will verbally say ‘no,’ but there were obviously no cues that I wanted [to be touched] in the first place.

Additionally, a couple of participants characterized physical assault as a “guy’s” response to a woman saying ‘no’ or otherwise making it clear that a sexual advance is unwanted. Wendy, a member of Focus Group 6, recalled a time when “a guy grabbed me in a very inappropriate way that I was not comfortable with, and I tried to get him to stop, and he grabbed my neck and pulled my hair and I was like, ‘Get off me!’” Similarly, Kristi, a member of Focus Group 11,

shared that one of her friends experienced physical assault after “a guy was hitting on her, she said ‘no’... and then, the guy ended up punching her and knocking her out.”

Harassment.

Participants characterized sexual violence perpetration through multiple forms of harassment alongside rape, sexual assault, and physical assault. In seven of the eleven focus groups, participants described harassment in the form of street harassment or “catcalling.” They described catcalling as a practice that is perpetuated by “drunk frat guys,” “freshmen going to a party,” “older men,” and “homeless men near campus.” They also discussed harassment in the form of “sexual harassment in the workplace” and unwanted sexual commentary from men at bars.

Participants also expressed concerns that male students do not see harassment as a problem to be taken seriously on behalf of women. Joslyn, a participant in Focus Group 10, shared her view that men “blame alcohol, and are like, ‘Oh, whatever, I was drunk’” to excuse harassment incidents perpetrated against female students while out at bars on the Strip. Jess, a participant in Focus Group 3, shared a similar view while describing how many students excuse catcalling as a joke or compliment.

I feel like most of the time – at least, when it’s ECHU guys – it’s jokingly, because it’s this macho thing of, ‘I’m gonna yell this at her.’ And I don’t know if men think that women enjoy that. I don’t really understand the purpose of it, or if they think we take it as a compliment. But it’s like this joking, ‘Hey Babe’ kind of thing. So I feel like, even if you talk to guys about it, they’re not gonna see it as a serious problem, because they think it’s like, a joke in the first place. So, that’s one issue that’s hard to address in general.

According to Joslyn and Jess, male students do not see verbal forms of harassment against female students as legitimate and disconcerting forms of sexual violence perpetration at ECHU.

Dealing with the fear of sexual violence perpetration.

In ten of the eleven groups, participants described the “fear” of sexual violence perpetration – being “attacked,” experiencing rape and sexual assault, and even “kidnapping,” at the hands of a male stranger – as a problem facing female college students that relates to #MeToo and sexual violence perpetration. Specifically, they described women’s experience of “being afraid” as that which happens while “walking alone” at night, especially as they walk home from the library and parties, through empty parking lots, and in “bad areas” near ECHU.

Participants did not negotiate this fear as a type of sexual violence perpetration. However, they did describe the fear of sexual violence perpetration as that which “relates” to #MeToo “in some way.” This is how Hannah, a member of Focus Group 2, described her understanding of #MeToo while sharing an experience of walking home during her freshman year:

I couldn’t catch a bus because there were no buses running. I was just walking back to my dorm. There was a guy walking behind me for a while. I was like, ‘Whatever, it’s fine.’ Then, he was walking faster than me. Eventually, he caught up to me and was right on my shoulder, coughed, and just walked past me... There was nothing against him. It was just that situation, that potential threat and then him being so close to me and like coughing just freaked me out. I was like, ‘I don’t know how to deal with this. I don’t know what to do.’ I don’t think that experience falls under the #MeToo movement, but it contributes to that culture and the feelings of vulnerability and just like the potential of like a #MeToo experience. It relates in some way.

Multiple participants connected this fear to #MeToo on behalf of female students. They also questioned the rationality of this fear by acknowledging that sexual assaults perpetrated by strangers “in an unfamiliar place” are “less common” than sexual assaults perpetrated by people they know. Simultaneously, participants also remained hesitant to count these feelings of fear as appropriate for discussions about #MeToo and sexual violence perpetration. After some time, members of Focus Group 4 determined that these feelings of fear do not belong in such discussions.

Carmen: I don't think this would directly fall under the #MeToo movement but... I've noticed for myself in particular now that it's daylight for longer, I feel more freedom in staying out longer. Like, walking from my place or a friend's place, and walking back from class late at night, I don't feel as confined to my own apartment when it gets dark out because I'm concerned for my own safety. But I don't know if that would necessarily fall directly under #MeToo.

Kelsey: I don't know if I'd put that under #MeToo, I understand why the thought was behind that—

Carmen: Right, kind of like two steps behind.

Moderator: So, why wouldn't you put that under #MeToo, just out of curiosity?

Kelsey: I feel it's not just a rape or sexual harassment concern, it's more of a [concern about] safety overall. So, it's —

Carmen: Yeah, I don't think it's as specific to the #MeToo movement.

Outside of Focus Group 4, whose members were engaged in a healthcare-related major, other groups did not resolve the question of whether or not the fear of sexual violence perpetration belongs in conversations about sexual violence perpetration and the #MeToo movement.

Negotiating blame and responsibility for sexual violence perpetration.

In their discussions of sexual violence perpetration – vis-à-vis rape, sexual assault, physical assault, and harassment – participants removed blame from male students at ECHU and assigned responsibility to female students, while engaging in self-blame as women.

Refusing to label their male peers as “perpetrators.”

Seven of the eleven groups contemplated removing blame for sexual violence perpetration from male students at ECHU. In these groups, participants maintained that male students do not possess the “malicious intent” necessary to be labeled “perpetrators.” Elaine, a participant from Focus Group 7, grappled with the absence of malicious intent among so-called “good guys.” Subsequently, she described men as able to pursue sex with women who are intoxicated in ways that do not constitute sexual assault:

I think with alcohol, it’s hard because it’s hard to predict how – I think, from a guy’s standpoint... like the ‘good guys’ are fearful that if they do engage in that kind of thing, they won’t know how the girl is going to react in the morning. Is she going to accuse me of sexual assault? Is she going to remember the experience? And if she doesn’t remember it, is she going to accuse me of sexual assault? Even if she seemed like she was into it, at the time. It lumps those guys, and guys who are actually going out with malicious intent, into the same category... and it shifts the power onto the girls to decide how they feel about it in the morning. It’s kind of unpredictable, I guess. It’s good that

girls can have the power to say something about it, if something actually *did* happen that was bad. But I don't know. It makes the whole situation really messy.

Elsewhere, participants negotiated male students' blame for sexual violence perpetration by declaring that male students are "not inherently bad people." Instead, they described their male peers as "unaware that it's wrong to take somebody home if they're drunk." Participants also shared that male students "don't know that this" – sexual violence perpetration – "is crossing a boundary too far because they've never been taught how to respect people." For members of Focus Group 3, who had more familiarity with sexual assault prevention efforts at ECHU than other groups in this study, this negotiation was also present. In their discussion, Jess and Claire grappled with the assignment of the label "perpetrator" to "blackout drunk" male friends at ECHU.

Jess: When I came into my first year here, one of my really close guy friends from high school was here as well. And within the first three weeks, he had assaulted somebody, and it was a really tough situation, because he had been out drinking all evening, and it was a girl in his dorm. And I don't know if she had been drinking. I assume she had been with him, so maybe she had been. But he was like blackout drunk, and so the next day, he didn't remember what happened, but she said that he had been on top of her and was trying to have sex with her, and she said no, and she ran out crying. And this is what he was told, but he didn't remember it. And so automatically, for me, who didn't know much about assault in the first place, I was kind of like, 'Oh my God, who do I believe?' And obviously, it's the whole you have to believe the survivor thing. But then he ended up

leaving the university. But it's still something that's hard for me to grapple with now, because he was incapacitated technically, if he was blackout drunk, but he was also the perpetrator. And so, it's hard to think about that in terms of like, obviously he was not the one being assaulted, but it's just tricky to think about because there was alcohol involved in both parties... Which I would still label it as assault, but it just makes things less clear.

Claire: It's weird having to hold someone responsible for their actions when they are incapacitated, even though you have to in situations like that.

In talking about sexual violence perpetration, some participants worked extra hard to remove the label of “perpetrator” from their male friends at ECHU. Namely, members of several groups offered excuses for their male friends’ behaviors in the perpetration of sexual violence.

Participants described how a male friend could “get the wrong idea, as opposed to...” intentionally commit an act of sexual violence. They described overlooking certain behaviors from a male friend after drinking because “he’s my friend, so I know he’s a good person.”

Participants also implicated the culture surrounding men for sexual violence perpetration, rather than male students themselves. They assigned blame to “toxic masculinity” and “bro culture” in schools, and implicating certain “songs” and “media” as those that cause men to be “more prone to be aggressive.”

Assigning responsibility to women in sexual violence perpetration.

Five of the eleven groups in this study talked about assigning responsibilities to women for the problem of sexual violence perpetration. In these groups, participants questioned whether and how women are responsible for making “safe,” “smart” choices in their social lives, and

“understanding that you’re taking a risk in the choices you make” when drinking alcohol and partying. Essentially, this question was at the heart of the previously noted disagreement between Bridget, Toni, and Annemarie, three members of Focus Group 1. Bridget and Toni sought to assign responsibility within the problem of sexual violence perpetration to women. In contrast, Annemarie steadfastly refused to do so:

Toni: If I choose who I drink with and something bad happens, there’s some way – I’m not saying I should blame myself, but if I was in that situation, I’d be like, ‘Okay, well, I had some sort of power in that situation; I made a decision, so it’s easier to justify that it wasn’t a bad thing,’ whereas if I had *no* say in who I was with, then it’s much more damaging mentally, I would think.

Annemarie: I see that argument, but at the same time – and, I’m not saying you disagree with me in this, but we should be allowed to drink, and wear what we want, and go where we want, hang out with who we want without the constant feeling that we have to be constantly vigilant from guys touching us, raping us, assaulting us – anything. I’m not okay with people just saying, ‘That’s just how it is.’ At this point, people are saying, ‘Yeah, women just have to watch out because guys are going to be guys.’ That’s not acceptable for me.

Bridget: I agree that if it stops there, it’s unacceptable – that women just have to watch out. For me, the proper way of thinking about it is any smart person looks out. Guys can be sexually assaulted. Guys can be assaulted. Guys can be attacked, mugged, whatever, just as much as women can. It’s easier

to attack a woman, especially if you're a man attacking a woman, just because men are inherently physically stronger. That's just unfortunately how the cookie crumbles – except for maybe Annemarie; I feel like you can beat up a lot of dudes. But, any smart person in life is not going to go through carefree.

In other groups, participants used a similar rationale to that of Bridget and Toni to weigh their responsibility for their victimization by sexual assault and rape. Chloe, a member of Focus Group 6, shared that she had initially assigned herself responsibility for experiencing rape as a student at ECHU.

I think because I was blackout drunk... I had been putting a lot of the blame for my rape on myself... [Then I learned] 'Consent is when there are not drugs involved. Alcohol is the number one rape drug used.' I was like literally, 'Oh my God, literally, this is what happened to me.' So, yes, I do think that education is very important.

After learning more about the role of alcohol in sexual violence perpetration, Chloe shifted responsibility for her rape to a perpetrator.

While discussing sexual violence perpetration and the assignment of responsibility to women, participants rarely came to a clear consensus. However, members of several groups contemplated women as responsible for "keeping themselves safe," averting the "risk" of sexual violence perpetration, and preventing sexual violence by a "being someone who "looks out" for themselves and their friends as a "smart person."

Securing personal safety from sexual violence perpetration.

Female college students discussed resisting sexual violence perpetration as a process of planning for their safety and the safety of their female friends. Participants spoke of their

preparations for staying safe while out at night, including finding safety in numbers while walking on or near the ECHU campus and sharing their location with friends. They also discussed self-defense efforts. These efforts included self-defense tactics that they planned to use in anticipation of an attack or attempted assault, as well as tactics used to stop a prior episode of sexual violence perpetration.

Preparing to stay safe while out at night.

Seven groups in this study discussed resisting sexual violence perpetration as a process of identifying and conducting advanced “planning” to stay safe while out at night. Groups discussed multiple “preventative measures” to keep themselves safe while traveling to and from various locations at night, including but not limited to home, class, the library, fraternities, house parties, and bars on the Strip. Participants shared that they travel safely to and from fraternity parties and bars on the Strip by “meeting at the bus stop together... before heading over” and “walking in groups.” They also shared how they travel safely between home, the library, and class, including “late-night labs and clinicals,” by calling friends to “have them pick us up” or by catching a shuttle ride home. If participants faced the need to walk home alone, they described how they “put someone on the phone” while walking – usually, their parents – and “walk in well-lit places.” They discussed walking along streets that “have the most street lights,” and routes home where “there’s always cars and there’s always people.”

Groups also shared a series of measures that women use to keep themselves safe when they arrive at an evening destination; namely, bars, house parties, and fraternities. Participants explained their use of the iPhone location app, “Find My Friend,” to keep themselves surrounded by their female friends while “making sure everyone is there at all times.” Jess, a participant in Focus Group 3, described her use of the app as follows: “I make sure all of our friends have our

location shared with each other on our phones. If someone disappears, I can figure out, ‘Did they just go to the bathroom or are they gone?’” In addition to using the “Find My Friend” app, participants discussed how they “organize large groups” of friends to drink and party together, in order “to prevent something bad from happening.” Jenna, a member of Focus Group 3, described women sticking together during their nights out as a “safety thing”:

There’s always the joke of, ‘Why do girls always go to the bathroom together?’ I think part of that has been drilled into us since we were younger as a safety measure, that you don’t go anywhere alone, even though I know a lot of guys make fun of it. They’re like, ‘Girls always have to go to the bathroom together.’ And we’re like, ‘Yes, we do.’ It’s like you want to be with people, sure, but also, it’s a safety thing.

While participants discussed their plans to keep themselves and their friends safe, they also lamented their need to take such precautionary measures. Georgina and Joslyn, members of Focus Group 10, shared how they reluctantly use ridesharing companies to return home from bars on the Strip.

Joslyn: I shouldn't feel uncomfortable walking home alone to my house.

Georgina: Yeah, I totally agree, but the catcalling makes me feel – that's when I feel unsafe at night. I don't like to pay for an Uber when I live four minutes away. It's just a waste of my money and at the same time, it's beautiful, it's warm, it's the summer, so why should I not be able to walk home? Maybe in the winter when it's 30 degrees outside... but then, at the same time, if someone's calling my name or not even calling my name, calling me *a* name, I feel really unsafe.

Members Focus Group 10 agreed on the use of ridesharing services as a strategy for keeping themselves safe, even as they live “minutes away” from bars on the Strip.

Planning for and engaging in self-defense.

Nine groups in this study discussed resisting the perpetration of sexual violence through self-defense efforts. In their group discussions, participants discussed planning for their self-defense in anticipation of an attempted sexual assault, and reiterated strategies that they used to keep themselves safe in prior episodes of sexual violence perpetration.

In discussing their plans for self-defense, participants talked about carrying weapons and taking self-defense classes. Specifically, they talked about buying or borrowing a friend’s pepper spray to carry while walking and partying late at night. Two women also shared that they own a stun gun and a Taser to protect themselves from the threat of being attacked. However, not all students agreed on carrying a weapon as a self-defense strategy for staying safe. Elsie, a member of Focus Group 1, shared her view that such weapons are ineffective and possibly harmful in an attempted assault:

I actually don’t carry pepper spray or anything with me. I don’t know. I just feel like my immediate reaction, if someone is attacking me, is not going to be to grab pepper spray.

I’m just going to panic. I don’t know. That’s something I worry about a lot often because I’m really tiny. And if someone attacks me, it’s like they’re just going to attack me.

There’s not really much I could do.

In addition to carrying weapons, women discussed how they enrolled in self-defense classes run by the University City Police Department and ECHU administrators. By taking these classes, participants learned “where to hit somebody” if they were attacked, including “punching” and “kicking a man in the [genitals].”

Furthermore, in describing their prior experiences with unwanted physical and sexual contact, participants shared strategies for verbally and physically protecting themselves. Women shared that they verbally protected themselves from sexual violence by stating “no,” “get off me,” and “you don’t have a right to touch me.” They also described having physically “walked away,” “took a step away,” or “shoved” a man to create distance between themselves and unwanted physical contact. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, shared how she verbally and physically resisted a fraternity member who “grabbed” her and tried to kiss her at a party.

I was like, ‘I need to go back to my friends. I need to go back to my friends.’ He’s like, ‘No, no, no, come with me. Let me come meet your friends.’ I was like, ‘No, no, no!’ shoved him away, and then I walked over and all my friends like grabbed me, put me in a huddle, and they’re like, ‘We need to go.’

When describing such resistance to unwanted physical and sexual contact, several participants credited their male friends for stepping in and conducting “little interventions” on their behalf. For example, in further describing the prior encounter, Rosemarie lauded her male friend for his attempts to intervene. “My friend told me that the guy came up to my friend and was like, ‘Hey buddy, can you help me out with her?’ And my friend was like, ‘Absolutely not,’ and shoved him away.” Meanwhile, members of Focus Group 4 described these “little interventions” by male students as necessary for the safety of their female friends.

Carmen: You can’t just say, ‘No’ [to unwanted attention at the bar]. You have to be like, oh, ‘My boyfriend’s meeting me here,’ for whatever reason. The presence of another male figure is always very good at getting people to go away.

Taye: Because they’ll respect competition before they respect you.

Carmen: Exactly.

Taye: But even if you say you have a boyfriend, if you don't have a guy physically there with you, they still ignore that and continue to push.

Carmen: 'Where's your boyfriend at? Why he leaving you here alone?'

Taye: Exactly.

Kelsey: I find a lot of guy friends have stood up in friend groups to be like, great –

Carmen: Because they're the only ones who have an impact... It has to be the guys who intervene with other guys because they don't respect women. You know, clearly.

Members of Focus Group 4 attributed the need for such interventions by men to a lack of respect for women's sexual autonomy.

Missing conversations about and language for sexual violence perpetration.

While sharing various strategies for securing their personal safety from sexual violence perpetration, participants discussed the absence of vital conversations about sexual assault during pre- and post-adolescence. They also described their "lack of language for describing" sexual violence perpetration. This dearth of language makes it difficult to talk about and understand sexual assault, rape, and "gray" non-consensual sexual encounters as #MeToo.

Missing talk about sexual violence perpetration.

Six of the focus groups in this study lamented the absence of conversations about sexual violence perpetration, in their time leading up to college and as ECHU students. Participants characterized conversations about sexual violence perpetration as those that are missing from elementary, middle, and high school. They shared how teachers either avoided conversation about sexual assault, even though elementary, middle, and high school is where women expected

to obtain “sexual assault education,” information about “consent,” and post-assault “resources if it happens to you.” They described the topic of sexual violence as being “shoved under the rug” during “one-week health classes” and “sex education.” For victims of sexual violence, missing talk about sexual violence in elementary, middle, and high school felt particularly frustrating and problematic. As Frankie, a member of Focus Group 6, described it,

If you think about abstinence or drugs or something like that, we start talking about it when we’re in third and fourth grade: so young that it becomes normal to talk about. So, if you talk about drugs, not a big deal, you’ve been hearing about it since you were 5 years old. But then sexual assault, things like this, they mention it for five minutes in 10th grade sex ed. That’s the only time you’ve heard about it. Same with alcohol and sex and all these things. It’s something that will only normalize, I think, if we start talking about it younger, and if this starts being educated when we’re 10 years old and you start hearing about sexual assault and consent and all these things because we’ve been hearing about it for 10 years.

Frankie shared that without these conversations, women inevitably learn about sexual assault in ways that are “too little, too late.”

Participants also lamented the missing nature of conversations about sexual violence perpetration, within their lives as college students. This is one reason that women across this study expressed gratitude for the opportunity to participate in their focus group discussions about sexual violence perpetration at ECHU. Outside of this study – even with groups of their closest friends, teammates, and classmates – participants noted that it is difficult for students to have “open conversations” about sexual assault at ECHU. They also expressed confusion as to why these conversations do not happen more frequently among female students, especially sorority

women. Toni and Annemarie, members of Focus Group 1, shared this sentiment while looking back on their time in their sorority together:

Toni: Even in my sorority, I don't know if I ever had a deep conversation about this [sexual violence perpetration]. This could have been a thing where fourth-year and first-year pledge classes get together.

Annemarie: As pledge mom, there was nothing like this in our program.

In other groups, participants took guesses as to why conversations about sexual assault were absent from the lives of female students at ECHU. This was the case for Ada and June – two members of Focus Group 8 who are also minority women – who considered why conversations about sexual violence perpetration might be missing from the lives of African American women and Asian American women at ECHU:

Ada: I think it's a racial thing, too, that not many Black women are having these conversations [at ECHU]... If you think like, 'I had a bad hookup experience in this fraternity,' or 'I know the girls in that sorority don't like me,' well, the Black community is so small [at ECHU] that everybody knows everybody. You have one bad connection, and that's going to prevent you from wanting to go to any event. So, the conversations just don't necessarily seem to be happening. People don't really care because it's like, 'I had an experience with that person and was fine.' And it's like, "Well, there are only so many Black men here." So, it's just like, it's dismissed.

June: I think racial distinctions are what make these conversations so hard to have, and cause a lot of the dismissal and apathy towards certain

experiences...With Asian organizations here, too – it's not really addressed or talked about. The few that I've been a part of, or been to meetings of, it's not talked about. There's like this one, specific organization for Asian women, and we had one day where we got to talk about sexual assault and fetishization and the exoticization of Asian women. But that was it.

Once again, victims of sexual violence expressed a heightened sense of frustration over the dearth of these conversations among college students. Carlie, a member of Focus Group 2, noted that the absence of these conversations “really sucks for victims.” Without open and frequent conversations about sexual violence perpetration at ECHU, victims bear the “traumatizing” responsibility of starting and maintaining “open conversations” about sexual violence for all students. She also shared that students who have not experienced sexual violence feel falsely “invincible” with regards to victimization, and lack a “healthy fear” of sexual assault as a problem facing female students at ECHU.

In their focus group discussions, several participants were quick to dismiss the idea that conversations about sexual assault should transpire between students and administrators, who they described as people “you don't necessarily trust.” Instead, they considered whether and how these conversations should be facilitated between college students, including close friends. Anisa, a member of Focus Group 6, articulated this view while describing her experiences opening up to a close friend:

I tell my friend stories of things that happen last year, she's like, ‘What the fuck?’ I didn't have anyone to tell these to and I thought they were normal. What are you going to do, what do you compare them to?

Anisa shared that by discussing her sexual experiences with a close friend, she came to understand these experiences as sexual assault.

Missing language for sexual violence perpetration.

Within ten of the focus groups, participants discussed and demonstrated a “lack of language” for explaining sexual violence perpetration. Flora, a member of Focus Group 6, shared how she learned about this “lack of language” in her women’s studies course:

Anisa and I are in a class – well, I guess it just finished, about feminism and fiction. This reminds me of an article we read that wasn’t even part of our syllabus, but we like, brought in articles. It was talking about how our society makes it impossible to really talk about sexual assault because they don’t give us the language to talk about it... It was basically you can categorize it [sexual violence] as like rape or sexual harassment or sexual assault and there’s like, the three categories you have, that society gives us through language, and that’s kind of it. It’s either really toned down and it was sexual harassment or it’s really like, ‘This was rape. We’re gonna describe it in graphic detail.’ There’s no in between, and that a big problem in our society is the lack of language that we have when describing these kinds of things because there’s no word for a lot of the stuff that happens.

In response to Flora, members of Focus Group 6 considered whether this deficiency of language obscures women’s knowledge of “coercion” and the weaponization of alcohol as a “rape drug.”

For other groups, however, such an absence of language for sexual violence was not readily apparent to their members. Instead, participants showed their lack of language while explaining and understanding sexual violence perpetration in their focus group discussions.

Toni, a participant in Focus Group 1, and Frankie, a participant in Focus Group 6, referred to all

forms of sexual violence perpetration as ‘sexual assault,’ even though sexual assault has a legal definition that varies state-by-state. Relatedly, in her conversation with other members of Focus Group 10, Joslyn struggled to understand Georgina’s experiences with various forms of sexual “abuse” using the lens of sexual assault:

Georgina: I think, also, there are two types of abuse. There’s sexual physical assault, which is awful. I can’t imagine someone forcing themselves upon you, that’s horrible, but then there’s also this emotional abuse, and I think that’s a super gray line, and I think it’s harder, but I feel like guys do that more than they realize and I don’t think it’s their intention... It’s very forceful, emotionally, [where he’s like], ‘Let me do it, you’ll like it,’ and then when I say no for the fourth or fifth time, he’s like, ‘I’m calling you an Uber. I’ll – I’m calling an Uber off your phone,’ literally. So, that’s emotionally, if that happens, it happens to girls more than people feel comfortable talking about, and you feel low self-esteem after and you feel totally disposable.

Joslyn: I guess this is a question, but is the term ‘sexual assault’ also counting or including that, kind of?

Across these ten groups, participants reached for but did not often find authoritative definitions of sexual assault and other forms of sexual violence perpetration.

Confusion over the use of the term ‘perpetrator.’

Within four of these ten groups, participants expressed uncertainty when trying to apply the label of ‘perpetrator’ to male friends and fellow students at ECHU. Members of Focus Group 6 discussed how, early on in their college careers, they mischaracterized perpetrators of sexual violence as “random guys,” “window peepers,” and the types of criminals featured on the

television show “Law and Order: SVU.” However, these participants also shared how they corrected these mischaracterizations upon being exposed to sexual assault prevention trainings at ECHU.

In the other three focus group discussions, participants struggled to apply the label of ‘perpetrator’ to male friends and peers as “people you know.” Jiang, a member of Focus Group 9, said that she knows “the statistics” that suggest that most rapes happen between “people who know each other.” In spite of this knowledge, she was reluctant to make a clear connection between perpetration and people she knows.

I feel like, yeah, the statistics are there with like, people you know, but at the same time... I feel like it just happens all the time with like just random people who are – I don’t know. I just imagine them to be kind of crazy or – I don’t really understand what drives people to do that. I know – I don’t know, but – so I think it can really be anyone, and I don’t really understand, or I don’t really know what prompts that to occur necessarily.

Within subsequent statements, Jiang continued to put distance between ‘perpetrators’ and “people you know.” She described perpetrators as individuals experiencing “abnormal psychology” including “sexual malfunction.” Conversely, Naomi, a member of Focus Group 3, was able to apply the label of ‘perpetrator’ to strangers and friends alike. However, she experienced confusion over how to consider a male friend as a perpetrator in ways that feel informative to her safety and self-defense:

The thing that’s hard, sometimes, is we kind of have this vision of assault and attack being a very impersonal, someone we’ve never seen before, which does happen a lot, actually. But also, between hearing from others and personal experiences, usually, more

people that you've known for a little bit. So, I think, sometimes, we anticipate and prepare ourselves for a quick jab like someone comes up behind you and grabs you and just jab them. Sometimes, it can just be the person that's sitting next to you on the couch at a movie night. And so, sometimes, the way you mentally prepare yourselves and the way things actually play out is not the same... So, it's hard because I have never really mentally prepared myself to hit a friend or to – but you also have to realize that's sometimes – and you don't want to be cynical about it. You don't want to be like, 'Never trust anyone ever.' But realistically, you're more likely to be assaulted by someone you know than someone you don't.

In speaking with other members of her group, Naomi realized that her safety precautions and plans relied on an understanding of sexual violence perpetrators as “townies” or “strangers”:

Naomi: I think, weirdly enough, this just made me realize that I haven't prepared, if it's someone I know. I think I have heard the statistic that it's more likely it's someone you know, but I also just haven't – I have all of these game plans for strangers, but I don't have any if I know the person. So, I don't really know what I would do.

Jenna: Yeah, I don't know if you can prepare for it, if it's someone you know. How do you find that balance of like... always being alert but not distrusting every person you meet?

When these women considered defending themselves from a perpetrator who is a friend or acquaintance, they appeared to be at a loss for words.

Domain 2: Achieving Consent With Others

In their discussions of #MeToo and campus sexual violence, women constructed their resistance as a process of achieving consent with others in friendship, dating, and sexual dyads. In this section, I present how the process ‘Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence’ played out in their focus group discussions, as participants talked about achieving consent with male students and opposing non-consensual practices in relationships.

Constructing the practices of non-consent in heterosexual relationships.

Participants described non-consent through a series of problematic, “disrespectful,” and “manipulative” practices that transpire between men and women who know each other in a relationship dyad. These dyads included male and female students who are dating, hooking up, and engaged in friendship.

It is important to note that participants did not label the following practices as emotional and physical non-consent. However, within their focus group discussions, they described scenarios in which unwanted interactions transpired between a male and female student engaged in a dyadic relationship. Specifically, participants explained practices that women are unaware of within their dating relationship, practices that they do not expect from their male friends, and practices women do not desire within their sexual relationship but that nonetheless transpire. In describing these unwanted scenarios, participants used terms like “disrespectful” and “violating.” In presenting the results of this study, I have chosen to use the term ‘non-consensual’ to capture the unwanted nature of these practices in the relationship dyads between male and female students.

Emotional non-consent.

Participants described emotional non-consent as an array of unwanted sex and dating practices that transpire between male and female students.

Taking advantage of female friends.

Seven groups in this study talked about emotional manipulation as a practice that is related to sex and occurs within the friendships between male and female students at ECHU. In these scenarios, participants described male students as misleading or “taking advantage of” their female friends or acquaintances to have sex. Georgina, a member of Focus Group 10, shared her prior experience of being emotionally manipulated by male friends and acquaintances. She noted that her male friends used misleading language to obscure their “underlying intentions” to have sex with her..

If you’re out and a guy wants to get you a drink, and then it’s like, ‘Oh, do you want to get food?’ You leave [the bar], and then he’s like, ‘I have food at my place.’ It’s like, usually, ‘food’ means ‘Joe’s Pizza.’ I feel like this could be something that fits, because you just think, okay, it’s ‘food,’ but there’s definitely underlying intentions there.

Georgina described this practice as causing her to “flex boundaries” and “regret things” that transpired in her friendships with regards to sex. Likewise, Toni, a participant in Focus Group 1, described unexpectedly and regrettably hooking up with a male friend while comforting him during a difficult time:

I’ve been in a situation where I was with a friend, and they were emotional, going through something, I was trying to comfort them, but then it was too close, and they said, ‘Oh, now you’re making me horny,’ and I was in some weird mindset where I was like, ‘I need to comfort you.’ Later, I was like, ‘Why did I do that?’ I had an instinct that was

like, ‘I need to make this person feel better, and I know what they want now, and this’ll make them feel better.’ Later, I was like – I would not do that, but in the state I was in, I was very much so... my inhibitions were down, not because of alcohol, but because of another thing – distractingly so.

In her focus group discussion, Toni refused to attach any “devious intention” to her male friend. She chalked the sexual encounter up to a “sense of obligation” that a person has to comfort a friend in need. In the end, she also described the hookup as one that she came to “repress,” until she had the opportunity to discuss it under #MeToo.

Disregard for women’s feelings in sex and dating.

Four groups in this study discussed emotional non-consent in the form of male students disregarding female students’ feelings in sex and dating relationships. For example, multiple participants talked about “ghosting,” where a man pursues a one-time hookup with a woman without truthfully disclosing his intentions to do so. Members of Focus Group 3 described ghosting as a “violating” and “hurtful” practice that is common between male and female students at ECHU:

Claire: One of my friends asks when they’re like – before they make out, she’s like, ‘Are you gonna ghost me, or are you gonna’... Not in a way that’s like, ‘I want this to me every weekend,’ but, “I don’t want you to just disappear. I want you to just respect me until after.”

Jess: Like if you see me, make eye contact with me, right?

Claire: Yeah.

Jess: I’ve heard of so many friends who just like – the person avoids eye contact with them, which is . . .

Claire: And like, after something so intimate, how could you just – I don't know.

In this discussion, Jess and Claire compared the experience of ghosting in a dating relationship with that of ghosting in a sexual relationship. They agreed that ghosting within a sexual relationship makes a woman feel “a lot more used,” because she has “placed a lot more trust in the person” by agreeing to hookup. In contrast, Anisa and Rosemarie, members of Focus Group 6, did not use the term ghosting to this kind of treatment within a hookup relationship. Nonetheless, they still described one-time hookups as an emotionally manipulative practice that transpires between male students and female students at ECHU.

Anisa: What is the whole thing with only hooking up with a girl one time? Has anyone else heard this? I don't understand this. A guy would be like, ‘I want to hookup with you one time.’ And that's their goal? Why would your goal be to have less sex than you could have? ‘One is better than other numbers...?’

Rosemarie: What gets bad about hookup culture is not caring about the other person because you know it's only going to happen once.

Both women attributed the prevalence of one-time hookups to the culture surrounding heterosexual sex and dating relationships at ECHU.

Participants also discussed disregard for women's feelings through cheating, as male students hookup with female students while engaged in a committed, monogamous relationship with another female student. They described cheating as both a common form of deception in dating relationships between male and female students and a widely known feature of the dating culture at ECHU. Joslyn, a member of Focus Group 10, noted that even “for guys that might want a relationship, there's so much cheating at ECHU, that guys think they want a girlfriend but

then, they actually don't." She also suggested that as male students become part of the culture of ECHU, many choose to disavow monogamous relationships with female partners.

Sexual non-consent.

Participants described sexual non-consent as a practice that takes place between male and female students in hookups and sex.

Within four groups in this study, participants shared how a male student will take a "really drunk" female student home from a party to have an "easy hookup" while she is intoxicated. Women talked about how this kind of sexual non-consent occurs between acquaintances. Specifically, they talked about male and female students who are friends, and who experience a non-consensual hookup because their "inhibitions are down" after a night of drinking. They discussed male and female students who are connected through campus organizations and classes, and who experience a non-consensual hookup after getting to know each other better at a party. Jess, a member of Focus Group 2, discussed this practice as one that is fueled by the drinking and partying habits of members of the Greek community at ECHU:

I joined a sorority this semester, and with all the fraternity's pledge classes, we have group chats with all of them. So, when they host parties, they can invite us. I've muted all of them, because they make me deeply uncomfortable. But a lot of them will say, 'We have a pregame tonight. Roll through, we have a party. Let's go get blackout together, come get blackout with us.' And it's like – it's a weird idea of let's plan to get so drunk that we don't remember it. And also, I'm sure there's connotations of we're inviting you because we want to hookup with you. And so, it's almost like planned assault, in a way, because it's like we're trying to get you so drunk that you don't remember it the next day, but we also want to get with you, which is just like, messed up.

Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1 who is also a sorority member, also described this practice as “a huge problem” at ECHU. She talked about male students who employ alcohol as “a guise to do things” to their female friends and acquaintances who are intoxicated. She also noted that after the encounter male students will respond to their female peers with excuses such as, “Oh, I’m sorry, I was just drunk, I didn’t mean anything by it.”

Participants discussed sexual non-consent after drinking as that which transpires between male and female students who are strangers to each other, save for their brief sexual encounter. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, talked about a male student out a bar “seeing a really drunk girl and thinking, ‘This will be a really easy hookup.’” She described how this male student will take a woman home to hookup and then become entirely dismissive of the woman’s feelings. “[I will] never see her again, so I don’t have to care what she thinks again. She probably doesn’t even know who I am.”

Members of Focus Group 10, in particular, also contemplated forms of sexual non-consent that do not revolve around intoxication before and during hookups. Georgina, a member of Focus Group 10, implicated her male peers at ECHU in two different forms of sexual non-consent with women that do not involve drinking. First, Georgina shared an example of how she had previously responded to a male friend’s sexual advance with a strong “no” and was pressured by her friend to justify her response. Second, Georgina shared a scenario in which a male friend “reaches into their pocket and pulls out a condom”:

I would say, also, there's things that – girls need to learn stuff, too, but just some stuff, guys need to learn. They need to learn that you only need to hear no once, and that you don't get an explanation as to why. And also, some guys do this and some guys don't, but... the ‘I have a condom’ statement... I think it's their attempt at saying, ‘Can we have

sex?’ And I don't know how I feel about that. I do feel like that kind of statement is better than if a guy just reaches in their pocket and pulls out a condom because then it's like, ‘Where did you get that idea that that was gonna happen?’ I don't know what you guys think, but I do think – I guess what I'm saying is I think it's fine when a guy says, ‘I have a condom,’ or something, because at least it's – I don't know? I guess, there could also be a better way of saying it? I don't know.

In response to Georgina's examples, members of Focus Group 10 began to consider problems with the ways that male students ask their female peers to hookup. For instance, they shared that male students will rely on “statements,” or assumptions that a female student wants to have sex, rather than asking her directly. Participants also began to consider whether, in the absence of a direct request for sex, a hookup could be considered consensual. Hadley, another member of Focus Group 10, noted that when a man fails to assert this kind of request, he also fails to recognize the desires of “both of you... not just him.” These women described a need for teaching male students how to pursue affirmative and continuous consent with their female peers.

Negotiating blame and responsibility for non-consent.

When describing emotional and sexual non-consent, seven of the eleven groups discussed assigning blame and responsibility to both male and female students, as a heterosexual sex or dating partnership. They also expressed a lack of consensus and uncertainty when attempting to assign blame and/or responsibility to male or female students, as a gendered individual or group.

Assigning blame to men.

Three groups discussed blaming male students for emotional non-consent in sex and dating relationships with female students. In these groups, participants described men as obliged

to recognize the rights of women in sexual relationships. Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, emphasized a woman's right to say "yes or say no" to attention and touch from a male friend or boyfriend. "We need [men] to respect the fact that we have the right to say yes or no, and that you do not have the right to our bodies, or to impose your will upon us." Participants also described men as responsible for knowing and empathizing with women's feelings in sexual relationships. Carlie and Viviana, members of Focus Group 2, talked about how a woman might feel "afraid" while hooking up with a man, because men are physically "stronger" and "more powerful" than women. They noted that this fear leads some women to be "passive" in talking about sex, and requires that men engage "continuous, affirmative consent" when hooking up.

Assigning blame to women.

Three groups discussed blaming female students for emotional non-consent in sex and dating relationships with male students. For instance, participants described female students as obliged to communicate verbally and openly with men in sexual situations. Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1, referred to this practice as women's "due diligence" when hooking up. "Either say yes or say no. We have to understand that yeah, exactly, guys will take silence as a yes, or they'll take it as however they want it to be." In contrast, Joslyn and Hadley, members of Focus Group 10, were less adamant about the responsibility of a female student to state an emphatic "yes or no" when approached for a hookup. Both participants agreed that women have a responsibility to communicate verbally with men in the time leading up to sex:

Joslyn: Overall, 'signals,' they mean something different to everyone. I could be like, 'Oh, want to come over and watch a movie tomorrow?' But I'm literally saying, 'Let's watch Harry Potter on the other side of the couch.' But then that's a signal to them, like, 'Wow, she wants to be more than

whatever,’ [even if its] just going to lunch in the middle of the day. A signal to someone else is something really different, which is –

Hadley: I totally agree.

Joslyn: That’s why a lot of times people are like, ‘Did you verbally say no?’ Because that’s the only thing people can agree is no. I could say no in 1,500 ways with my body, but someone else would be like, ‘I still didn’t realize.’

Both participants described female students as needing to avoid over-relying on “signals” to communicate with men about sex.

Shifting blame away from men.

Five groups shifted blame away from male students while discussing emotional and sexual non-consent. Participants in these groups described their male friends at ECHU as immature, and subsequently ignorant of their obligations to women in sexual situations.

Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1, offered her view that “girls mature faster than guys.” She then described male students as encountering a different learning curve than female students with regards to understanding sex, respect, and hooking up.

This isn’t really – this has no conclusion, but the thing that’s so difficult and gets us into a lot of ambiguous situations is the fact that... we all have the process of growing up and learning these things, unfortunately, guys also are going through that process, and so, if the timelines of coming into yourself and realizing what’s okay, and what’s not okay.

And, guys are starting from a very different perspective, where for us, the learning process is how to stand up for ourselves and be a strong, independent woman and not take anything from guys. Whereas guys, they’re starting at the state of thinking that they

own everything, and thinking that girls are theirs for the taking. So, we're kind of trying to get to the same place.

Hadley, a member of Focus Group 10, shared a similar view that "guys are not mature. I feel like every guy I talk to is 12 years old." For Annemarie and Hadley, male peers could not be described as blameworthy for non-consensual practices because they do not know the "common sense" rules for sex and dating. Furthermore, male students do not understand what female students desire within sex and hooking up.

In these discussions, participants shifted blame away from male students by blaming female students for non-consent. In doing so, some women also deflected blame from male students by blaming themselves. This was true of Toni, a member of Focus Group 1, who described male and female students as equally immature and ignorant when it comes to sex and dating:

The college experience itself – I think several things that I experienced first year – if that had happened at a later stage in my life, it would be very different. So much of it is the context where this is just what happens, your first year of college, your brain is still developing, you're still learning, and the men in this case – usually, they're still young, and learning, and developing, so it's just, 'Oh, we were all young and stupid, so there's no blame there, and we've all learned since then, and now, we wouldn't do that.' So, if that situation happened to me again now, I would be a lot more against it. I would consider it to be worse than four years ago.

Toni also engaged in self-blame when sharing her prior experiences with emotional and physical manipulation at the hands of a male student. She discussed a specific encounter in which clear boundaries were not set between herself and her male friend, leading to an unwanted and

regrettable hookup. She blamed herself for the unwanted hookup, and discussed her prior reputation as “a tease” among male acquaintances.

I had an issue, years ago, with being considered a tease. I’ve heard that [in situations where] you’re doing something, and all of a sudden, you decide you’re uncomfortable, and you step back, and they’re like, ‘Oh, wow, you’re doing that on purpose. You’re being a tease.’ So, if I were in that situation and I was like, ‘Can we just go to bed?’, then I would feel bad for teasing, or making them think it was going to happen, and then taking it away at the last second – I know that’s not a good way to think about it, and I don’t really think about it that way anymore, but in the moment, I was like, ‘Oh, I’ve already gotten this far, and it would be almost rude of me... if I were to step back now’ kind of situation. So, I think that’s also a difficult situation where –I don’t know.

Participants also shifted blame away from male students by blaming alcohol as the substance that fuels unwanted sexual activity between men and women. They described alcohol as generating the conditions for male and female students to become “blackout drunk.” They also described alcohol as creating a “gray zone” in hookups between men and women, where neither partner really understands or remembers what transpired during a hookup. Essentially, participants were reticent to assign responsibility for a non-consensual hookup “if both parties forget what happened in the morning.” This was true for Kristi, a member of Focus Group 11, who questioned the assignment of blame for non-consensual sex when both partners are intoxicated:

One thing that I have a hard time thinking about is when a woman is drunk like how much blame to put on the guy, versus her. What if they’re both drunk? Or if only she’s drunk, or if only he’s drunk? I’m not exactly sure where to go in cases like that, because a

really common thing that happens is that you go to a party. Everyone drinks way too much, and something happens. The next morning, maybe both of them regret it, maybe one person regrets it. Usually, it's the girl that regrets it because I guess, in this culture, there's more praise given on the guy to get as many girls as possible. But for girls, we're more selective, and it's more like an emotional thing for us. And that's an issue that I don't know the answer to exactly, because I've heard both sides. I was like, 'Hey, it's like the guy's fault. He's the one who takes initiative. He's the one who has to make sure that the girl says yes.' But then, other people are like, 'What if they're both drunk, if he couldn't think? Or what if only the guy is drunk?' And, I don't know.

When discussing non-consensual hookups that involved alcohol use by one or both partners, participants had a difficult time assigning blame to men or women.

Achieving consent with male students.

Female college students discussed resisting non-consent in sex and dating as a process of achieving consent with men, especially male students at ECHU.

Defining consent as affirmative and continuous.

Six of the eleven groups in this study discussed resistance as a process of women achieving consent with men, in a way that is "affirmative" and "continuous." In these groups, participants described consent as process that begins before a man and a woman start hooking up. To launch the process as one of affirmation, one partner "asks for consent" to engage in a particular sexual activity with the other partner. The requesting partner asks for consent by using confirmatory questions such as, "Do you want to have sex?", "Can I do this?", "Do you like this?", or, "Is this OK?" Then, they wait for a clear, verbal answer from the responding partner without issuing force, coercion, pressure, or additional questioning. To achieve consent as a

pair, the responding partner issues “an enthusiastic yes,” and/or multiple “words of affirmation,” prior to taking part in a particular, sexual activity with the requesting partner.

Participants also described consent as a continuous process, and more than “just a one-time thing” between sexual partners. Carlie, and Judy, members of Focus Group 2, described “continuous consent” as that which happens anew with every single sexual activity that transpires between two partners.

Carlie: Something big that I think I’ve struggled with is when we’re thinking about continuous consent, I don’t think a lot of guys really understand that... in order to have consensual sex, you have to be okay with literally everything moving through, and that includes things like, contraception, different kinds of things. [For example,] I think having sex without a condom when you consented to have sex with a condom, I think that’s either sexual assault or rape.

Judy: Relating to that, I think the natural progression of hooking up, like kissing to like, other stuff. Maybe an individual may not be okay with those middle steps, but they’re okay with sex and stuff. I think guys don’t understand that. They’re like, ‘Oh, you’re okay with having sex, so you must be okay with all the things that are less than the actual penetrative sex.’ That’s not always true. There’s the different levels of control involved, different experiences. So, it’s like a really big conversation I like to have.

Even within long-term relationships, participants expressed the desire for continuous consent.

For instance, members of Focus Group 4 shared that they learned to define continuous consent

from a viral online public service announcement. In the cartoon PSA, created for the Thames Valley Police in 2015 (Natividad, 2015), consent is compared to the process of one person asking another person, “Would you like a cup of tea?”:

- Carmen: For me, personally, I would say, no, you have to ask for consent every time [you want to have sex]. Like, yeah...
- Kelsey: I feel like in a healthy relationship... you would say like, ‘No, not tonight, I got stuff to do,’ or yada yada.
- Carmen: Right, ‘I’m tired’ or whatever.
- Kelsey: Or ‘I have a headache.’
- Taye: It reminds me of that tea video, remember the tea video where it explains consent?
- Carmen: No.
- Kelsey: No. Do explain.
- Taye: Well, it’s this video, it’s almost like having sex is giving someone tea.
- Carmen: Oh, yes! It’s like you ask them, ‘Oh, what kind of tea would you like? Would you like milk and sugar with that tea? Do you want tea?’
- Taye: And just because they had tea in the past doesn’t mean they want tea now.
- Kelsey: ‘Want tea again?’ ‘Maybe I’m a coffee drinker now!’
- Carmen: And so, yeah.
- Taye: I’m pretty sure they showed that to us in class one time.
- Kelsey: I don’t remember. I don’t remember here, no. I think I heard –
- Carmen: I’ve seen on like somewhere else.
- Kelsey: I feel like that would be a good thing to be spread about...

Taye: Consent should be gotten every time. You can't just assume that they're okay with it.

At last, members of Focus Group 4 described continuous consent as that which should happen even when partners have previously engaged in a specific sexual activity together.

Though most groups characterized consent as a practice related to sex and hooking up, several participants discussed affirmative and continuous consent within the context of dating relationships. Carmen, a member of Focus Group 4, discussed continuous consent as a process that transpires between dating partners making life decisions together:

I don't think consent has to be just around sex, I think it can be around dating and like a relationship and like, 'Do you wanna move in with me, do you not wanna move in with me?' 'Do, you wanna go on a date, do you not wanna go on a date?' That's all consent. I don't think it's just in the bedroom where you're about to have sex.

Members of Focus Group 2 also talked about continuous consent in the context of their dating partnerships with male students at ECHU:

Judy: I think it's important even like within a relationship – a couple of us are in relationships – having that continuous consent is really important. It's really important to me, so I'm always very aware of it and my significant other is very aware of it because I've kind of like trained him like, 'Hey, I need this,' in order to feel like okay. He's like, 'Okay, got it.' I hope he can carry that and talk to his guy friends about that or like in his future relationships, like have that in the back of his mind still. One person helps.

Viviana: I have to agree. It's the same with my significant other. We talked about it openly, like what we're comfortable with and what we're not,

hypothetically, if we were to start having sex. If we were to have sex, it will always be a question, that's asked, like, 'Do you want to do this?' and then it's like sure, or no – we still don't have sex but it's... we'll just answer that question [when we do]. It's important.

Carlie: Yeah. Actually, okay, you guys are all in relationships.

Judy: It's important. You're not in like, a defined relationship, but it's still important.

Hannah: It's like a gray area - I think it's more important [in new relationships].

Shevon: I guess piggybacking on what Hannah and Viviana were saying, for me and my significant other, like we do – we really do emphasize communication in general. I think that's something that is just really important. I feel like we're both on the same page about like everything, like intimacy and other areas. It's something that's really important.

These participants described affirmative and continuous consent as indicators of the mutuality of their dating relationships with male students.

Promoting verbal consent as “sexy.”

Four groups in this study talked about resisting non-consent by promoting verbal consent as an erotic process, which can be communicated “in a sexy way” between two sexual partners. Across these groups, women dismissed talk of verbal consent as a “mood-killer” leading up to and during sex. Claire, a participant in Focus Group 3, disagreed with the notion that communicating consent – verbally and in the affirmative – drains the eroticism out of an unfolding sexual relationship between two people.

I feel like [consent] is another thing that could be seen as a mood-killer by men, but not necessarily women, because women can say what they want, and then... Men don't want to talk about it before it happens. They just want to figure it out while they go.

Instead, participants described consent as a process that is inherently "sexy" when communicated between potential and current sexual partners. Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1, described verbal consent with a new partner as a process that involves subtlety and, when done correctly, promotes sexual desire.

You would, with a partner, ask if it's okay or whatever, but not with someone you just met and want to have sex with. People think you have to ask consent in this sort of, 'Do you consent to this sex right now?' No, you just say, 'Is this okay? Do you like this?' It can be in a sexy way, or whatever. But you're still asking permission, in some sense, and getting a vibe for how they're feeling about – what's going down.

Members of Focus Group 4 similarly discussed verbal consent as a process that pairs well with amatory, non-verbal gestures between potential and current sexual partners. Carmen explained that affirmative, verbal consent does not need to proceed as a stuffy formality:

It's like, we do such a poor job of defining any of that because consent doesn't have to be very formal, upfront, sitting down, like, 'Do you want to have sex with me, Madame?'

It's like, no. It doesn't have to be that way. You can incorporate it into foreplay, or whatever.

During this discussion, Taye agreed with Carmen's view that consent does not "kill the mood."

There's this thing that I saw on Twitter. It's like the different ways to show consent, like, if someone moves in closer to you, they wait until you move in closer to them. Or if they're taking their clothes off, you can help them. Stuff like that.

In doing so, Taye described verbal, continuous consent as that which pairs nicely with sexually suggestive, non-verbal “showings” of desire between two people.

Missing knowledge and strategies for achieving consent together.

Within their group discussions, participants identified gaps in men’s and women’s knowledge of consent, and talked about the absence of strategies for achieving consent with each other in heterosexual sex and dating relationships. They characterized these gaps as barriers to achieving consent in sex and dating.

Missing a shared definition of consent.

Eight of the eleven focus groups in this study discussed a shared definition of consent as that which is missing from sexual relationships between male and female students. Carmen, a member of Focus Group 4, described the existence of multiple definitions of consent.

“Everybody has about 14 definitions [of consent]. Which one do you follow? How do you decide? Because I don’t think, as a society, we’ve agreed on what consent looks like.” Claire, a member of Focus Group 3, described consent as uncertain when one or both sexual partners have been drinking:

It’s kind of like, if someone is sober and not as drunk as the other people... well, do they have to be the same level of intoxicated, or can they be different? And are there different levels of consent within that? I don’t know.

Participants described this lack of a shared definition of consent as creating “confusion” in sex and hookup relationships. Carmen shared her confusion over how two people achieve consent when they lack a shared definition:

I think that begs the question, how do you define that relationship, right? Again, back to the definitions, it’s like how do you, okay, what are your expectations? If I ask, yes, you

know, like, do you, is the expectation like before every sexual encounter you have with the other person, regardless of like, yes, we are married, yes, we are living together, yes, we are, whatever, right? Do you always ask, 'Are you good with this, can we go, can we have sex?' Or is it kind of understood? Right, like, whenever one of you wants to have sex then, yes, that's understood that both of you want to have sex.

Without a shared definition of consent, participants like Carmen felt unable to answer the question, "How do you hookup with someone in a respectful way?"

Participants also described the absence of a shared definition of consent as leading to "gray" non-consensual sexual encounters between men and women. Carlie, a participant in Focus Group 2, discussed these encounters in her prior relationships with male students.

I really think in most situations that I've had, I have not been in like a committed serious relationship, but... I have never had a guy who has understood continuous consent, or at least showed me that he did. Like, none of them knew. So, I had to like stop them if I wanted to be like, 'I don't want to do this,' they just go. So, I think updating the fact that like you have to ask every single thing, I don't think that's a well-known fact in the male community or at least the subset that I've interacted with.

She surmised that men do not recognize the need to ask for a woman's permission prior to engaging in a particular sexual activity. Meanwhile, Kristi, a participant in Focus Group 11, described her male friends at ECHU as collectively ignorant of consent as an affirmative practice:

For example, one of my friends was actually looking for advice on how to get a girl. And I was hanging out, and he was asking his guy friends. And he was like, 'When do I know when to kiss her. And none of the guys said, 'Ask her.' All of them were like, 'Don't ask.

Don't give her the chance to say no because you don't want her to say no.' They were just like, 'Just gently go in for the hand behind the head,' kind of thing.

Participants suggested that without a shared definition of consent, male students cannot recognize consent as verbal, affirmative, and continuous.

Several participants attributed the absence of a shared definition of consent to inadequate "consent education" for male and female students before college. Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, noted, "there's clearly a lack of education for both men and women regarding consent." Melinda, a member of Focus Group 3, shared a similar sentiment while characterizing consent education as missing from the lives of students before they arrive at college:

In health classes growing up, you learn about how to have safe sex and condoms, but they never talk about consent. Like, they never even used that word. So, I had no idea what the definition was, what it really meant, until coming to college.

In doing so, participants characterized the sex education that male and female students receive before college as "rudimentary."

Missing knowledge of each other.

Fives groups in this study discussed male and female students as missing knowledge of each other as sexual partners. Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1 and a senior at ECHU, admitted to having a "one-sided" understanding of men and their expectations for hooking up:

I want to hear the male perspective. I am very secure in what I think about myself and my body, and navigating these waters, but it's a very one-sided understanding of the situation. I really wish that men were more comfortable in talking about these things because I want to know. I want to know what makes them uncomfortable. I think they're doing themselves a detriment of not feeling comfortable and being like, 'Hey, lady

friends, is this cool? Is this not cool? By the way, you should know that this is not cool for me. You shouldn't do this.'

In these groups, participants attributed men's and women's deficiency of knowledge about each other, as potential sexual partners, to their use of technology, and hookup culture at ECHU.

Problems with technology.

Groups discussed technology as a barrier to male and female students understanding each other as potential sexual partners. Ada, a member of Focus Group 8, noted,

I think [technology] is an enabler for this sort of confusion. We're already in college.

We're either drinking a lot of alcohol, doing a lot of whatever, going out very purposefully, but then... there's also this sense of like, attachment that's detached.

Because it's like, I can digitally speak with this person. I can get digitally close with this person, but does that really translate to physical closeness? If it doesn't live up...if it doesn't live up to the expectations the digital communication set up, where do we go from there?... I think that's more a part of exploring yourself and how you interact with others, which we don't have any more because we only have technology and that's how we communicate with people. It is still a part of exploring sexuality, as well.

Joslyn, a member of Focus Group 10, also questioned male students' use of technology to approach her for hooking up. She discussed multiple occasions where a male acquaintance asked her to "hang out" over Snapchat or text, and she could not understand his motives for spending time together. Did he want to get together to watch a movie? Was he texting with the expectation of hooking up? Joslyn felt uncertain about these exchanges and expressed a reluctance to reply directly or firmly to such requests.

And, I think this issue of not being able to read the person, or you get a text and... I do this all the time when I say something: I would say it out loud, but I feel like I have to put 'LOL' at the end [of a text] to soften it. I would literally just, out loud, be like, 'No, sorry,' but if I were to text, 'No, sorry,' people would be like, 'Is she upset?' Then, over text, I will respond with a nicer 'no' than if I was just in person and they saw my face. I would say, 'No, sorry.' [Then] they'd be like, 'Oh, she was nice about it.' I don't know, it's hard.

Joslyn shared that she usually characterized these kinds of messages as requests for casual hookups. After additional consideration, she also acknowledged feeling unable to read her "read" male peers as potential friends or suitors over text message. "I think if someone said to me, 'Want to hang out in person?' you have a better read of what's going on."

Problems with hookup culture.

Groups also discussed hookup culture as a barrier to male and female students understanding each other as potential sexual partners. Namely, participants talked about hookup culture as that which complicates the sex and dating dynamics between male and female students. Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1, shared how hookup culture discourages male and female students from articulating boundaries in their sexual relationships:

I would be remiss not to address the fact that most colleges have that hookup culture, that – at least from my experience – was not a thing in high school. You didn't hookup with someone. You were talking, and then you were dating. There was none of this gray area that we all live in now, that creates this problem of, what does consent look like? What is consent? How do you hookup with someone in a respectful way?

She described hookup culture as encouraging male and female students to “hang out” and have sex without clear communication. Similarly, Hannah, a member of Focus Group 5, noted,

On college campuses, everyone wants to go out and ‘hang out’ with their friends. Hookup culture is a thing. It’s not really a thing to go to a bar and be like, ‘Do you want to hookup?’ It’s more like, I don’t know, nonverbal and stuff. I feel like that just contributes to [confusing] situations.

Participants also characterized hookup culture as disruptive to communication between partners who are transitioning between early and later stages of hooking up.

For some women, hookup culture became a reason to avoid getting to know male students through sex and dating. As Lina, a member of Focus Group 7, described her disinclination, “dating is hard and too difficult. Not interested.”

Domain 3: Recognizing Women & Victims of Sexual Violence

In their discussions of #MeToo and campus sexual violence, female students constructed their resistance as a process of listening to and recognizing the stories of women and victims of sexual assault. In this section, I present how the process ‘Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence’ played out in conversation, as participants talked about and recognized the discursive “social subordination” of women and victims (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). In doing so, they also recognized women’s and victims’ stories as equal and valid contributions to conversations about sexual violence.

Constructing the practices of misrecognition.

Groups discussed misrecognition through a series of discursive practices that lead to the social subordination of women and sexual assault victims in society and at ECHU. In all eleven groups, participants discussed how women and victims are “prevented from participating as...

peer[s] in social life” (Fraser, 2000, p. 113), because their stories are denied equal and valid contribution to conversations about sexual violence.

The ignoring of women’s and victim’s experiences.

Eleven groups in this study discussed the misrecognition of women and sexual assault victims through the ignoring of their stories and experiences by friends, fellow students, and administrators at ECHU.

The ignoring of women’s experiences by friends and classmates.

Six groups discussed misrecognition as the ignoring of women’s stories and experiences by their friends and classmates at ECHU. In these groups, participants discussed how male and female students at ECHU dismiss women’s stories of “guys being creepy” and “making them feel uncomfortable” while dancing, drinking, and socializing with friends at bars and parties. They talked about female students at ECHU minimizing each other’s problematic physical and sexual encounters with male students. For example, Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1, shared how women will minimize their own experiences and stories in ways that disrupt recognition by others. “We’re just used to drunk guys at bars being creepy and making us uncomfortable, and that’s just something that happens.” Other participants noted that women will dismiss other women’s stories of problematic sex and dating encounters out of fear. Ada, a member of Focus Group 8, discussed how a woman in a historically Black sorority at ECHU might reject another woman’s story of a “bad hookup” with a Black male student. She explained that this happens not because women do not believe other women, but because the Black community is so small at ECHU that acknowledging such stories would be “polarizing” for ECHU’s Black Greek community.

Participants also discussed how male students witness but ignore “inappropriate” and “uncomfortable” episodes of sexual or physical contact between male and female students.

Wendy, a member of Focus Group 6, shared one such experience with a male friend:

Wendy: One of my best friends, Braden, was like... like I went to one of the bars this weekend, and this guy like grabbed me in a very inappropriate way, that I was not comfortable with. I tried to get him to stop and he liked grabbed my neck and pulled my hair, and I was like, 'Get off of me.' And [Braden] was like, 'Does this actually happen to girls when they go out?'... no one, maybe like six guys standing around me and Emma, and I was like, 'Emma, we need to go.' All these guys just watched this happen to me, and didn't... and I'm sure they're friends with him because they were like standing with him. And then they didn't say anything.

Chloe: Normal.

Relatedly, members of Focus Group 8 described how their male friends and acquaintances ignored one woman's accusation of sexual assault against a male student leader at ECHU. They shared that the woman's story was largely ignored by male student leaders at ECHU, during the time leading up to her assailant's “public ousting” from campus social life:

Alla: I've heard, and a lot of women I've talked to, have consistently been, 'He's creepy,' or, 'I had a bad experience, this happened.' I didn't even know him, but I knew of him in that context and a lot of people knew of him in that context, but as soon as the big news story broke, I had all these guys [saying], 'Oh my god, I'm so shocked. I cannot believe it. *It's been talked about for so long.*

June: Women knew what was going on, but you didn't really care.

Morgan: Lucy and I had a running joke where we'd be like, 'Hey, we both slept with him. What's up? Isn't that great?'

Alla: A lot of the guys I talked to were like, 'This is conversation you girls keep between yourselves.' No, especially with the [student newspaper] sexual assault thing.

Ada: It came out like a year before.

June shared that she, too, had previously attempted to tell a male friend about a discomforting experience with the accused student. "I had told him that this man was creepy, and that I felt uncomfortable around him, and he would make it into a joke."

The ignoring of victims' experiences by friends and classmates.

Six groups discussed misrecognition as the ignoring of victims' experiences and stories by friends and classmates at ECHU. Participants discussed the ways that students at ECHU overlook victims' stories about sexual assault. They shared examples of victims attempting to disclose their experiences of sexual assault to friends and classmates and receiving normalizing, minimizing comments in response. Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, described how members of her sorority who are also victims of sexual assault have had their experiences dismissed by friends in conversation:

At least from what I've heard from girls in [a sexual assault prevention organization at ECHU], who are in sororities and stuff like that, and know a lot about sexual assault... if they've experienced [sexual assault] and talked about it with other girls in their sorority, the other girls just dismiss it, and they're like, 'Oh yeah, that's normal that a guy took

you home when you were too drunk and took advantage of you. That just happens to people.’ And it’s kind of like, ‘Whoa. No.’

Carlie and Judy, members of Focus Group 2, shared a similar experience of attempting to disclose their victimization by sexual assault to friends and classmates. Carlie discussed her attempts to find support from a friend involved in sexual violence prevention at ECHU. In responding to her story, Carlie’s friend skipped over her feelings to demand that she report her assailant.

One of my friends, she’s in [sexual violence prevention organization at ECHU]. So, I told her, I was like, ‘This happened to me.’ Then she was immediately like, ‘You have to report him.’ I was like, ‘No, I don’t. I actually do not.’ Then I spent an hour being chastised by her because I didn’t want to report him. This is the first time I told her. I told two people before that. That is something I feel like should be more talked about.

In time, Judy, another participant in Focus Group 2, shared her experience disclosing her victimization to a male friend and feeling slighted by his reply:

I recently told one of my close high school friends I was sexually assaulted by a person in high school. He was like, “Wow, that sucks.” I was like, ‘Wait, that’s not the response I need.’ I want to have like an active conversation about it. He just didn’t know how to respond. I don’t know if that’s from him being a guy or not knowing how to deal with a situation like this. I was trying to have a productive conversation with him about it, but he was made to feel like so uncomfortable.

In other groups, participants described the ignoring of victims’ stories of sexual assault through misguided attempts by others – namely, women – to empathize with victims’ experiences in conversation. Anisa, a member of Focus Group 6, expressed her frustration with women who

have not experienced victimization by sexual assault but who nonetheless share “little stor[ies] that kind of fit in the framework” of sexual violence perpetration.

I feel like if you’re talking [to a victim] about sexual assault – I’m gonna make a pretty stretched-out metaphor. If someone talks about depression, I read a lot of articles about it and someone is like, ‘I get really sad too.’ To me, it’s like, ‘Thank you for your story, please don’t say anything.’ You know what I mean? Say, ‘I’m really sorry to hear your story, let’s do things to fix it.’ Don’t say, ‘I completely understand as someone who is also sad sometimes.’

According to Anisa, women’s “little stories” inhibit and “draw away” from sexual assault victims receiving acknowledgment in conversation, especially conversations about #MeToo.

The ignoring of victims’ experiences by their university.

Seven groups described misrecognition as the ignoring of victims’ experiences and stories by administrators at ECHU. In these groups, participants discussed the ways that administrators ignore the stories of victims by failing to assert sexual assault as a serious problem at ECHU. They considered whether administrators’ “quiet” efforts to recognize sexual assault victims are, in actuality, attempts to mask the problem of sexual assault victimization at ECHU. Naomi, a participant in Focus Group 5, discussed her view that administrators do not want students to talk to each other or with their parents about sexual assault victimization at ECHU.

ECHU, I noticed, likes to keep things internal and quiet. Nothing ever gets out. We get the little like, [Clery Act criminal report] thing. But there’s been multiple sexual assaults this year, multiple. You never hear anything about it outside of this bubble. No one knows. My parents don’t know, until I tell them. No one – ECHU likes to keep it really

quiet. They don't want it getting out, which I understand. They have an image to uphold.

But, at the same time, because of their desire to uphold the image, it's not talked about.

Members of Focus Group 4 echoed Naomi's concerns. Specifically, they recommended that administrators increase efforts to publicly recognize sexual assault victimization at ECHU:

Carmen: Yeah, I would like to see a strong condemnation by ECHU of sexual assault. We get the emails from [the police chief] -

Taye: Which do nothing to make you feel better.

Kelsey: No, it makes you feel a whole lot worse, they don't say, they don't take a standpoint saying, 'This is not okay,' they just tell you the facts of like what happened.

Carmen: Right, so we get the emails from the Chief of Police about it, right. And like, oh, this happened, this is the description of the abuser, this is where it happened but there's no condemnation of this is terrible, this is bad, do not do this, you should not be doing this, this should not be happening at our university. And so, I just kinda feel it kind of leads to complacency of like, 'This is just how it goes, and this is just the culture.'

Kelsey: And maybe he can't personally send something like that out, but somebody from the leaders' standpoint of the university should send something out –

Participants also contemplated whether administrators' "reactive" and "counteractive" efforts to address sexual assault perpetration at ECHU are intended to minimize attention to victims' stories and experiences. This was true for members of Focus Group 9, who described their feelings about ECHU administrators as follows:

June: Anyways, all of this is going on. They're both being pretty publicly ostracized by the liberal elitist organizations here – he was at the walking ceremony at graduation! The two of them were walking down the graduation procession together with everything that happened.

Ada: Solidarity in numbers, right?

Alla: I think that's the most disappointing thing, when the university doesn't really do much.

Morgan: Our general expectation is that the university is reactive and not proactive.

In response, June questioned whether administrators' reactive efforts to sexual assault indicate that ECHU is "accepting [of] the situation as it is":

I think I would feel a lot better if the university and administration was taking a more active role in instilling a culture, like a bystander intervention culture at ECHU. You just said it. They hand it over to us, and they expect it to trickle down and fix everything.

When things go wrong, they blame it on us again. They refuse to be proactive with it.

Participants discussed administrators efforts to address sexual assault – including ECHU's positive bystander prevention program, and the delegation of program implementation to students – as akin to "putting a Band-Aid on an open wound."

Groups also discussed the ways that administrators ignore the stories of victims by failing to hold male students accountable for sexual assault before and after it happens. Participants questioned whether administrators' failure to hold male perpetrators accountable for sexual assault is indicative of their unwillingness to take the stories of female victims at ECHU seriously. This was the case for members of Focus Group 5, one of the two groups of friends

from freshman year, who characterized their attempts to report a male student for sexual violence as frustrating.

Ruby: The way that their reporting system works is not useful. I know, from personal experience, that they can be very difficult and very unwilling to help. And so, they can give you a response like, ‘Oh, you didn’t have enough information about the person. So, there’s nothing more that we can do. Sorry that that happened to you.’ Send. That’s enough for them. And it’s just like, you told us, in a situation, that this is what we’re supposed to do.

Naomi: The signs are posted in the bathroom.

Ruby: And when we do it, you don’t act on it. And you don’t have –

Moderator: And, if I can ask, can you guess what the lack of information was? Was there a particular part of information you felt like they needed to have to act?

Ruby: So, the information that was provided was like the year that the person was, their first name, their race, and their gender. They were like we can’t really do anything about the full name.

Moderator: Oh, okay. So, were you describing someone that you think perpetrated something?

Ruby: Yeah.

Moderator: Gotcha, right. And the information you get from the administration is, if you have the information, you should provide what you have, and the response you got felt – was unsatisfying.

Ruby: Yeah.

Carlie, a participant in Focus Group 2, shared a similar view of ECHU administrators related to their dealings with fraternities:

I feel like a little bit also, like, ECHU, different than other places based off of very small sample size, i.e., [Midwestern State School], is like really in support of Greek life. I know some of the stuff that's been going on, I don't have any specific examples, but there's got to be some wrongdoings going on. Midwestern State School, if a frat does anything remotely wrong, they get hammered. Midwestern is trying to get away from their Greek life, but ECHU is actively trying to grow its Greek life community, which I think lets frats get away with like not great stuff, so no facts here, just my opinion. I feel like if something were to happen at a fraternity, a sexual assault incident, I don't know how strict their consequences be. I know they on an individual [student] level, have... treated it with the gravity it deserves. But not on the organization's level, which I think if a member of the fraternity does something, I think there should be some consequences for that frat, which isn't great. I know a lot of great guys in frats that wouldn't endorse the actions of their brother, but still at the same time, as a group, if something goes wrong, I think you should be responsible for it. I don't think ECHU would do that. That's something that I feel.

In the end, Carlie questioned whether administrators recognize the stories of victims in ways that match the “gravity” of their experiences with sexual assault.

In several groups, participants also discussed the lack of students dismissed from ECHU on the grounds of sexual assault perpetration. They also questioned whether this dearth of dismissals indicates “complacency” on behalf of administrators, and a possible unwillingness to

recognize the number of victims of among the student population at ECHU. Members of Focus Group 6 questioned why they do not know anyone who has been dismissed from ECHU on the grounds of sexual assault perpetration.

Wendy: Also, ECHU, in my opinion, this is just a personal opinion, I don't think they do a good job of like –

Frankie: Not at all.

Ruby: I think it's a national problem.

Wendy: Over 200 people from 1999 to 2013 have been kicked out of ECHU for other charges. Statistically, we should know a couple people this year alone that have been kicked out due to sexual assault, but do we?

Importantly, participants did not limit this questioning to administrators at ECHU. Several women questioned the slowness of administrators to address sexual assault at ECHU. However, they also described the reactivity of college administrators as a more “universal” problem related to sexual assault and justice for victims. As Judy, a member of Focus Group 2 pointed out,

I don't think, universally, [sexual assault] is a problem that all colleges take seriously.

They might brush it to the side.. So universities or students at universities could get away with something that deserves, like, a criminal offence, with just like community service or like some hold on your student account or some BS like that.

Being ‘bodies’ in men’s ‘body counts.’

Five groups discussed misrecognition as the treatment of female students as ‘bodies’ in male students’ “body counts.” In these groups, participants discussed the practice of keeping a

‘body count,’ or a tally of hookup partners as one that is common among students at ECHU. As members of Focus Group 6 described it,

Rochelle: If I didn’t hear the phrase ‘body count’ again I’d be really happy. Guys don’t think it’s cool to have a continuous partner.

Wendy: When a girl comes up to you in the bathroom, and you’re with your friend, and she goes, ‘If you’re going to have sex with that guy, you should probably use a condom, because he has like, 30 bodies, and two of them are standing in this room.’ I was like, ‘Why is this ECHU?’

Rosemarie: I’ve been in too many ‘body count’ competitions, and finally, a girl topped it off and said, ‘Mine’s 85.’ I was like, ‘Ok, we’re done.’ These guys are comparing like, ‘I’ve got 14, I’ve got 17.’

Wendy: Or a guy saying, ‘I’ve had sex with two girls in one day.’ Ew.

Rochelle: I don’t care. You can have however high a body count you want, you can have sex with anyone you want, as long as it’s consensual. I don’t care. You can hookup with someone one time as long as you know and she knows you’re hooking up one time... maybe again, maybe not, as long as everybody is aware of what the goal is, you’re good.

In turn, participants decried male students’ ‘body counts’ as a form of misrecognition for women. They talked about male students’ ‘body counts’ as a form of dehumanizing, sexual subjugation by their male peers at ECHU. In keeping these counts, male students have a goal: to accumulate as many female ‘bodies’ as possible in order to “brag about it” to their male peers at ECHU. Members of Focus Group 10 compared male students bragging about their ‘body counts’ to their conversations about hooking up:

- Hadley: I could never see us doing that, spending time doing that.
- Monica: I feel like we kind of do.
- Joslyn: We kind of do that.
- Georgina: I think we do, too.
- Joslyn: Yeah, I mean, it's not the center of our world.
- Georgina: It's not a prize.
- Joslyn: It's 5 percent of the time.
- Hadley: Right, I guess.
- Georgina: I also think it's not a prize.
- Hadley: I don't think it's like we make it a point of conversation, but it always seems to come up, so it just ends up –
- Joslyn: It's not bragging, and it's not competitive.
- Georgina: I think, to them it is, but to us, it's like, 'Oh, so I saw you talking to so-and-so,' and she's like, 'Yeah, we got pizza after. Yeah, we watched Harry Potter...'
- Joslyn: I feel like, for us, it's more – I don't know.
- Hadley: It's much more casual and it's not about –
- Joslyn: It's not –
- Hadley: Yeah, not at all.
- Joslyn: For [men], it's like a status thing.
- Georgina: Yeah, it's like, I had sex with 35 people. That's what they do, though.
- Moderator: So, they're counting the numbers?
- Joslyn: Yeah.

Georgina: Or they write down the names so they don't forget.

Some participants described male students' 'body counts' as a product of a particular ethos among individual men: "I am just using you to satisfy my own sexual needs and like, not for you, yourself at all. You're just a body." Others discussed male students' 'body counts' as symptomatic of the broader hookup culture at ECHU, one which devalues all of its participants. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, noted, "what gets bad about hookup culture is not caring about the other person, because you know it's only going to happen once." Whether women attributed 'body counts' to individual male students or hookup culture, they described the practice as dehumanizing and subjugating for women.

Blaming victims and women for their experiences.

Ten groups in this study discussed misrecognition as the blaming of women and victims for their experiences with sexual violence perpetration. In doing so, participants discussed woman-blaming and victim-blaming as "associational patterns" in the discourse on campus sexual violence, which limit the validity of women's and victim's contributions (Fraser, 2000, p. 114).

Woman-blaming.

Seven groups talked about misrecognition through *woman-blaming*: the discursive treatment of women as blameworthy and/or responsible for episodes of sexual violence at ECHU. Participants discussed the ways that women are talked to and treated by male students and male administrators at ECHU. Annemarie, a participant in Focus Group 1, shared a prior conversation with a male friend at ECHU in which the friend blamed women for putting themselves at risk for sexual assault.

They just assume some barbaric stuff about consent and whatnot, and I just think these conversations need to be had beyond the university level, but also, still at the university level because there are guys that... I got into an argument with one of my friends this week, who thought that girls choose who they drink with, and therefore, it's their fault they're sexually assaulted. This is a guy my age, fourth year at ECHU, and he genuinely believes that, which baffles me, and that's here at ECHU. What does that say about what everyone else in America thinks about consent and blame?

Participants also discussed woman-blaming as a discursive process where other people charge women with the responsibility of avoiding the risk of sexual violence and blame women if and when victimization occurs. For example, Ruth, a participant in Focus Group 11, shared her frustration with fellow female students interrupting her walks home at night. She described the interruption as an advanced form of "victim-blaming" or "shaming" before a woman experiences victimization.

Ruth: As far as what comes with being a woman, yeah, it sucks to walk alone at night. But somebody like me that really enjoys scenery, I'll walk alone and just look at the moon because it's just kind of my thing. To do that, and then, be bashed by any woman walking by and being like, 'You're alone? Why are you alone? What are you doing? Why are you walking alone? You need to be with someone.' It's like I just kind of want to be at peace. So, it is kind of weird...

Moderator: Can I ask how, and maybe you can't answer this? So, I presume that the reason a person would ask you that is out of – when a person says that to you, when you're walking by yourself, where do you think they're coming from?

Ruth: They seem more on like they want to relieve themselves of you, kind of thing. They kind of pity you, in a way. I don't know if I'm articulating this right. But I guess being a woman themselves, they're looking at this person, and they're like, 'If something bad happens to her, I don't want to feel any sort of guilt for what happens next kind of thing.' They don't care about me as a person. They don't care what happens to me. They don't care about my emotions. They kind of just want to say, 'Hey, you're doing something wrong. And now, all of my guilt is out. Anything that happens to you, it's not on me anymore.' And they kind of just leave with that. It's never a place of concern. I think I've had one person be like oh, 'Let me walk with you. Let me learn about this person.' Everyone else is kind of like, 'What are you doing alone? That's weird.' Not really. I like to look at the moon.

Other members of Focus Group 4 agreed with Ruth's comments. They discussed how they also feel frustrated by the treatment of women as responsible for avoiding the risk of sexual violence in daily life:

Roberta: Honestly, I feel like this is a personal opinion, but things like being told not to go out or not to be alone at night or that I'm responsible for having to defend myself can feel like really confining. It's like your own responsibility.

Ruth: That's exactly true. And it's only in place, so that, again, the people don't feel guilt. It's kind of like 'Oh, this is your fault now kind of thing.' That's why they put these kind of confines and rules on you.

Roberta: Yeah. And it's just so exhausting to always have to be like watching your behavior. And I feel like the responsibility is on the woman, when we should not be teaching women how to avoid being raped. We should be teaching not to rape, and that kind of idea.

Elsie: Yeah. And Megan and I had a really good conversation about that. It was like the 'boys will be boys' mentality. So, it's like, 'Don't wear short shorts.' It's like, 'You're doing this, so you change and not them' kind of thing. Is that what you're talking about, Roberta?

Roberta: Yeah.

Elsie: And it's like you're pushing, 'Don't go walking outside in the dark.' Not, 'Guys, don't go creep on people.'

Ruth: Don't go lurking on a girl and attack them for no reason.

Roberta: In terms of the right thing to do, obviously, don't attack someone. It's not like, 'Don't go outside at night.' There's obviously a moral wrong in attacking a person. Why aren't we teaching that instead?

Participants also discussed specific examples of woman-blaming perpetuated by male administrators at ECHU. Chloe, a participant in Focus Group 6, shared her experience of woman-blaming by a male administrator after she injured herself at a party:

After I fell and hit my head at one of the frats, I had to go talk to an administrator. He's like pretty young... And literally, the entire conversation was me explaining how like the reason I was there is because I was hospitalized. I was like, 'I was hospitalized because I hit my head. My alcohol tolerance is lower because I'm on medication, like, I understand, I'm working with my doctors. Blah blah.' Literally, what he wanted me to take away

from it – he explicitly said to me, ‘We all know what can happen to girls when they drink a lot.’ Like basically insinuating, if I kept doing this bad things would happen. I know that. I’ve experienced that. I’ve already been there.

As a person who previously experienced sexual assault, Chloe described the exchange as “very disappointing, and traumatizing.” Participants in Focus Group 5 also discussed their frustration with administrators’ responses to an episode of sexual violence that took place during their freshman year. In a series of related incidents, a man was seen peering into the women’s showers in their residence hall. The women in this group described ECHU administrators’ responses to female students living in the residence hall – who are by definition primary and secondary victims of this series of “peeping tom” incidents – as those that blamed women. They talked about how administrators blamed women for the initial incident and charged women with averting the risk of future episodes.

Naomi: Going back to the bathroom situation, it was kind of a harder transition when it first happened because we lived in older dorms. And there’s no air conditioning. So, what we were used to, up until this point, we didn’t bother locking the bathrooms. We just kind of propped it open with a door stop because there’s no ventilation. And with the showers, it becomes a literal sauna. And it gets really gross. There’s like a window that we open, but it doesn’t really help very much. So, we prop the door open. And then, when it happened, they were just like just close the door. And we’re like but there’s no ventilation in here. It’s 95 degrees outside. And we literally can’t breathe. And [administrators] never really did anything about that. They just kind of were like close –

Jenna: Actually, they did. They stole the door stop.

Naomi: Yeah, they took the door stop. We kept propping it open, and they kept taking the door stop. And then, there was like an angry email sent from the administration to our RA like, 'Stop having your girls keep the door open.' And we're like but there's no fans in here. There's nothing.

Jenna: We had to plug in box fans and put them in the bathroom.

Naomi: I used your extension cord. I plugged it from my room. We used a fan, dragged it into the bathroom. And we would be like okay, as long as administration doesn't know, we'll prop it open for like two or three hours a night when everyone is showering, and then, we'll take it back in our room, and no one will know. But it's like the administration, they said like, 'Oh, we're going to do this for your safety,' but they didn't really do —

Jenna: It felt impersonal. Yeah. We were always blowing through people.

Across these ten groups, participants expressed frustration with ECHU administrators, national sorority organizations, and sexual assault prevention organizations telling female students at ECHU: "You need to stay out of risky situations." Jenna, a participant in Focus Group 5, noted that she had grown "exhausted" by other people assigning women the responsibility of sexual violence prevention.

I think ECHU is also just kind of singing the same song as the rest of the country where it's like, 'Here's what the women can do to stop these situations. Here is what you can do for your fellow female friends to get them out of a hard situation.' But [for] guys, 'Keep doing what you're doing. Leave it up to the women to get out of the situation that you are

putting them in.’ So, we went to this whole [sexual assault prevention] thing. They had us there for hours. They had us walk to the training in the sweltering heat, just to tell us stuff that we’ve been told our whole lives and to tell the boys nothing new. They didn’t say anything about, ‘Hey, guys, if a girl says this, maybe that means no.’ I felt like they’re not attacking the root of the problem. And it’s not like the girls haven’t heard all of this before. We’ve been told this our whole lives. Maybe we should switch it up and tell the guys, ‘This is how you treat a woman.’ It’s very frustrating that it’s not only happening at ECHU, but everywhere. I think that’s a big reason the whole #MeToo movement is such a big deal right now is because women are tired. We’re exhausted of people telling us what we can do for ourselves, instead of attacking the problem from the beginning.

In addition to woman-blaming, Jenna and several participants in other groups discussed a “boys will be boys” attitude among administrators at ECHU. They discussed that this attitude fails to address “the root” of the problem of sexual violence perpetration and perpetuates woman-blaming on behalf of female students at ECHU.

Victim-blaming.

Eight groups discussed misrecognition through *victim-blaming*: the discursive treatment of sexual assault victims as blameworthy and/or responsible for the perpetration of sexual assault at ECHU. Carlie, a member of Focus Group 2, noted, “I think it’s something we have a problem with is – this is a societal problem, not a ECHU problem, but I think victim-blaming is a huge thing.” Meanwhile, Joslyn, a participant in Focus Group 10, characterized victim-blaming as “big” at ECHU. “There’s a lot of victim blaming. That’s a really big issue. There’s a lot of victim blaming and, yeah. Guys need to be educated.”

Participants described victim-blaming as a process where people verbally fault victims for their violent and traumatic experiences with sexual assault. Members of Focus Group 8 shared how their female friend faced questions of blame and responsibility within an investigation into her sexual assault.

June: They like tested her hair and did all these –

Morgan: They like went through the trial proceedings and the lawyer on the other side was asking her, ‘When did you think about not drinking again? When did you think about what you wearing that night?’

Ada: He was using her reputation against her. It’s just like okay, that is very normalized.

Participants thus talked about victim-blaming as a process of someone implicating an individual person – usually, a woman or girl – as engaging in behaviors and activities that led to their victimization.

Participants also discussed victim-blaming as a process of someone charging group of victims – usually, female victims – for the social problem of sexual violence perpetration. Keiko, a participant in Focus Group 7, described how her male friends engaged in victim-blaming when talking about #MeToo by disparaging the group of female victims who accused American film producer Harvey Weinstein of sexual assault and harassment.

I think when you’re talking about cases of rape, like, for example, Harvey Weinstein, I think a lot of my male friends are like, ‘The women should have reported. Like, it’s partially their fault for allowing this to happen to other women.’ But it’s like they don’t understand the burden it is for one person to come out against someone who is so

powerful. So, yeah, that's kind of frustrating to me, when they're like oh, it's kind of like that they're – not that they're responsible but that they should have said something.

Unlike Harvey Weinstein, this group of female victims did not commit sexual violence.

Nevertheless, Keiko's male friends charged this group with the responsibility of stopping Harvey Weinstein's perpetration.

Negotiating responsibility for misrecognition.

Groups distributed responsibility for misrecognition evenly among women, institutional administrators at ECHU, and male students. As a result, participants did not come to a clear consensus about who is responsible for the misrecognition of women and victims of sexual violence. Furthermore, they did not agree about who is culpable for dismissing and ignoring women's and victims' stories within the discourse on campus sexual violence.

Six of the eleven groups discussed women as responsible for the misrecognition of women and victims of sexual violence. For example, participants described women as responsible for the misrecognition of victims, if and when they fail to hold men accountable for sexual violence perpetration. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, chided "girls" who do not hold their male friends and acquaintances accountable for sexual assault perpetration:

Also, girls who hear a guy has sexually assaulted somebody else and is still getting with the guy, or still being friends with the guy – I think it goes both ways, not just guys, but also girls protecting other girls, believing other girls sometimes.

Participants also discussed women as responsible for misrecognition if and when they fail to support other women vocally. Members of Focus Group 6 talked about the absence of support for women among groups of women, including sororities.

Wendy: Also being accountable to each other, like the minute someone, a woman defects and is like, ‘This woman is disgusting,’ but like the minute a woman calls another woman disgusting or a whore, or anything like that - it makes it okay for men to view them like that. It doesn’t, but –

Helen: In their head, it validates that.

Within this same discussion, Wendy questioned whether sorority women are responsible for misrecognition because of their support for Greek life at ECHU:

I was talking to my brother about how horrible frats are or whatever and sexual assault is so bad at ECHU. He was like, ‘Why are you in a sorority?’ I think people think being part of a sorority means endorsing the frat system. To some extent, I think there is truth in that. I think that’s something we need to change in that we need to make it clear that we are not supporting the frat system because I think to some extent that is – when a sorority girl calls them out, we need to make that more valid. I know that we know it doesn’t and I know we as [sorority] are very against a lot of things frats stand for. At the same time, I’m not saying we shouldn’t party with them, but my brother has a good point that we go to their parties, and they pay for our alcohol so they can get us drunk, and we can flirt with them.

Participants also contemplated how women are responsible for fixing misrecognition by educating their male peers about women and victims of sexual assault. Keiko, a member of Focus Group 7, articulated such a view. “I think we’re responsible for having conversations with our peers and with our male friends because they usually have very – not very different, but they might not see things the same way like girls do.” Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, also shared this understanding of women as having a collective responsibility to “speak up” in

support of themselves and other women when surrounded by men. “I understand women not wanting to come forward around men and that’s like, a power dynamic. But if you can’t, you need to work on it. You have to like, develop that skill somehow.”

In five of the eleven groups, participants discussed ECHU administrators as being responsible for the misrecognition of women and victims. They noted administrators’ reluctance to disrupt and draw attention to problematic male peer subcultures. In doing so, they questioned administrators’ roles in the dismissal of women’s and victim’s stories at ECHU. Ada, a participant in Focus Group 8, shared such a view:

Ada: I took a Black feminism class this semester and we had a girl on [a sports] team in our class and she was like, ‘Nobody listens. They don’t even let us do programming with many of the male student athletes. They don’t come. They don’t show out. They do nothing. They won’t let us speak to them at all.’

Moderator: The male athletes or administration?

Ada: Male athletes. When I say they, it’s like administration won’t let them, so it’s like the coaches won’t make the time for their programming. In the student athlete realm, sexual assault charges dissipate. They just burst into thin air.

After hearing that administrators avoid opportunities to talk with male athletes about their contributions to sexual assault, Ada came to understand administrators as dismissive of victims’ experiences.

Four of the eleven groups discussed male students as being responsible for the misrecognition of women and victims of sexual violence. In these groups, participants described

male students as culpable for misrecognition because they do not verbally acknowledge the role of men in sexual violence at ECHU. Members of Focus Group 6 discussed how their male friends do not see themselves as answerable for addressing sexual violence at ECHU or holding other men accountable:

Wendy: Something that I think is like really good that can come out of the #MeToo movement is, I hate when guys like think that they're – you said like, 'Oh, I didn't rape anyone. I'm fine.' Watching men in these huge industries call out other men – that's like a huge problem, especially at ECHU. It's like guys are like, 'Oh, I'm fine.' But what are your three closest friends doing on the weekends?

Helen: Yeah, or like their friends do something and everybody knows and it's like, 'He's still my buddy.'

Likewise, Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, shared her view that male students have no desire to stop their own use of “sexist” actions and words. In failing to recognize their own behaviors and words as problematic, male students contribute to the social subordination of women at ECHU.

When you're trying to reach male audiences, who are normally the perpetrators, there's this whole idea of, 'Why are you talking to me? I already don't – I'm not a rapist. I'm doing my job. I checked my box.' But it's like, that's not good enough. You have to – because everything that you do that's sexist is contributing to rape culture, so you have to – there are small things that you can do.

Participants also discussed how male students refuse to believe female victims and women who are involved in accusations of and investigations into sexual violence. Helen, a member of Focus

Group 6, shared how a male student at another institution refused to acknowledge a female victim, even after the perpetrator admitted wrongdoing.

He was like, ‘Yeah, I totally understand. That was not okay. That was sexual assault, like I’m gonna get help.’ So... a lot of [his friends] are like, ‘Hey, dude, that wasn’t okay,’ but one of his best friends was like, ‘No, he’s still gonna be the best man at my wedding.’ [This friend] is like, not supporting the girl, and is just like making sure the guy’s okay.

She described her male friend as reluctant to acknowledge the sexual assault on behalf of the victim, because of his friendship with the perpetrator.

Shifting blame away from men.

Five groups in this study contemplated shifting blame away from men, related to the misrecognition of women and sexual assault victims in discourse. In these groups, participants discussed and/or implied that male students are ignorant of the lived experiences of women and victims. They subsequently described male students as unworthy of any blame for the misrecognition of women and victims. As Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, noted, “It wraps back around to one word that you said, and that’s ‘ill-informed.’” Meanwhile, members of Focus Group 6 characterized male students as people who “don’t understand” women’s lives and “don’t get it” when it comes to victim’s experiences with sexual assault.

While removing blame from male students, participants also questioned whether men could ever be taught to avoid contributing to misrecognition through human empathy. Judy, a member of Focus Group 2, considered whether male students are capable of understanding the “vulnerable situations” that face female students but not male students. She also linked this understanding to the possibility of male students publicly and verbally acknowledging women and victims. Likewise, Alina, a member of Focus Group 1, contemplated whether male students

can ever “relate to” female victims of sexual assault “on a human level.” She questioned whether male students could be taught to recognize the full humanity of women and victims of sexual violence, especially in their conversations with other men.

Recognizing women and victims in discourse.

Female college students discussed resisting misrecognition as a process of listening to the stories of women and victims of sexual assault, and valuing these stories as equal and valid contributions to discourse.

Validating and sharing women’s stories.

Nine groups discussed resisting the misrecognition of women as a process of validating and discussing women’s stories related to sexual violence more openly. For example, participants contemplated how they might resist the misrecognition of women, by more openly listening to and recognizing the stories of marginalized groups of women in conversation. Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, described a need for “safe spaces for minorities, people who are LGBTQ, stuff like that,” such that women from various backgrounds feel “safe to talk about their experiences.” Simultaneously, participants noted the “privileged space” occupied by female students at ECHU, as women who are predominantly upper class and white. Ada, a participant in Focus Group 8, compared the misrecognition of female students at ECHU to women elsewhere in the U.S. and around the world.

Ada: I think [#MeToo] enables certain people to be able to have these conversations. I think it disables people at the same time to have a lot of these conversations, just because the accessibility of the movement. We’re in an incredibly privileged space to be at the university level where this is a topic of our classes. This is what we are learning about and investigating

and dive really deep into it, whereas there are other people that have no outlet and no ability to talk about this. Even though this is something that has reached national and international levels, we still don't have the ability to explore and discover the nuanced pieces of this movement...

Moderator: Are you reticent to say things that you experience or that college women experience might be under #MeToo, because it feels minimizing to people who can't access it?

Ada: I guess. That's an interesting thought I haven't thought of before.

As Ada talked about the hidden nature of minority women's stories in conversation about #MeToo, she advocated for greater validation and recognition for their voices.

Participants also discussed resisting the misrecognition of women by "normalizing" and de-stigmatizing women's lives in conversation with other students. Wendy, a member of Focus Group 6, shared how she previously worked to de-stigmatize the lives of women in conversation with a male friend at ECHU:

I just had another thought... The only reason there's a stigma around STIs (sexually transmitted infections) is because there's a stigma around sex. I said that to one of my guy friends and he said, 'No, there's a stigma around STIs because that's disgusting.' I was like, 'Uh, hello?' I think that goes to the root of [it], there's a stigma around sexual assault, part of it is because there's a stigma around sex. It always comes back to having sex. If we decrease the stigma and normalize having sex, then everything else will be more and more normal.

Wendy and other members of Focus Group 6 considered whether the de-stigmatization of talk about sex could lead to recognition for women and victims at ECHU. Then, in a follow-up

exchange, Wendy and Rochelle described the need for holding male and female students accountable for listening to and validating women's experiences.

Wendy: Making us accountable to each other more and being okay to talk about sex in a woman group, and then also like – making your guy friends accountable. Accountability is huge, also making men accountable.

Rochelle: Men being accountable for men.

Wendy: Just like normalize talking about [sexual violence], and normalize you calling out your friends.

Participants in this group discussed the normalization of talk about women's experiences with sex and sexual violence as that which is a precursor to recognition for female students.

Lastly, participants discussed resisting the misrecognition of women by conversing with and informing men about the lives of women. Lina, a member of Focus Group 7, shared her view “that the best thing is for girls to talk to their guy friends, and make sure that they're aware” of women's experiences. Meanwhile, June and Morgan, members of Focus Group 8, talked about how they educate their male friends about women's experiences.

June: I recall one time my friends and I were talking to one of our male friends and we were explaining that women are afraid to walk alone at night, and we have to be very aware if we have to do that.

Morgan: Walk with a key in your hand.

June: That was incomprehensible. He's like, ‘What? You guys feel like that?’ What else are we taught? We're women and we're vulnerable. At night time, people are gonna try to jump us. We're unsafe. Of course we feel

that way. The fact that that was something so unheard of to the male mind was shocking for me too.

Participants discussed educating their male peers on women's lives such that these men are no longer uninformed, and can recognize women's experiences and respect women in conversation. Simultaneously, they also talked about correcting the "problematic" language that men use to characterize women's lives and experiences. Jess, a participant in Focus Group 3, shared her conversations with male friends as follows:

I've tried to get more in the habit recently – if I hear my guy friends saying things that are problematic, or demeaning, or even sexist, I'll be like, 'Don't do that. That's not okay.' And I'll explain it to them. So, that's sort of trying to produce the long-term change of maybe they'll make better decisions in the long run.

Jess shared that rather than informing the uninformed, she intervenes into her male friends' problematic language to shift their contributions to the misrecognition of women in conversation.

Listening to the stories of victims.

Seven groups talked about resisting misrecognition by supporting and validating the stories of victims of sexual violence. Participants discussed resisting the misrecognition of sexual assault victims by drawing attention to the stories of male victims. For example, they talked about how male victims' experiences are marginalized within conversations about campus sexual violence, sexual violence in American society, and #MeToo. Judy, a member of Focus Group 2, described her view of the importance of recognizing the stories of male victims of sexual assault:

I think it's really important that it's more recognized in the school that guys get sexually assaulted. It makes me very upset. One of my close friends, his best friend, like he

describes it not in the terms of sexual assault, but I'm like 100 percent positive it falls into the category of being raped, and he will not do anything about it, which makes me a little bit upset. I understand why you don't want to talk about it, but there needs to be the recognition of that problem. I know two people with this almost exact same situation, where they won't be able to consent to the sex that they were having, or they were way too drunk or could not consent in that situation, and it still occurred. Guys aren't taught that it is. They need all those resources and all that information the same that girls do.

Judy also recognized male victims' experiences of sexual assault by knowing and sharing the statistic, "1 in 10 guys get sexually assaulted." Participants also described a need to reserve discursive "space" for male victims of sexual assault in conversation about campus sexual violence and #MeToo. As Connie, a participant in Focus Group 9, noted,

I mean, I don't think [men] have like a lot of space for [talking about their victimizations], but they may have some space for it. And I hope that they do have space for it, because I've also seen just – I heard this story of someone that, he was –essentially like seduced by this girl, and he –didn't know that she could have that power over him. And it made him feel very like vulnerable, and I don't think that – Like it's just amazing how women can also be very aggressive, too; it's not just like men being oppressive. And I think that's something that we can't ignore, either... we have to teach men that they should have dignity, too, and that women should not be hurting them either.

Ultimately, these participants suggested that male victims' stories of sexual violence do not receive enough attention.

Participants also discussed resisting misrecognition by listening to victims tell their stories and experiences of sexual violence. Rocky, a member of Focus Group 6, described the

way that her group of friends works together to listen to and recognize the collective voices of sexual assault victims at ECHU.

I think where ECHU fails, the ECHU students come in. I've personally heard of different people who have been accused of sexual assault but nothing has been officially reported or ECHU didn't do anything about it. I've found with my circles, the people who are around me - it kind of goes back to what we were talking about with guy students. I've found that people here tend to really like not support people who have been accused of sexual assault. Immediately, they push people away and don't talk to them. There have been multiple stories that come out with random people in conflicting positions, that have been accused of sexual assault. It kind of spreads like wildfire and people really do not support it... Generally, if someone is accused of sexual assault, I've found that people talk about it and they're kind of exiled.

In reply, Rochelle, another participant in Focus Group 6, shared her specific approach to acknowledging a victim's experiences. "I feel like, talk to the girl and if she's like, 'I can never be in the same room with him ever again,' then you're like, 'Okay, we can do that.'"

Participants also described resisting misrecognition by teaching male students that men have a responsibility to listen to and trust the stories of victims of sexual assault at ECHU. For example, Morgan, a member of Focus Group 8, shared her interactions with a male friend, Jansen, in the wake of a prominent allegation of sexual assault at ECHU. The alleged incident occurred between two members of a student organization chaired by Jansen. Subsequently, Jansen had to listen to the victim's claims and determine next steps for the organization.

I remember Jansen, when he was dealing with the [sexual assault allegation] stuff, we were messaging on Facebook... and he had this moment where he was like, 'I'm just...' He'd been meeting with all these other organizations and talking about what they should do about [the assault] and he was like, 'I'm so emotionally drained.' I was like, 'I'm sorry.' He's like, 'I know that I'm not in a place to complain and there's a burden on me to make a decision and obviously, I think that [inaudible] is like a piece of shit, but I can't imagine what this girl is going through. It's putting so much on me.' I'm like, 'Good. You should be feeling like the weight of the world is on your shoulders and I expect you to make the right decision.'

Morgan shared how she pressed Jansen to acknowledge the victim's story as a man and an organizational leader. She also noted that "he'd never had to really have the conversation before and hadn't heard a girl's story," and that it was particularly challenging for him to hear about the accusation "from a stranger" rather than a close female friend.

Missing support for the recognition of women and victims.

As they discussed their strategies for recognizing women and victims of sexual assault, participants also talked about missing support for their ability to validate, listen to, and promote the stories of women and victims in discourse. Women thus described themselves as sources of acknowledgment for women and victims and concerned about resisting misrecognition on their behalf.

Support for women in conversation.

Five groups discussed a dearth of support for students' ability to listen to and recognize women's stories in discourse. For example, participants discussed the discomfort that they feel when trying to address male friends' and family members' dismissive attitudes about women's

lives. Toni, a participant in Focus Group 1, shared her exchange with male members of her family who disparaged women's stories of #MeToo:

I had a very unfortunate situation at a family gathering when #MeToo was first happening. It was around Christmas, and my uncles were like, 'Oh, there's a witch hunt against men, with all these sexual accusations.' They just talked about it like a witch hunt. I was just flabbergasted. I'm so mad at myself for not saying something. I was just so shocked hearing what they said because they're fathers, they're husbands, they're my uncles – there are so many women in their lives, and I'm like, 'How can you possibly think this?' Especially when there's 20 people coming out with accusations. You think all 20 of them got together at their tea club and were like, 'You know what would be really funny if we did to Jim this week? Let's accuse him of sexual assault.' That's not what women do.

She also lamented her shortage of "facts" about women and misogyny, which she described as necessary to change her family members' perspectives about #MeToo:

It's also made me really aware of my background and what facts I have to back things up. I've had arguments about [President Donald] Trump being a misogynist, and they're like, 'Oh, really? What's your proof?' That is something I do have proof for, but there's been a lot of situations where I'm like, 'Oh, this is what I believe,' and he's like, 'Why do you believe that?' I'm like, 'That's just how it is. I believe that women should have control of their bodies.' And then, it gets into a whole discussion, and by the end, I'm like, 'Wow, I didn't have the facts to support it and I need to go and look for it.' I think in a lot of arguments or discussions, if you get to the point where you're like, 'This is what I

believe, and I know I believe it because it's what I believe, and you have to accept that...'

For Toni, "belief" in women was not enough to fight the misrecognition of women and victims by male members of her family. Instead, she explained that she needs facts about women's lives and experiences to share within conversations about #MeToo and women. Similarly, members of Focus Group 3 shared their uncertainty when confronting their friends' use of language related to women.

Melinda: I go to parties, and if there's a song with the N-word in it and you go silent, you hear half the room still say it. And it's like a roomful of white kids. And it's like, I feel like at this point in time, you should know that that's not okay to use, so it's against language in so many contexts. It's just like, I don't know if you've never heard that it's not okay, or if you just think that it's fine as long as nobody directly comes up to you and says, 'Don't do that.' But just be aware...

Claire: I also think that it's interesting, like just personally, I feel so much more comfortable, and I do tell— if I see people, even that I'm not close with, I feel comfortable enough to tell them, 'You can't say the N-word.' And I'm like, 'Say friend, say something different.' Just replace it, don't sing it.

Jess: Or just skip that moment in the song.

Claire: But if 'bitch' is used, I don't correct people, and I don't feel comfortable enough to say something like that, because I feel like it's not seen as

wrong. More people know that you can't say the N-word versus like, you can't say 'bitch.' I don't know.

Jess: It's also hard because there's also – a lot of girls will use 'bitch,' 'ho' in a friendly way, and so it's framing it as, we're taking back the word and we're using it in an empowering way, which is totally valid if that's what you want to do. But as long as you're using it in ways that are constructive and not tearing other people down. But then it's hard to be like, you can't use that. When our professor said that, there was a girl in class who raised her hand and was like, 'Well, I just find a problem with white men saying what women find degrading.' Because he said, 'I find that word degrading.' She was like, 'But how are you gonna tell me that I should be degraded about this term?' Which I think is equally valid. And so, it's kind of hard to police some words like that. But I feel like it's different if you see a guy friend using it, versus your girl friend.

These participants discussed feeling unsupported in their interventions into problematic words and conversations about women. They also noted that this use of subordinating language is rarely covered under the positive bystander intervention trainings at ECHU even though "it's all bystander"-related.

Participants also discussed their inability to advocate for women in discourse as tied to a deficient climate of support for women from other women at ECHU. Members of Focus Group 6 talked about a shortage of recognition for women among other women as evidenced by their sharing of posts and pictures on social media:

Wendy: Why do we make our social media presence about men? Why is so much of our social media presence about how a man is treating you, and how he did one little thing for you, and ‘Get you a man like this?’

Rochelle: ‘I had the flu, he brought me a tissue!’

In this group, participants described the omission of women from each other’s social media exchanges as masking and potentially stigmatizing women’s lives and experiences. Meanwhile, members of Focus Group 1 talked about the absence of positive and supportive talk about women “in the mainstream [media]” and face-to-face conversations with other women. They characterized this lack of supportive talk as that which makes it difficult for women to listen to and share their stories:

Bridget: I wish that women would just stop being so catty. There are so many times that – I’ve just met so many really not super great women, who just say mean things about other women. It is hard enough! Stop being a jerk! So what if her shoes don’t match her outfit? You don’t need to tell someone else in the office about that. Let it go. It’s totally cool... just be nicer. Be more respectful of one another. That’s a very easy thing you can do.

Annemarie: Yeah. In the movie Mean Girls, when they’re like, ‘How do you expect other people to respect women if women don’t respect each other and empower each other?’

Alina: It’s not just a men versus women thing.

Annemarie: Yeah, feminism is about equality. It’s not about man-hating.

Toni: Well, we’re not saying –

Annemarie: I'm agreeing. I'm just adding another point that should be thrown out there, for sure.

Within one of the few exchanges in this study that brings up the need for 'feminism,' participants described a climate of suspicion rather than support among women. Meanwhile, Jiang, a participant from Focus Group 9, shared her view that women need to be "taking care of each other more."

Not necessarily that boys are bad or whatever, but I think girls need to care more for girls in a sense, just in that—yeah, just—I don't know. Not necessarily like... I don't want it to sound like, 'Oh, girls over guys,' but more in the sense of, 'Girls need to take care of girls as well.'

In other words, she acknowledged women taking care of each other as a precursor to recognition for women.

Support for victims in conversation.

Six groups discussed a dearth of support for their ability to listen to and recognize victims of sexual assault. Specifically, participants shared their uncertainty over how to acknowledge victims when hearing victims' stories in face-to-face conversation. Morgan, a member of Focus Group 8, talked about how she did not "feel qualified" to listen to a disclosure of sexual assault in ways that feel personally meaningful to the victim.

At the beginning of the year [another female student] was like, 'How do I report someone acting very inappropriately on a club trip? I don't feel comfortable with this guy.' She came to another guy on our leadership team, and he came to me and he was like, 'I don't know how to answer this. We don't have a policy, but also I'm not comfortable. If she wants to share her story with me, I don't really know how I would reciprocate her

feelings.’ I was like, ‘One, that’s problematic on another level.’ Two, I was like, ‘You’re right, though.’ We’re not taught as an organization that if your club is this size, and has this purpose, maybe you should form this policy. There’s no suggestions for us on how to form a sexual assault report proceeding. I messaged the girl like, ‘I’m more than happy to get coffee with you and talk about it and you don’t have to share more than you want to, but I would also encourage you to go to the hospital if you need to report it to university administrators, student council, or another administrative option, depending on what it qualifies under. These are all your resources, but I want to make sure you feel heard, but I don’t really know what we can do on our end.’ I felt awful having to tell her that.

Relatedly, Morgan also questioned whether students are the right people to hear victims’ disclosures of their experiences, as students do not have the power to amplify and authorize victims’ stories within the administrative discourse on campus sexual violence. Similarly, Carmen, a participant in Focus Group 4, also expressed concerns about her ability to support survivors of sexual assault.

I think coming from a background of nursing school like we are given the advantage of listening, sorry, listening non-judgmentally... The idea of like therapeutic communications, I think that definitely does go along way and at least, giving an avenue for survivors to come to us. For our survivors, letting them know they can reach out and have somebody who will listen and believe their story. I don’t know, for me, personally, it’s just I feel I can’t do anything. I can direct you to professional help, but I ultimately have no control over the situation.

Eventually, Carmen questioned how far fellow students could go in listening to victims’ stories in conversation. More precisely, she expressed worry that any administrative funneling of

victims to their peers for disclosure and support constitutes ‘lip-service’ and does not improve the status of victims at ECHU. Taking Carmen’s concerns one step further, Elsie, a member of Focus Group 11, considered whether she could inadvertently misinterpret and/or mute a victim’s story when listening to their disclosure and attempting to show support through “solidarity.” She compared this worry to her concerns about Asian American students’ support for Black students within conversations about racism at ECHU:

It kind of reminds me of, I’m in this Asian American interest group. And we talk a lot about how much solidarity we should show with the Black Lives Matter movement because we’re not Black. We are a minority group, and we should stand to support their interest, but at what point are we interjecting or preventing them from being heard versus just expressing alliance and solidarity? And I think it’s a valuable contribution to the conversation. And I think, I don’t know.

Ultimately, Elsie described herself as both wanting to amplify victims’ stories, and fearful that her efforts might inadvertently contribute to the misrecognition of victims.

Within these six groups, participants also expressed concern about their ability to hold their male friends accountable for the perpetration of sexual assault. For example, Helen, a member of Focus Group 6, questioned her approach to holding a fellow student and friend accountable for his perpetration of sexual assault. “I feel like that just goes back to my question. I don’t know what you do with those people. Do you forgive them? Are they put in this box of bad people, and they’re never talked to again?” Though Helen eventually cut off communication with this student, she remained uncertain that her decision was the right one to make. Chloe, another member of Focus Group 6, also shared her confusion over how to hold a male friend accountable for sexual assault in face-to-face conversation:

I had, um, a situation last summer in which one of my best friends was raped by one of my other best friends... So, that was horrible. There was a lot of alcohol. That was really... So it's interesting that we're talking about this just because one of the things that I had to work through was like, 'How do I combine this image of my friend [with the man] who did rape the girl, he doesn't even really realize what he did was rape.' I don't want to accuse him of rape. My friend was obviously very traumatized by it, she has panic attacks all the time. She finally went to therapy like two weeks ago because she isn't able to sleep and it's horrible. But I actually talk about this in therapy, like I don't know. I don't want to stand up to him and be like, 'Listen, what you did was rape,' because like his mom was... it's just so complicated. Once you actually start experiencing these things and seeing them happen, I think that gray scale was— like you said, there's just not language to describe it.

In doing so, Chloe noted a shortage of adequate language for holding male friends accountable as perpetrators and acknowledging female friends as victims.

Domain 4: Asserting Sexual Autonomy

In their discussions of #MeToo and campus sexual violence, female college students constructed their resistance as a process of asserting their sexual autonomy and choice. In this section, I present how the process 'Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence' played out in conversation, as groups discussed the denial of women's autonomy related to hooking up. In their discussions, participants also described the ways that women assert their wants and needs when having sex and hooking up.

Constructing the practices of denying women's sexual autonomy.

Participants discussed the denial of women's sexual autonomy as a series of practices that narrow women's choices related to having sex and hooking up. Specifically, within nine groups in this study, women shared various pressures facing college women in hookup culture and male students' refusal to accept women's rejections of sexual advances.

The pressuring of female students in hookup culture.

Eight groups discussed the denial of women's sexual autonomy through a series of "pressures," "burden[s]," and "obligations" that face female students within the hookup culture at ECHU. In these discussions, participants talked about the pressure female students face to look, behave, and act in certain ways to have opportunities to date and hook up with their male peers.

Pressure to look a certain way.

Participants talked about the denial of women's sexual autonomy via the peer pressure facing female students to dress a certain way when going out to bars and parties at ECHU. For example, they described "dressing up," "dressing provocatively," and "look[ing] nice" as compulsory for female students who want to have an active social life at ECHU. As Kristi, a member of Focus Group 11, described it, dressing up "is like saying you're 'single and ready to mingle' kind of idea. You don't want to be like, 'Yeah, I'm just kind of... not dressed up nicely, and not out there.'" Kristi also discussed the role fraternity men play in the pressures female students face related to dressing up. She shared that fraternity men "want a certain number of girls who look like they're going to have a nice night out" at their parties. As a result, female students will 'dress up' such that their outfits are "conducive to getting in." Then Roberta,

another member of Focus Group 11, discussed how the “performative” pressure to look nice and dress up does not apply to male students at ECHU.

I do feel like there’s definitely more pressure to look nice— There have been times when my friends and I want to go to bars, and it’s like, ‘Oh, I should probably change.’ But the guys are just like wearing a free t-shirt that they got, and they’re ready to go.

In their discussions, participants characterized women’s ‘dressing up’ to go out as pressure dictated by male students rather than a choice made freely.

Pressure to say ‘yes’ to hooking up.

Participants discussed the denial of women’s sexual autonomy in the form of pressure facing female students to hook up with male students in a particular way. More precisely, they described female college students as expected to say ‘yes’ to hooking up with male students even when it conflicts with women’s sexual wants and needs. Members of Focus Group 10 characterized this pressure as follows:

Reese: In today’s culture, if you do say ‘no,’ or you say you don’t want to, they almost portray you as there’s something wrong with you, and that’s why you said no. And then you just feel more pressured to just go along with it at that point.

Hadley: I feel like everyone knows everyone at school, so it’s really easy if you just say ‘no,’ that gets around, or even if you say ‘yes,’ that also gets around, so it’s kind of – I don’t know.

Georgina: I agree

Participants also talked about how this pressure builds as two people move through various stages of a hookup. Kelsey, a member of Focus Group 4, noted that the pressure to say ‘yes’ to a hookup mounts once “something gets going” between a man and a woman.

I would, I don’t know if I’d put this, how I’d put this... but just... changing your mind when something gets going. Or when you’ve gone to a point like, ‘Making out’s fine, but I’m not having sex tonight’... I feel like once a decision’s been made at one point, you have to follow-through. You lose that choice.

Members of Focus Group 1 expressed a similar view while analogizing the pressure to say ‘yes’ to the experience of a driver approaching and then missing an exit on a highway.

Toni: Yeah, a lot of the stuff [in hooking up], I feel like there was an exit from the highway, but I missed my chance. ‘Oh, if I had stopped ten minutes ago, I wouldn’t have been viewed this way.’ I would have been viewed as, ‘Oh, we’re going to hang out and be friends.’ But, no, I let it go this far, so now I’ve made the decision.

Bridget: ‘It’s my job. I’m locked in here.’ Then, you’re also taught you can say no at any point, but it’s uncomfortable to say no... ‘After you’ve missed your exit.’

Toni: ‘Then you’re fucked in more ways than one.’

Rather than describe saying ‘yes’ to hooking up as a choice made freely, participants discussed it as a pressure facing female students at ECHU.

In several groups, participants articulated these pressures with the help of Lisa Wade’s (2017) book, *American Hookup*. Specifically, they shared how reading the book gave them a framework for understanding specific problems with hookup culture and the sex lives of

students. Members of Focus Group 10 characterized Wade's (2017) book as revelatory, when it comes to the pressure facing men and women to have casual and singular hookups in college.

Hadley: I read this thing last semester in my sociology class that's like, basically, people come to college thinking that that's what you have to do, and then, when they did a study, they found out, actually, that's not what many people really want. That's just what they feel –

Moderator: Did you read *American Hookup*?

Joslyn: Yeah...

Hadley: Yeah, and I just – yeah, I could really relate to that.

Monica: It was actually really interesting.

Hadley: Yeah, because I was just like, that's clearly – even the guys that answered were like, that's not really what I want, but I feel pressure from my friends that say that that's what I have to do.

Monica: We took polls in class and everyone thought that people hooked up more often than they did, even girls and guys, both.

Relatedly, Roberta, a member of Focus Group 11, described *American Hookup* as showing her that “hookup culture” is a “culture that’s conducive to sex happening” but “not conducive to creating gender equality.”

Pressure to treat sex as an exchange.

Participants discussed the denying of women's sexual autonomy through the pressure facing women to treat hooking up with their male peers as an exchange. For example, women discussed a scenario where two students mutually agree to hookup but feel pressured to hide any feelings of love or care for each other because of hookup culture. Wendy, a participant in Focus

Group 6, shared that students will avoid “catching feelings” for their hookup partners to maintain sex as an exchange.

There’s such a stigma about ‘catching feelings’ and actually caring about somebody. If you’re like hooking up with someone, and the minute you do something nice for them, people assume you’re in love with them. ‘No, I’m literally having sex with someone.’ Why is it so bad that you’re friends with them?

Participants described female students as needing to avoid “catching feelings” for their sexual partners as a requisite to participate in hookup culture. At the same time, they considered whether this particular pressure, stemming from hookup culture, comes into conflict with women’s desires in sexual relationships. As Wendy noted, “You can have sex with someone and not be in love with them and still, just, give a shit about them at all.”

In these groups, participants also discussed a scenario where a female student has accepted something from a male acquaintance, friend, date, or even stranger that is unrelated to sex and feels pressured to have sex in exchange. This something could include “free alcohol,” an invitation to a fraternity party or one of their “date functions, formals, or informals,” a date where a man has “paid for dinner,” or a place to sleep after a night of intoxication. Participants talked about how a female student feels obligated to “perform a sexual act” with a male student from whom she has accepted alcohol, a date, or a place to sleep. Otherwise, she is “going to disappoint.” Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, described this pressure as follows:

Another thing I think a lot of women at ECHU can probably identify with – especially within the Greek community because this is where the situations arise – is that when you’re someone’s date, there is almost a sense of obligation of what you owe them or they owe you because they’re your date.

Participants discussed how this sense of obligation leads female students to feel unable to choose if, how, and when they have sex with their male peers. For example, Alla, a member of Focus Group 8, talked about how this pressure leads to unwanted sex and dating relationships for women. Alla noted, too, that she related to the specific example of this pressure described in Kristen Roupenian's (2017) popular, *New Yorker* article, *Cat Person*. In Roupenian's piece, a woman feels pressured into having sex with a man that she knows does not want to have sex with, because he took the time to message her and take her out on dates.

I read this article about this girl who I think was on Tinder or something. She's like in college. She starts messaging this guy. They don't really know each other that well, then they're like messaging each other. They eventually meet up and it's not exactly what she wanted to be, but she kind of goes through with it anyway because at that point, she has to. That feeling, I think, is very prevalent. I think a lot of people relate to it. It doesn't feel non-consensual, like how is the person supposed to know... but that also brings up the question of power, and do you feel you have the power to stop something.

Similarly, Alina, a member of Focus Group 1, shared a personal example of feeling pressured to hook up with a male friend who has offered her a place to sleep.

Sometimes... I've felt like I'm there, I'm in their house, I guess I could walk out and leave, but it's late, and my home is several blocks away, and no one's waiting up for me. Everyone knows that I'm back at this guy's place. It's just like, 'Well, that's not a super appealing option right now. What I want to do is go to sleep and not have to walk home in the dark because that, to me, is also sketchy.' So, I'm just like, 'Oh, it'll be quick. NBD.' I don't think that's awesome either.

Though Alina did not want to have sex with her friend in exchange for a place to sleep, she described feeling pressured to say ‘yes’ to a hookup.

Refusing to accept women’s rejection.

Five groups discussed the denial of women’s sexual autonomy through the practice of men refusing to accept women’s rejections of sexual advances and attention. In these groups, participants talked about how their male peers at ECHU neither like it nor accept it when a female student rejects their sexual attention, advances, or offer to hook up.

Participants discussed situations where, while out at a party or bar on the Strip, an unknown male student refuses to accept that a female student has rejected his sexual advance. Members of Focus Group 4 described one such situation while pointing out that male students will respect a woman’s rejection in the presence of other men.

Kelsey: I find a lot of guy friends have stood up in friend groups to be like, great –

Carmen: Because they’re the only ones who have an impact. When it comes to the conversations about like language [generally], [they’re] like, ‘Oh, don’t call her a bitch because that’s disrespectful,’ but when it comes to you, you can’t leave her alone when she’s not in to you. It has to be the guys who intervene with other guys because they don’t respect women. You know, clearly.

Moderator: You’re all shaking your head. Do you feel the same way if you were to say something like that to a man while out at bars, using a certain kind of language?

Kelsey: I feel... they might walk away, but they wouldn’t believe anything I said.

Carmen: No, they wouldn’t.

- Kelsey: They would just go try it with somebody else.
- Carmen: Were you not there, exactly.
- Kelsey: Or sometimes, they'll just completely ignore you altogether and keep going, especially if they're drunk.
- Carmen: Yeah, that's where being firm comes in handy.
- Taye: And then when you're firm, you get called a bitch.
- Carmen: Well that sucks, too bad, 'Leave her alone.'

Taye also noted that “even if you say you have a boyfriend, if you don't have a man physically there with you, they still ignore you and continue to push.” Similarly, members of Focus Group 3 described how, in the absence of male friends, female students are “prey” for male students' sexual attention.

- Jess: My friend group first year was a mix of guys and girls. So, going to parties and stuff, no guy ever came up to me, because it was like we were always dancing in a group together. And so, if it's just a group of girls, I feel like there's automatically this predator/prey thing going on. But if you have guys there, it's just automatically, nope.
- Claire: These guys are with them, yeah.
- Jess: Yeah. Because men respect other men, but not women.
- Claire: Yeah. First year, for the most part I went out with girls, and people would come up to us every night. And then on the occasions that we had guys with us, it wouldn't happen at all. It was just weird.

In these situations, participants described male students as refusing to accept and thus limiting female students' choices about who they talk to, dance around, and drink with while out at parties and bars on the Strip.

Participants also discussed situations where a male student who is familiar to a female student, as a friend or hookup partner, does not want to accept her rejection of his sexual advance. Georgina, a member of Focus Group 10, spoke candidly about her personal experiences with male peers at ECHU who tried to "convince" her to accept their sexual attention even after she had "already said no." She talked about a prior hookup partner who refused to accept her rejection of a specific type of sexual activity, and described him as "trying subtle things," "picking at it," and thinking "maybe she'll cave at some point." In another example, she also described a male acquaintance who did not accept her rejection of his invitation to hookup. He responded by verbally "pushing" Georgina and asking her to specify the "reasons why" she did not want to have sex, and questioning her decision with statements like, "It'll be really fun!" In the end, she described the student as singularly focused on one question: "What can I say that is gonna make her want to get with me?" In responding to Georgina, other participants in Focus Group 10 talked about how male students remove the opportunity for female peers to reject sexual advances. Joslyn, a member of Focus Group 10, shared how male students invite women to hookup over "Snapchat," a social media platform that automatically deletes messages, so men do not have to face rejection.

Joslyn: I think with phones and Snapchat... really often because it's so easy for a guy to Snapchat you, 'I want to sleep with you,' and it goes away in 30 seconds. I don't know. If you say 'no,' it's— I don't know. There's no record of it. No one's around. I don't know, it's just so much easier for

people to be more aggressive, I feel... A lot of the times, this is just what happens to me, but I'll meet someone out or even in class or whatever and people will add me on Snapchat before they add my number or anything, and I'm added on Snapchat and say, okay, I hang out with them at a bar or whatever, I go home, and there's— if I had seen them, talked to them for literally more than five minutes, there's a 90 percent chance they Snapchat me that night or the day after—

Georgina: 'Where you at?'

Joslyn: Yeah, 'Where are you at, do you want to come over,' whatever, and it's just like, I really think it's— I don't know. It's so easy to be like— because it doesn't really feel like rejection over Snapchat, so it's so easy to just ask for things, I don't know, or to say something gutsy because it just goes away. I don't know.

These participants also considered whether men are so reluctant to listen to rejection that male students no longer invite female students to hookup through face-to-face communication.

Relatedly, they described dwindling opportunities for female students to make their sexual decisions and choices known to their male peers at ECHU.

Negotiating blame for denying women's sexual autonomy.

While discussing the denial of women's sexual autonomy, seven groups contemplated the assignment of blame and responsibility for this practice. In these groups, participants discussed assigning blame to men – namely, male students – and to ECHU administrators.

Assigning blame to men.

Five groups discussed blaming men for the denial of women's sexual autonomy. In these groups, participants considered whether men unintentionally fail to notice that a woman has rejected their sexual advances. Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, shared her view that a man will miss a woman's rejection because he is "just... not thinking about what the other person wants." Similarly, Georgina, a participant in Focus Group 10, described male students as needing to be "more observant" of their female peers at ECHU, such that they hear women's rejections while hanging out at bars and parties.

Participants considered the ways that men intentionally avoid and ignore rejection of their sexual advances by women. They also described men as blameworthy for the denial of women's sexual wants and needs. For example, in her focus group discussion, Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, issued a mandate to male students on behalf of female students at ECHU. "We need you to respect the fact that we have the right to say yes or no, and you do not have a right to our bodies or impose your will upon us." Meanwhile, Morgan, a member of Focus Group 8, shared her thoughts on how male students should receive her rejection of an unwanted advance. "I should be able to tell a man that I feel uncomfortable with X, Y, and Z, and I expect him to listen." She also noted that male students may need additional opportunities to converse with female students about hooking up "face-to-face," such that they learn to appreciate rather than "invalidate" women's rejections.

Participants also considered implicating the culture surrounding men, especially male students at ECHU, as that which leads men to deny women's sexual agency. Elsie, a member of Focus Group 11, discussed popular television and movies in the U.S. as those that "romanticize" men's refusal to hear and accept women's rejections of a sexual advance.

I do think [media] portrays a culture where it's like you don't take soft 'no's' for an answer. And that's actually, I feel like, kind of romanticized... where it's like, 'Oh, she said no when I asked her out, but I kept going. And now, we're married.' I don't know. The quintessential, 'Wear her down,' kind of trope.

Naomi, a member of Focus Group 5, also discussed the culture of sexual entitlement that surrounds male college students and their relationships with women.

I haven't really seen anything here dealing with it, but I think it's also important to I guess kind of realize the social, cultural aspects that go behind sexual violence... And I think we need to recognize, too, the culture that goes behind entitlement, sexual entitlement, I think, mainly with men feeling entitled to people – you're told, when you go to college, you'll have more sex than you have any other time in your life. People are just going to fall at your feet. So, I think there's definitely a large atmosphere of entitlement in that.

Naomi and other participants noted that in a climate of sexual entitlement, male students might not realize that their actions deny women's sexual choices related to hooking up.

Assigning blame to ECHU on behalf of sorority women.

In two groups consisting of sorority women, participants blamed administrators for denying of women's sexual autonomy. They also characterized a series of administrative actions as contributing to the denial of female students' sexual autonomy at ECHU. For example, participants discussed ECHU's policy that allows fraternities, but not sororities, to have parties and serve alcohol to guests. Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, noted that because of this policy, the "nightlife of sorority [women], in a Greek system-sense, is completely dependent on fraternities to add you to their list, to invite you, to provide alcohol." This policy fuels the

pressure facing female students to dress up and look a certain way to get into fraternity parties at ECHU.

Participants also discussed a policy that bans sororities from having men stay overnight in sorority houses. Morgan, a participant in Focus Group 8, noted that because of this policy governing sorority houses at ECHU, “We don’t have autonomy as [sorority] women to bring men home.” She also lamented other administrative practices within sorority houses, including the presence of “house moms and a ton of cameras,” as those that further deny women the opportunity to choose when and how they want to hook up with male students. Similarly, Rosemarie, a member of Focus Group 6, shared her view that these policies not only deny women’s sexual autonomy and put pressure on women to say yes to hookups with their male peers in fraternities, but also limit women’s options related to safety. “If I could have parties in my own home with the safety of my sisters, that would be incredible, oh and also not be in a place where the only place you could go to hookup is somebody else’s bedroom or the guy’s bedroom.”

Asserting sexual autonomy.

Female college students discussed resisting the denial of their sexual autonomy as a process of women asserting their sexual choices and needs. Thus, participants talked about how they successfully communicate rejection in response to male students’ sexual advances.

Eight groups in this study discussed how women issue strongly-worded rejections to their male peers’ sexual advances to make their voices heard. Hadley and Georgina, members of Focus Group 10, shared that they feel comfortable telling male peers to “screw off” and issuing “a hard no” when they are uninterested in sexual attention. Similarly, Jenna, a participant in

Focus Group 5, described her ability to be “aggressive” in issuing a rejection to a man, if and when the situation calls for it:

Jenna: I don't know. I think for me, something that is a more recent development is that I now feel confident enough to put my foot down and say 'no' to somebody. I have a big problem of trying to be as nice as possible to people, always trying to let them down easy or be polite, in every situation. But now, I'm more secure with the idea of, if someone is making unwanted advances, I can say no, and I can be aggressive, if I need to. And that's okay. And I think that that's something that makes me feel a lot safer knowing that I can trust myself in those situations.

Moderator: Do you feel like that's something that you've come to just over time?

Jenna: Yeah. That definitely took a lot of time.

Jenna described her ability to say 'no' to a man's unwanted advances as a skill that she developed over time and with increasing amounts of confidence.

Participants also discussed their interest in issuing different kinds of rejections differently, depending on their relationship with the man and the type of sexual attention that they receive. Monica, a member of Focus Group 10, described herself as straightforward but not “stern” when telling a male friend that she is not interested in his sexual advance.

With stuff like... a kiss or something like that, I feel if someone gets the wrong signal and you guys are friends and you wanted to stay friends, then I feel you wouldn't say it in a really stern way, but you'd just be like, 'No, we're friends,' or something.

In responding to Monica, Joslyn, another member of Focus Group 10, also shared that “there are varying degrees” of sexual advances and she responds differently depending on the situation.

I think there's varying degrees... If I'm at the bar and someone buys me a drink or whatever, and then it's kind of getting weird conversation, then I'm just like, 'I'm gonna go to the bathroom,' and then I just remove myself. There are just different levels of things that I would do.

Members of Focus Group 10 also discussed the ways that they ignore male acquaintances and friends at ECHU who approach them with sexual attention and advances over email and text message. In these situations, they described avoiding their male peers as "honestly easier for both parties" involved.

Joslyn: I also will just not respond. I think if you don't say anything and just turn away [from a man], I feel like that's honestly easier for both parties.
How's that? I don't know...

Monica: I think – a lot of times – I don't know. Personally, a lot of times – sometimes, I just don't respond instead of saying anything. Most of the time, it's because I'm sleeping, generally, but I usually just don't respond.

Moderator: In what kind of texts? If somebody's doing the, 'Where you at?' sort of thing?

Monica: Yeah, it's those things because –

Joslyn: I don't even respond.

Monica: I don't respond, usually because it's 2:00 am and I'm sleeping.

Joslyn: But, it is easier because then there's like – if it's a no, you don't get the 'Why?' [response], and then it's like, you save so much energy just not responding.

- Hadley: It's also easy to ignore if it's a text. If they say, 'Why?' you just don't respond.
- Georgina: I'll sometimes – if I open it, then I'm like, okay, and then I'll respond, but then I won't open the next one until the morning and be like, 'I fell asleep.' And then I feel like I'm not – I just feel awkward if I don't respond. I just feel awkward about it, but then I also feel awkward when I open the next message if I say, like, 'Oh I'm getting pizza' or, 'Oh, I'm at home.' Usually, if it's 2:00 am, the next thing's gonna be like, 'Oh, wanna hang out?' I'd rather open that in the morning.
- Reese: Yeah, I think it leaves a pretty clear message when [the text] says that it was read and not responded.
- Georgina: And also, sometimes I want to be friends with them, but not... If I wait until the morning, I could just be like, 'Yeah, I was sleeping,' and I feel like it's easier.

In describing their response to male friends and acquaintances, these participants discussed feigning ignorance as a strategy for communicating their sexual choices. By avoiding and ignoring male students' advances, rather than responding directly or forcefully, they could avoid hurting feelings and maintain desirable friendships with male students at ECHU.

Missing areas of women's sexual autonomy.

As they discussed asserting their sexual autonomy, participants also identified gaps in their ability to express their sexual wants, needs, and choices. They also talked about their discomfort saying 'no' to sexual advances from male students, and their uncertainties saying 'yes' and advocating for their sexual autonomy.

Feeling uncomfortable saying ‘no.’

Seven groups discussed needing additional support to feel comfortable about saying ‘no’ to and rejecting sexual advances from men. For example, participants discussed feeling uncertain about communicating rejection, in situations where they know a man and have an ongoing association with him. They described rejecting fellow male students at ECHU as that which feels “uncomfortable” and “hard to express.” Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, noted that female students might not be aware of their “option to say ‘no’” to sexual advances and attention from male students:

Even just a lack of knowledge that you have that option to say ‘no,’ which is weird. And that exists in marriage and stuff too, where people aren’t aware that you own your body.

You get to do whatever you want with it, or [refuse] whatever you don’t want to do with it.

Jess described women as lacking knowledge of their power to say ‘no’ to men. Meanwhile, Alina, a member of Focus Group 1, shared that even when female students recognize their power, it can be hard for them to say ‘no’ to male students in ways that are “clear” and understandable.

I feel like I’ve had experiences... where in the moment, I was a little bit hesitant and kind of pushy, not super into it, but I never said ‘no,’ and I wasn’t clear. So I walked away at the end, and I was like, ‘Wow, that wasn’t great. I kind of wish that hadn’t happened.’

But, at the same time, I don’t blame them... I wasn’t sure what my intentions were.

Alina pointed out, too, that female students’ assertions of sexual autonomy are complicated by the fact that they are figuring out what they want – from nights out at the bar, from hookups, from sexual partners – when they encounter their male peers’ sexual attention.

I have experienced situations where there's just been a creepy guy that's there, and I am so uncomfortable, and he says, 'Hey, can I buy you a drink?' and puts his arm around me, and I am like, heebie-jeebies, 'Get out, hell no, you can't buy me a drink.' But, I've also been there where there was a cute guy standing at the bar, I'm kind of interested in him, we keep making eye contact, I go over – Generally, I'm weirded out if someone puts his arm around me, but, touch my arm, say, 'Hey, would you mind if I buy you a drink?' Same exact thing in theory, but totally different in terms of how I feel about that. That's why I don't think – that's why I think we have such a hard time talking about this, because it is so situational.

Participants also discussed feeling uncertain saying 'no' to a man out of fear because they cannot "predict" a man's reactions. Hadley and Joslyn, members of Focus Group 10, discussed fearing male students' reactions and, at the same time, wanting to be perceived as likable by their peers. On behalf of female students at ECHU, Hadley noted, "It's really hard in the moment [to say no], because you might think, 'Oh, they're not gonna like it,' or, 'They're not gonna like me,' or maybe they're just gonna be more mean or more aggressive." In response, Joslyn discussed feeling uncomfortable saying 'no' to a male acquaintance's sexual advance in moments when she could not "read the person."

And I think the issue of not being able to read the person, or you get a text and... I do this all the time when I say something, but I would say 'no' out loud, but I feel like I have to put 'LOL' at the end to soften it [over text]. I would literally just, out loud, be like, 'No, sorry,' but if I were to text, 'No, sorry,' people would be like, 'Is she upset?' Then, over text, I will respond a nicer 'no' than if I was just in-person, and they saw my face, and I

was like, ‘No, sorry.’ [Then] they’d be like, ‘Oh, she was nice about it.’ I don’t know, it’s hard.

Participants described this uncertainty as that which leads women to “make excuses” for their decisions and “soften” their rejections of men’s sexual advances. For example, Joslyn shared that female students “will give an excuse or something that’s not even the real reason [for rejecting a man], because [they] are trying to make it a ‘soft no.’” In response to the idea of female students having to justify their sexual wants and needs to male students, Georgina expressed her desire to see this practice end:

Georgina: Going back to the ‘no’ thing– I think ‘no’ should be something that someone can say, and it’s understood. It’s like, ‘Okay, it’s no,’ and I don’t feel like it needs an explanation. That’s something that I get really annoyed with. I don’t need to explain myself why I don’t want to have sex with you, and I also don’t have to say no more than once. I think that’s happened to me before and it makes me upset. I just don’t think guys should be able to –

Monica: Also, the follow up question every time you say no is, ‘Why?’

Georgina: They always say that.

Monica: – I feel like every time it’s ‘Why?’ It’s very common.

Georgina: And I don’t think – it makes me feel a lot of pressure to give a good reason why when I should just say, ‘I don’t have to explain myself.’

As participants discussed female students’ difficulties when saying ‘no,’ they also expressed a strong interest in overcoming these difficulties. They also described increasing women’s ability

to say ‘no’ and reject men as that which empowers women to avoid “upsetting” and/or “difficult situations” in their relationships with men.

Feeling unsupported in saying ‘yes.’

Five groups talked about the ways that women feel unsupported in their attempts to say ‘yes’ to and advocate for their sexual wants and needs when hooking up. Namely, participants discussed how, before they arrive at college and become sexually active, women do not have access to conversations that support their sexual autonomy and decision-making. This includes nonexistent conversations about including sex and pleasure, sexual health, and reproductive health.

Within these groups, participants characterized female students’ sex education in middle and high school as inadequate preparation for making decisions about sex as college students. Kristi, a member of Focus Group 11, noted that she did not understand the basics of women’s sexual and reproductive anatomy before arriving at ECHU.

If I think of my sex ed, I don’t actually remember anything. They showed me how to use a [sanitary] pad. And they showed me pictures of anatomy, pictures of things. I think that was basically it. They showed a picture of a vagina. It’s like hey, look, this is in you somewhere. I honestly didn’t know that the vagina had another hole, until late in middle school, because it never said where it was. It was just in my body somewhere. And my parents didn’t want to talk about it. So, I was like, ‘Where is it? It’s somewhere here.’ So, I think having better sex education would be useful, but that’s probably not going to happen for a while.

She noted that without knowing their own sexual and reproductive anatomy, women cannot feel confident about having sex and hooking up. Likewise, Annemarie, a member of Focus Group 1,

decried “abstinence-only sex education” for middle and high school students as that which obstructs students’ knowledge about “how to give consent” as hookup partners.

Participants also discussed the absence of conversations that women have with their parents about sex, before they become sexually active or enter college, as failing to prepare women to have sex as college students. Rosemarie and other members of Focus Group 6 shared their lack of conversations about sex with their parents as follows:

Rosemarie: In the family I grew up in, it was never something you would talk about. I don’t think my parents knew I had kissed somebody until like three months ago when I was talking to them casually about a guy I hooked up with.

Flora: I have a boyfriend and I don’t think my parents know.

Rosemarie: ‘You kissed him?’ Ha.

Rosemarie: Yeah. I don’t know. I think so much of that stuff growing up is shoved under the rug. It makes it worse because people assume that if they don’t talk about it, it’s not happening. But that makes it so much worse. If we don’t talk about it, people don’t know how to deal with it.

Members of Focus Group 6 also discussed feeling unable to talk to their parents about the sex they are having as college students. Relatedly, June, a member of Focus Group 8, noted, “As an Asian woman, I never got the sex talk from my parents. That was not a part of Asian American culture ever, nor is right now. I still can’t talk to my parents about that.” Participants described this avoidance by parents, related to talking about sex with their daughters, as that which leads college women to feel uncertain about deciding when and how to hook up. For example,

members of Focus Group 6 described conversations with their mothers as sexually shaming and disappointingly closed off to any talk about birth control.

Flora: A lot of you know I got really sick at [a big ECHU event]. I was really embarrassed, and, I tell my mom a lot. I feel really guilty for not telling her. I called her, and told her, and she was really disappointed but we're over it. We had a good conversation. Then I was like, 'Wait. I literally, openly told her about this and I have not told her that I'm not a virgin.' I'm like, why do I feel such shame around sex, I told her something really embarrassing and potentially dangerous that happened to me at [the event]? What is it about sex that is so shameful to me or other people, too?

Wendy: My mom was like, 'If I find out that you and your boyfriend are having sex, I'm going to charge him with rape.' I was like – then six months later, she finds out I have an IUD – long story, bad idea – she was like, 'I know you have an IUD.' She was like, 'You don't have to keep these things from me.'

Rocky: 'Yeah, I do.'

Anisa: One thing is lying, I was like, 'I'm thinking about having sex. Can I get birth control?' She was like, 'How dare you?' I was paying for my own birth control. It's like, 'Do you want me to have a child?'

Participants characterized the shortage of open communication about sex with their parents as stigmatizing of their efforts to learn about and celebrate their sexual autonomy. Commenting on the absence of talk about sex, Anisa noted, "sexual assault is now the only sex I talk about and the only sex I read about. We need to talk about sex more."

In the end, participants described these lack of conversations about sex as problematically incongruent with the lives and experiences of female college students. Bridget, a member of Focus Group 1, shared her desire for talk about sex that validates her approach to hooking up.

Sex is just so— talked about in unrealistic ways that it creates pressures that don't need to exist, like porn. Sex is not like porn, at least not mine. I'm super vanilla. It's not like that.

I don't understand these things.

On behalf of herself and other college women, Bridget lamented that they have not been “taught” that their sexual wants are equally valid to the desires of their male peers. In contrast, members of Focus Group 6 considered whether the absence of conversations about sex, for women, leads female students to feel uncomfortable advocating for themselves while hooking up.

Alina: So, if we're teaching rules or sharing— it's okay to step back and say, 'I'm not saying no yet, but give me a minute,' and then jump back in. Because I have had a lot of situations like that where if I had stepped out or gone to the bathroom, I probably would have come out with a much more clear head. But, I think so many of those things are not told, especially at the beginning of the college career...

Moderator: To ask you one follow-up question, which you talked about an actual strategy of stepping back and saying, 'I don't know if I'm saying yes or no yet, but I need a second,' is that something that you think works or would work, doing something like that in the moment? Does it seem like something you could do?

Annemarie: I imagine people's first thought would be, 'I don't want to ruin the mood,' and that would deter them from doing that, but I think it's a good thing to do.

Toni: I don't think I would be able to do it unless I had been told or I had thought at another time, 'If I'm ever in this situation, I need to take a step back.' If it just occurred to me in the moment that I don't know what I want, I'm not thinking, 'Oh, I need to –'

Bridget: Or, just being told you can take a step back, that it's not bad, that it's not wrong, and that you're not weird for wanting to do that. I feel like when you're really young, you're 17, 18, coming into college, you've probably never had sex before, as the majority of people you're coming in, then at first, you're going to – or, if you have, it's only a handful of times, most likely with a boyfriend – it's a very different playing field.

As Jess, a member of Focus Group 3, noted, "People are okay with, in this day and age, having casual sex and being part of hookup culture. But people are still – it's still stigmatized to talk about it." Without open conversations about sex with trusted adults and friends, participants are still hooking up. However, the shortage of conversations about sex available to college women makes them feel "uncomfortable," "embarrassed," "awkward" and "weird" when advocating for their sexual wants and needs.

Summarizing the Substantive Process

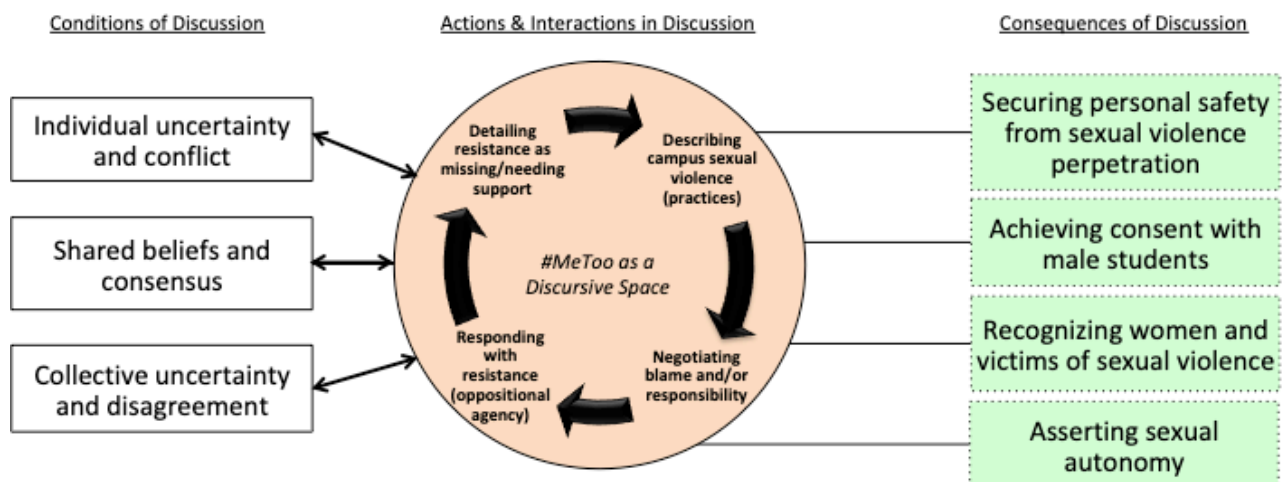
Over the course of this chapter, I used data from 11 focus group discussions with 54 female undergraduates to construct a substantive theoretical process, 'Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence' (Figure 4.3). This process contains six

categories, grouped into three main concepts with the help of an axial coding paradigm (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 18); the **conditions** surrounding female students as they construct their resistance to campus sexual violence; the **actions/interactions** that make up their construction of resistance related to campus sexual violence; and the four domains of women's resistance, which represent the **consequences** of this process.

At the start of this study, the concepts and categories for creating this model were empty theoretical containers. Throughout this chapter, I used these concepts and categories to organize female students' words, interactions, negotiations, and volumes of uncertainty to construct their resistance to sexual violence at ECHU. These containers evolved and emerged while doing data collection and analysis. For this reason, I describe the results of this study as those that are emergent, while reinforcing that this emergence happened through my heavy hand in data analysis, as both the researcher and moderator for participant discussions.

Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence

Figure 4.3



Intragroup dynamics among female friends. The first category, intragroup dynamics among female friends in conversation, comprises one-half of the conditions surrounding women's constructions of resistance in this process. This category refers specifically to displays

of group interactions and individual actions in the focus group setting, as female friends discussed campus sexual violence, forms of resistance, and #MeToo. It includes friends' shared beliefs, moments of consensus, disagreements, and displays of uncertainty. It also includes individual opinions, questions, and moments of uncertainty and internal conflict about sexual violence, #MeToo, and sex.

#MeToo as a discursive space. The second category, #MeToo as a discursive space, comprises the other half of the conditions surrounding women's constructions of resistance in this process. It includes female students' understandings and discussions of #MeToo as a social movement and a discursive space for women and victims to narrate and reveal their experiences with problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence. Participants described these practices as illegal forms of rape, sexual assault, and physical assault, as well as various problematic practices related to sex that are not prohibited by law.

Describing multiple forms of campus sexual violence. Categories three, four, five and six constitute female college students' construction of resistance to campus sexual violence in conversation with their female friends. The third category, female college students describing the problem of campus sexual violence, consists of multiple forms of sexual violence and problematic practices related to sex that transpire between college women and their peers, especially male students, while in college. Female students described campus sexual violence through four types: *acts of sexual violence perpetration*, *non-consent in relationships with others*, *misrecognition of women and victims*, and *the denying of women's sexual autonomy*.

- *Acts of sexual violence perpetration* are violent sexual exploits perpetrated by men, namely male students at ECHU, against female students. These acts include but are not limited to rape, sexual assault, physical assault, and harassment. In constructing this

category, participants also described their experiences with feeling afraid, especially while walking on or near campus night.

- *Non-consent in relationships with others* is a form of unwanted sexual activity that takes place between men and women, including male and female students at ECHU, in their sex and dating partnerships. It is also “supraindividual,” in that its perpetuation is the “property” of two agents comprising a sexual dyad or pair (Ahearn, 2010, p. 29). Female students constructed non-consensual sex between students as miscommunication between the pair, emotional manipulation by one member of the pair, and physical manipulation by one member of the pair, especially after a drinking or partying.
- *Misrecognition of women and victims* refers to the “social subordination” of female students and victims, “in the sense of being prevented from participating as a peer in social life” at ECHU (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). To develop subcategory, I consulted the prior feminist work of Fraser (1996; 2000) and Baum (2004) on the topic of recognition. For women, female students described misrecognition as the ignoring of women’s experiences by men and ECHU administrators, blaming women for risk avoidance related to sexual violence perpetration, and the treatment of women as ‘bodies’ in a man’s ‘body count.’ For victims, female students described misrecognition as victim-blaming, and the ignoring of victims’ stories by men and ECHU administrators.
- *The denying of women’s sexual autonomy* refers to a series of ways that female students are deprived of sexual self-determination and choice related to having sex in college. Female students constructed this category through cultural and social forms of sexual autonomy denial. These forms include hookup culture’s expectations for female students and male students’ entitlement to sex with female students.

Negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence. The fourth category refers to female students assigning and removing blame and responsibility for the problem of campus sexual violence. Specifically, female students assigned blame and responsibility for the problem of campus sexual violence to male students, female students, themselves, students who consume alcohol while socializing with their peers, and ECHU administrators. They also removed blame from male students, including male perpetrators of sexual violence, as well as other female students and ECHU administrators.

Responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance. The fifth category in this study refers to students describing resistance to various forms of campus sexual violence. Female students described resistance to campus sexual violence in four forms: *securing personal safety*, *achieving consent with men*, *recognizing women and victims*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*.

- *Securing personal safety* refers to female students keeping themselves safe from sexual violence perpetration. This process includes managing the risk of sexual violence by sharing their location with friends, finding safety in numbers, and taking precautions while walking around or near campus at night. It also includes personal self-defense mechanisms, like carrying a weapon and calling on male friends for help.
- *Achieving consent with men* refers to female students and male students working together as a sexual dyad to have a mutually agreed upon sexual encounter and avert non-consent. This subcategory encompasses the pursuit and achievement of continuous, affirmative consent between students as sexual partners. It also includes clear communication between sexual partners leading up to and during a hookup.

- *Recognizing women and victims* refers to female students resisting the social subordination of women and victims at ECHU and in American society. In terms of recognizing women, participants discussed supporting other women and teaching male students about their female peers. In terms of recognizing victims, participants talked about acknowledging men who experience victimization by sexual assault in #MeToo, identifying women who are vulnerable to victimization, and holding perpetrators accountable.
- *Asserting their sexual autonomy* refers to female students opposing denial of their sexual choice by stating and avowing their sexual wants and needs to others, especially male students. This includes saying ‘no’ to unwanted sexual attention from male peers and activities with male sexual partners, ignoring unwanted advances, teaching men about consent, and describing their sexual wants and needs.

Detailing resistance as missing and in need of support. The sixth and final category in this process consists of female students describing areas of their opposition to campus sexual violence that are absent and/or in need of support. These areas include missing knowledge, strategies, and conversations that support women’s resistance.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Implications, & Conclusion

It needs to be stressed that it is *women* who should be expected to be able to reveal *for the first time* what women's experiences are. (Fraser, 1987, p. 7)

This study set out to solve a problem: the lack of an original, empirical, grounded framework for understanding female college students' resistance to sexual violence which begins with their voices and words. In turn, this study asked the following central research question: How do female college students understand and construct their resistance to campus sexual violence? Answering this research question was an iterative process that led to the use of qualitative, constructivist grounded theory inquiry in this study. It was also a systematic and scientific process, centered on the listening to, conducting, coding, and analyzing of 11 peer focus group discussions with 54 traditionally-aged female undergraduate students attending the same, mid-sized public university in the American Southeast.

In this concluding chapter, I offer a discussion of the findings, implications, limitations, and conclusions of the study. First, after a short restatement of results, this chapter presents a discussion of the substantive, constructivist, grounded theory process, 'Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence.' The discussion includes the theory's relationship to the central research question and prior scholarship referenced in Chapter 2. It also includes implications for academic and feminist discourses on women and sexual violence; namely, those on female college students and campus sexual violence. Second, this chapter presents the limitations of the study, including issues related to representativeness and transparency. Finally, this chapter concludes with my final thoughts on the grounded theory, the resistance of female students to campus sexual violence, and future directions for this research.

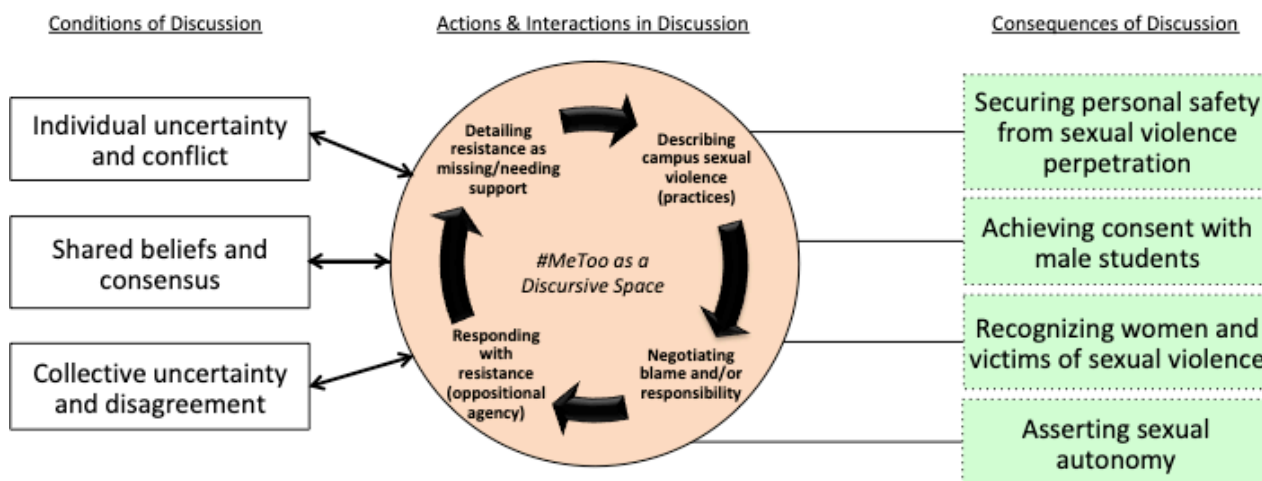
Restatement of Findings

This study explored female college students constructing their resistance to campus sexual violence through constructivist grounded theory. As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the concept of resistance is synonymous with Ahearn's (2010) "oppositional agency," or women's "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" in opposition to campus sexual violence (p. 30). Using Corbin and Strauss' (1990) axial coding paradigm of **actions/interactions**, **conditions**, and **consequences**, Figure 4.4 depicts the constructivist grounded theory as a discursive process that occurred through participants' focus group discussions of #MeToo, sexual violence, and resistance.

At the center of Figure 4.4 are the non-linear **actions** and **interactions** that comprised female college students' focus group discussions in this study. When taken together, these actions and interactions represent how these female students talked about their resistance to campus sexual violence (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). They included:

- I. Describing the practices of campus sexual violence
- II. Negotiating blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence
- III. Responding to campus sexual violence with different types of resistance
- IV. Detailing resistance as missing and in need of support

Through these actions and interactions, college women narrated a series of problematic individual, social, and cultural practices related to sex, sexual violence, and relationships as those that they resist under #MeToo. They also detailed their resistance efforts as indicative of their oppositional agency and their preemptive concerns about multiple forms of campus sexual violence at ECHU.

Figure 4.4*Female College Students Constructing Resistance to Campus Sexual Violence*

Also represented in Figure 4.4 are the **conditions** surrounding female college students' focus group discussions in this study. The left-hand side of the model depicts the *causal conditions* surrounding women's conversations about #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and resistance in this study. These conditions are considered causal because they "promote[d] and restrict[ed] the possibilities for action or interaction" among female college students and their friends in conversation (Bohm, 2014, p. 272). To their focus group discussions, college women brought a series of causal conditions including intragroup dynamics, individual uncertainty, shared beliefs, and collective disagreement. During their focus group discussions, college women also shaped these conditions, hence the use of double arrows in Figure 4.4. Meanwhile, #MeToo is represented in the model as an *intervening condition* or "political environment" for women's focus group discussions (p. 272).

Lastly, Figure 4.4 illustrates the **consequences** of female college students discussing #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and resistance in this study. The right-hand side of the model represents the substantive knowledge of female college students' resistance to various forms of campus sexual violence, which emerged through their collective participation in focus group

discussions, as well as my data analysis/coding. Ultimately, the focus group conversations resulted in knowledge of four substantive **domains of resistance** on behalf of female college students at ECHU. These domains included *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration*, *achieving consensual sex with male students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*.

Discussion & Implications

In the following sections, I reflect on and discuss the constructivist grounded theory that resulted from this study. These sections tie the grounded theory back to prior research and feminist critiques reviewed in Chapter 2 and explain the theory in relation to the following research questions:

- How do female college students construct campus sexual violence as a problem?
- How do female college students describe their resistance to campus sexual violence, in the form of their *oppositional agency*? (Ahearn, 2010, p. 31)
- How do female college students utilize #MeToo as a discursive space, for thinking and talking about resistance to sexual violence?

Under each subheading, implications for current and future knowledge and practice are also discussed.

Campus sexual violence is multi-form.

Using #MeToo as a framework, female students constructed campus sexual violence as multi-form, including *acts of sexual violence perpetration*, *non-consent in relationships with others*, *misrecognition of women and victims*, and *the denying of women's sexual autonomy*. Subsequently, the grounded theory in this study promotes an understanding of campus sexual violence that consists of multiple, problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex.

In their group conversations about #MeToo, participants discussed campus sexual violence as more than rape and sexual assault. They described sexual violence perpetration through historical, legal, top-down terms including rape, sexual assault, and physical assault. They also characterized and named a “spectrum” of “gray,” “situational,” problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence on behalf of female undergraduate students at ECHU. In doing so, participants articulated newly discoverable, bottom-up terms for campus sexual violence. These terms include non-consent in female students’ friendships and sexual relationships with men, especially male students; the ignoring and blaming of women and victims for their experiences with sexual violence; and the denying of women’s sexual autonomy through pressures generated by hookup culture and male students. As participants negotiated top-down and bottom-up definitions of campus sexual violence, they linked these definitions back to multiple causes rather than a more singular cause of rape culture or male dominance over women.

It was by design that participants constructed campus sexual violence as multiple problems related to sex and violence rather than a singular problem of sexual assault. I intended college women to use the focus group setting to articulate their nuanced, bottom-up definitions of campus sexual violence and forms of resistance. At the same time, prior literature and practice would lead people, myself included, to wonder whether students could engage in these conversations about #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and resistance without relying on top-down scripts. In this study, this concern is unsubstantiated and refuted. During and after each focus group discussion – including an initial round of member-checking – participants confirmed their ability to say what they wanted to say in the focus group setting. Thus, participant conversations about #MeToo produced truthful representations of the various, “gray,”

problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex at ECHU. These practices include sexual abuses which are not currently prohibited by law or policy, but which participants nonetheless described as falling under the framework of #MeToo.

Implications for knowledge of sexual violence on college campuses.

The results of this study present campus sexual violence as multi-form, and thus have implications for knowledge relating to sexual violence on college campuses in the U.S.

Finding adequate vocabularies for describing sexual violence and victimization.

The grounded theory supports prior knowledge of campus sexual violence as non-consensual and unwanted sexual contact by peers (Koss, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Abbey, 2002; Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013; Jozkowski, Peterson, Sanders, Dennie, & Reece, 2014), illegal forms of forceful and incapacitating sexual violence (Searles & Berger, 1987; Fisher et al., 2000; Kilpatrick, Resnick, Ruggiero, Conoscenti, & McCauley, 2007), and “rape-prone” and “rape-supportive” cultures among college men (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002; Armstrong et al., 2006; Suran, 2014; Crosset, 2015).

Consequently, the grounded theory also contests prior descriptions of campus sexual violence – namely, legal representations of sexual assault and harassment under Title IX – which restrict understandings of sexual violence against college women to a more singularly identifiable problem of sexual assault. The results do not attempt to characterize the definitions of campus sexual violence presented by the 11 groups of 54 undergraduate women in this study as authoritative representations of sexual violence for all post-adolescent college women. They do, however, suggest that the vocabularies available for understanding sexual violence as a civil and criminal problem – including but not limited to Title IX, state criminal statutes, and campus

policies – are necessary but insufficient for revealing the full scope of the problem of sexual violence in the lives of female college students.

The findings also have implications for multiple stakeholders in higher education, including students and their families as well as administrators. For parents and family members interested in discussing campus sexual violence with their current and future students, the results provides additional language to talk about “gray,” relational, and uncertain episodes of sexual violence. This language is particularly important because the results suggest that college students lack the authoritative definitions that are necessary for making sense of campus sexual violence and victimization, either on their own or with trusted loved ones. For administrators, especially those who are responsible for preventing sexual violence as a kind of institutional liability, participants’ perspectives merit further investigation into sexual violence beyond the boundaries of criminal and civil law. The findings thus support the continued pursuit of studies like the Association of American Universities (AAU) “Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct” (“Climate Survey”), which measure students’ experiences with victimization alongside their perceptions of institutional support for victims (Cantor, Fisher, Chibnall, Townsend, Lee, Bruce, & Thomas, 2015). The findings also offer a more nuanced language for assessing problems of sexual ‘misconduct’ than that which is currently incorporated into studies like the AAU Campus Climate Survey (e.g. Krebs et al., 2016).

Additionally, the findings compel individuals engaged with campus climate surveys to ask students about victimization without relying on the concepts of ‘misconduct’ and ‘harassment.’ These terms were not used by victimized women in this study to categorize their experiences with sexual violence at ECHU. The results of this study thus call into question the

use of these terms in campus climate surveys, as terms that may introduce bias into questions and results.

Pursuing a new feminist understanding of campus sexual violence.

The grounded theory supports earlier feminist and critical perspectives, which have advocated for limiting the use of second-wave feminist lenses to interpret women's experiences with sexual violence (e.g., Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004, Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015). Previously, second-wave feminist definitions of sexual violence have linked rape and sexual assault to the biological differences between men and women (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992; Mardorossian, 2002; Wooten, 2015). When empirical scholars have applied this lens to understanding campus sexual violence and the lives of female college students, they have described victims and non-victims as living in the "shadow of sexual assault" on college campuses and in their relationships with male students (Fisher & Sloan, 2006, p. 634). In contrast, participants described sexual violence as a series of problematic practices related to sexual violence, sex, and their relationships with male students. Students did not necessarily link campus sexual violence to the biological and/or social male dominance of men on their college campus. Importantly, I do not suggest that participants' perspectives should be understood as a refutation of all prior, feminist theoretical attempts to link sexual violence and the lives of college women. However, I believe that the findings help to disaggregate empirical understandings of campus sexual violence, as it is lived by female college students, and historical feminist perspectives on sexual violence that emphasize the "psychological effects of power" in women's lives (Mardorossian, 2002, p. 767).

For feminist researchers, activists, and administrators, the grounded theory also reveals the language surrounding sexual violence as a site of political contest over women's equality in

the U.S. In this study, participants' voices gave rise to new knowledge of campus sexual violence as a series of problems facing women. This includes new understandings of non-consensual sex and hooking up between students, the misrecognition of women and victims, and the ways that male students deny the sexual autonomy of their female peers. The results thus provide a more nuanced language for feminist scholars, activists, and investigators to discuss and explore campus sexual violence as a problem facing women. At the same time, participants' perspectives reveal a struggle over the authoritative definitions of campus sexual violence. This struggle appeared between female students, male students, administrators, and lawmakers, and also within individual women themselves. Even though this study used #MeToo to open up group discussions, participants were often unsure when attempting to define various forms of campus sexual violence outside of sexual assault. For feminist scholars, such results indicate a need to continue to amplify women's voices when investigating social problems like campus sexual violence.

Resistance is agentic.

Within their group discussions, female students constructed resistance to campus sexual violence as that which is agentic, or indicative of their "capacity to act" in opposition to sexual violence (Ahearn, 2010, p. 28). This was true for female students who experienced various sexual abuses as victims, as well as female students who did not describe themselves as such. Subsequently, the grounded theory introduces empirical knowledge of women's individual and collective forms of opposition to campus sexual violence (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30).

Participants narrated a series of individual, self-directed forms of resistance to sexual violence perpetration and the denial of women's sexual autonomy. For example, members of Focus Group 5 discussed resisting sexual assault by planning a series of personal, protective

strategies to be used against perpetrators. In resisting unwanted sexual advances from male students, members of Focus Group 10 discussed their one-on-one communications with their male peers. When discussing how others intervene to help women resist sexual violence perpetration and the denial of their sexual autonomy, they characterized friends, parents, and educators as possible aids and supports for their sovereign resistance.

In addition, participants also discussed supra-individual forms of resistance to non-consensual sex between students and the misrecognition of women and victims. In doing so, they constructed *achieving consent with others* and *recognizing women and victims* as “the property of” women’s partnerships with others (Ahearn, 2010, p. 29). Specifically, they talked about how they achieve consent with others as one-half of a relationship dyad. This included sharing their strategies for and barriers to achieving consent in friendship, dating partnership, and sexual partnership with male students. Participants also discussed their recognition for women and victims as individual members of a larger, collective, whole. They characterized recognition as a form of collective action with others – mostly women, but also other groups of people at ECHU – intended to listen to, validate, and amplify the experiences of women and victims in conversations about campus sexual violence.

Implications for knowledge of female college students’ resistance.

By characterizing female students’ resistance to campus sexual violence as agentic, this study has implications for the knowledge of college women’s lives and well-being.

The grounded theory in this study provides empirical support for feminist warnings against the use of ‘victimology,’ which is a lens and method for investigating violence that fuses women’s gender status with victim status. Previously, Sandra Harding (1987) has questioned the use of victimology to understand and describe women’s gendered relationship to sexual violence.

More precisely, she has questioned victimology because it characterizes women as people who “have never successfully fought back” and who “cannot be effective social agents on behalf of themselves and others” (p. 5). In contrast, the results of this study generate a discourse for campus sexual violence that recognizes female students’ “capacity to act” in opposition to problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex while in college. Sometimes, participants clearly and confidently articulated their resistance to campus sexual violence. Other times, participants expressed reservations and hesitancy in their opposition to various sexual abuses. Nonetheless, participants described female college students as resisting campus sexual violence even in situations where their opposition could have used more support, guidance, or empowerment. This was true of their discussions of #MeToo generally, campus sexual violence specifically, and assigning blame and responsibility to students.

The grounded theory also backs previous, feminist repudiations of the understanding of female victims as dependent subjects. Feminist theorists and critical scholars who study campus sexual assault (e.g., Mardorossian, 2002, Iverson, 2015; Wooten, 2015; Germain, 2016) have previously rejected the understanding of female victims of sexual violence as “dependent subjects” (Mardorossian, 2002, p. 759), whose victimization makes them “vulnerable” and “weak” without intervention by the State (Wooten, 2015, p. 59-60). The findings of this study support this view, as participants who talked about their victimization also characterized themselves as resisting campus sexual violence. Subsequently, they described their oppositional agency as resistant to and constitutive of campus sexual violence. For example, participants constructed *non-consent in relationships with others* as a practice that victimizes female students, and a practice that is perpetuated by women as one-half of a partnership with a male

student. Based on these findings, I follow the lead of Germain (2016) in calling for continued research and discourse that constructs victims' humanity beyond their victim status.

Furthermore, the results of this study suggest new directions for feminist scholars, activists, and administrators in understanding female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence outside of their dependency and/or need for institutional protection. At the beginning of this study, I set out to explore female college students' concerns about campus sexual violence. I also intended to elevate their perspectives as authoritative sources of knowledge on such violence. As a feminist methodologist, I pursued these purposes to right an epistemological wrong, where sources other than women have historically shaped knowledge of their resistance to sexual violence in the U.S. By collecting empirical data on female college students, the results of this study construct women's resistance as that which is agentic, intersectional, and opposed to sexual violence. Even when participants lacked language for describing perpetration, or complained about the inadequacy of institutional supports for women and victims, they did so in resistance to campus sexual violence. When combined with the advent of the #MeToo movement, the results provide a new starting place for feminist scholars, practitioners, and institutional administrators to launch studies of women's opposition to sexual violence.

Resistance is opposed to specific, problematic practices.

Within their focus group discussions, female college students constructed resistance to campus sexual violence as that which is opposed to specific, problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex at ECHU. In turn, the grounded theory presents women's "oppositional agency" as that which is contextual and situated (Ahearn, 2010, p. 30).

Participants narrated their resistance to campus sexual violence by discussing tailored methods for opposing specific practices. They characterized resistance through their first-hand experiences, as well as the stories and narratives of other students at ECHU. In doing so, they did not rely on feminist theoretical perspectives and/or cultural scripts to describe women's resistance to campus sexual violence. For example, Focus Groups 1 and 3 talked about misogynistic language without problematizing this language through second-wave feminist perspectives on male dominance. Focus Group 8 shared strong, intersectional opinions about hookup culture among college student leaders without reciting messages that they had received from administrators about campus culture. Multiple participants brainstormed a new shape for their relationships with men, despite having read about and lamented the realities surrounding hookup culture in Lisa Wade's (2017) book, *American Hookup*. Meanwhile, groups refrained from discussing women's resistance as a kind of intentional, collective opposition to campus sexual violence.

Participants also negotiated resistance to campus sexual violence through what college women do or should be empowered to do to eliminate the effects of sexual violence and abuse on women, students, and college campuses in the U.S. Thus, participants refrained from narrating women's resistance through the lens of risk management. More precisely, in ten of the eleven groups in this study, participants questioned and/or condemned the understanding of college women as managers of risk related to sexual assault. This condemnation was most evident in group constructions of *achieving consensual sex with male students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*. In these groups, participants did not construct resistance as that which is opposed to abstract risks and/or threats. Instead, participants narrated resistance as that which opposes specific, problematic practices related to sexual

violence and sex at ECHU. Only Focus Group 4 discussed college women as the rightful risk managers of campus sexual violence at ECHU. In this group, Elaine and Lina characterized male and female students as responsible for moderating their drinking behaviors to stem the problem of sexual violence perpetration at ECHU. However, even Elaine and Lina refrained from attaching the management of risks and threats related to sexual violence perpetration to the gendered subjectivity of female students at ECHU.

Implications for knowledge of women's resistance.

The results of this study promote women's resistance to campus sexual violence as that which is subjective and situated. In doing so, they have implications for knowledge of women's resistance to campus sexual violence, especially as this knowledge is underwritten by past knowledge of rape culture and risk management on college campuses.

Revisiting rape culture as an object of women's resistance.

The grounded theory problematizes prior scholarship on campus sexual assault which has linked sexual violence to a clear, masculinist rape culture on college campuses. Scholars have previously characterized campus sexual violence as a problem of male college students and their "hostile masculinity," "hypermasculinity" (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007, p. 146), "uncontrollable male sexual aggression" (Sanday, 1992, p. 41), "physical aggression," and "sexual conquest" over women (Connell, 2000, p. 137). They have also discussed campus sexual violence as a product of student subcultures that fuel "rape-prone" and "rape-supportive" attitudes among male college students (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2002; Armstrong et al., 2006; Suran, 2014; Crosset, 2015). Conversely, participants in this study described their resistance to campus sexual violence as opposing a series of problematic practices, including those related to peer culture and male-female interpersonal relationships at ECHU. For example, participants constructed *denying*

women's sexual autonomy as a problem of male students' attitudes towards their relationships with female college students. This was especially true of male students' attitudes towards these relationships as they play out during and after nights of partying at bars and fraternities. The grounded theory offers support for the idea that male peer subcultures surrounding sex, dating, and hooking up may be linked to campus sexual violence as present in the lives of college women. However, it does not offer a clear attribution of such violence to intentional harm, aggression, and/or support for rape among male students.

The results of this study oblige researchers and administrators to reconsider their understandings of rape culture as the primary, cultural source of campus sexual violence. In contrast to these understandings, the perspectives of women in this study reveal that student peer cultures related dating, sex, and friendships – as they are linked to but distinct from rape culture – are also possible cultural sources of sexual violence against students. Fortunately for scholars, prior research already offers nuanced explorations of student peer cultures in this regard. Researchers have previously condemned student peer cultures surrounding male-female romantic relationships in college as that which creates a system of sexual prestige and leads unwanted sex and dating experiences for women (Holland & Eisenhart, 1994; Wade, 2017). They have also explored the intersection of peer culture and students' sexual desires and discussed how this culture suppresses young women's sexual autonomy (O'Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Arbeit, 2016). Importantly, this study also fills a void within this prior research. With the help of #MeToo, this study goes further than others in naming women's disappointing, unwanted, and “gray” experiences with their male peers as indicators of campus sexual violence.

Furthermore, for scholars, administrators, and consultants who are engaged in campus climate research, the results of this study caution against their use of rape culture for assessing

campus climate and linking it to sexual violence against students. Surveys like the 2015 AAU Campus Climate Survey and the 2016 Department of Justice Campus Climate Survey Validation Study (CCSVS) have previously asked students about the prevalence of student victimization, as well as rape-supportive attitudes among students and administrators. In doing so, these surveys have evaluated campus climate through questions about rape culture (Armstrong et al., 2006; see also Brownmiller, 1975; Rentschler, 2014). When viewed alongside the findings of this study as they pertain to student peer culture surrounding sex, dating, and interpersonal relationships, such a focus on rape culture appears problematic and as a possible form of confirmation bias. In the future, individuals engaged with campus climate research related to sexual assault should make efforts to avoid this bias, by investigating other aspects of campus culture as possible sources of sexual violence against students.

Revisiting risk avoidance as the core of women's resistance.

The grounded theory problematizes the prior discourse on campus sexual violence that has narrated women's resistance through the lens of risk management, and positioned it opposite the abstract threat of sexual assault on American college campuses (Hall, 2004). Scholars have previously described female students as potential victims, and positioned them as responsible for limiting the risk of sexual violence at their schools. Specifically, they have described college women as appropriately maintaining a perpetual fear of victimization, limiting their exposure to risky habits and routines, and engaging in self-defense when it is necessary for bodily protection (Norris, Nurius, & Dimeff, 1996; Hall, 2004; Wooten & Mitchell, 2015). To a small extent, the results of this study support this view. Participants did, in fact, refer to risk management efforts in discussing a narrow slice of their resistance to *sexual violence perpetration*. However, to a much larger extent, the results of this study refute knowledge and practices that target female

students as risk managers for campus sexual violence as a whole. Participants did not construct their resistance by positioning college women opposite the abstract threat of campus sexual assault. Instead, they narrated their resistance to campus sexual violence against a series of wide-ranging, “gray,” problematic practices at ECHU. They also described these problematic practices as personal and actual, rather than abstract and foreboding.

The findings of this study point to a need for future research on female students’ resistance as it is opposed to the realities of sexual violence perpetration, rather than the risk of victimization by sexual assault. Participants debunked the understanding of women’s resistance as a narrow form of risk avoidance, which they undertake as potential victims of sexual assault. In doing so, their perspectives provide empirical support for feminist critiques of the discourses surrounding rape and sexual assault generally (e.g. Hall, 2004), and campus sexual assault specifically (e.g. Wooten, 2015). Historically, these discourses have treated sexual assault as an “omnipotent” threat facing women through “sexual violence statistics; apocalyptic presentations of rape as a fate worse than death; and the fatalistic belief that violence inheres in sexual difference” between men and women (Hall, 2004, p. 13). They have also obscured understandings of “actual rapists and their very specific motivations” (p. 8), in ways have limited the understanding of perpetration and victims’ resistance. By producing new knowledge of female students’ resistance as it is opposed to a series of problematic practices related to sexual violence, this study provides new empirical tools for distinguishing women’s resistance from victims’ resistance. There also continues to be a need for additional scholarship that explores and constructs the opposition of diverse groups of female students, especially African American and LGBTQIA+ individuals, to various forms of campus sexual violence.

The findings also problematize prior research and administrative efforts to understand victimization but not perpetration as a site of institutional risk related to sexual violence. This includes administrators who are engaged in risk assessment, the management of liability and property risk, and overseeing student health risk and prevention, among others. In this study, participants condemned the assignment of sexual violence prevention duties to female students as possible victims and described it as a practice that is socially subordinating for women. They also expressed resentment towards ECHU administrators for failing to target perpetration as an area of institutional risk, namely by profiling male students as possible perpetrators. When combined with prior feminist critiques (e.g. Hall, 2004) and empirical data on sexual assault as a crime perpetrated by non-serial offenders (e.g. Swartout, Koss, White, Thompson, Abbey, & Bellis, 2015) these findings suggest a need for researchers and administrators to target perpetration as a site of institutional risk. Fortunately, there is a growing body of research available to understand perpetration as institutional risk for colleges and universities, even in the absence of institution-specific data (e.g. Greathouse, Saunders, Matthews, Keller, & Miller, 2015; see also Sinozich & Langdon, 2014; Swartout et al., 2015; Budd, Rocque, & Bierie, 2017).

Resistance is subjective and situational.

Depending on the situation, female college students altered their strategies for opposing campus sexual violence. Subsequently, the grounded theory in this study constructs women's resistance as subjective and situated.

Participants defined resistance to campus sexual violence as various and subjective, for individual and diverse groups of college women. Within focus group discussions, participants contemplated multiple forms of resistance to specific instances of campus sexual violence. For example, several members of Focus Group 10 talked about how male students approached them

repeatedly with sexual advances, even after they asked the men to stop. In describing their resistance to these advances, they shared an array of strategies for halting a man's actions, leaving the situation, or ignoring the unwanted attention.

Participants also characterized resistance as situational, according to women's personal feelings and interpretations of particular scenarios. They expressed unique and conflicted opinions about resisting campus sexual violence. For example, Naomi, a member of Focus Group 5, demonstrated confidence when sharing her tactics for addressing 'stranger-danger,' or the threat of an assault by someone she does not know. However, when Naomi considered her prevention or stopping of a male acquaintance, in an episode of sexual violence perpetration by someone she knows, she described feeling uneasy and "weird." Similarly, Carmen, a member of Focus Group 4, showed great enthusiasm for a shared definition of consent that is vocal, continuous, and affirmative any and all sexual activity between hookup partners. That said, as the conversation moved to the topic of consent between long-term partners, including partners who have graduated from college, Carmen's enthusiasm faltered. She questioned the appropriateness of mandating continuous vocal consent between long-term partners, as their sexual "expectations" are different from one-time, hookups between college students.

Implications for knowledge.

The findings of this study depict female students' resistance to campus sexual violence as that which is subjective and situational. They also have implications for the knowledge of women's mobilization against sexual violence as a social problem.

Collective action against sexual violence perpetration.

The grounded theory complicates feminist and higher educational discourses, when they have mistakenly attributed and/or taken for granted the mobilization of female students against

campus sexual violence. Previously, researchers and feminist scholars have described female students as feminists and victims-rights activists, mobilized to improve information about rape culture among students, faculty, administrators and other campus stakeholders and diminish the presence of rape on campus (Sanday, 2007; Banyard, Moynihan, & Crossman, 2009; McMahon & Banyard, 2012; Mendes, 2015). Conversely, the results of this study question whether and how female college students – distinct from activists – are engaged in political resistance to sexual violence perpetration. The female college student friend groups in this study consisted of 11 women who were involved in feminist organizations and/or sexual violence prevention efforts at ECHU (see Appendix A for more details). In contrast, 43 women who neither participated in feminist organizations nor sexual violence prevention joined the study as an opportunity to share their personal, political perspectives on #MeToo and resisting campus sexual violence. The results of this study merit future research on #MeToo as an intersectional feminist, collective action frame that mobilizes female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence.

The grounded theory also disrupts the discourse on campus sexual violence, as this discourse has portrayed college women mobilized against sexual violence perpetration in collaboration with administrators and policymakers. Earlier researchers have described college women as organized in pursuit of administrative changes to protect victims' rights (Armstrong et al., 2006; Sanday, 2007; Mendes, 2015; Anger, Lopez, & Koss, 2018). They have also portrayed women as joining forces with campus and legal authorities to improve the climate of colleges and universities, with the help of Title IX and The Clery Act (Dick & Ziering, 2016; Germain, 2016). Additionally, historical accounts of feminist and anti-rape activism have characterized American women, en masse, as mobilized to improve the treatment and rights of rape victims through federal and state legislative action (Bevacqua, 2000; Bumiller, 2013; Corrigan, 2013).

In contrast to these accounts, several groups in this study faulted school administrators for avoiding their role in stemming various forms of campus sexual violence. Within these groups, participants described administrators as having bypassed opportunities to hold perpetrators accountable, teach students about healthy sex and relationships, and redress victims' rights after assaults occur. Ultimately, these findings caution researchers of sexual violence, myself included, to avoid characterizing women's collective resistance to sexual violence as usefully and appropriately collaborative with higher education administrators and the State.

Most importantly, the grounded theory in study points to a need for future feminist scholarship, administration, and activism that explores and uses #MeToo as a frame for assessing, organizing, and mobilizing women's resistance to sexual violence. This study introduces #MeToo as a new opportunity to understand women's collective action against sexual violence; separate from traditional, second-wave feminist approaches to protecting and advocating for victims' rights under the law.

Intersectional understandings of resistance.

The findings of this study support prior scholars' demands for intersectional feminist research on sexual violence more generally (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Zinn & Dill, 1996; Hall, 2004), and campus sexual violence specifically (e.g., Wooten, 2015; Germain, 2016). For example, non-white participants in this study brought their racial and ethnic identities to bear on their constructions of campus sexual violence and resistance. Ada, a member of Focus Group 8, characterized sexual assault against female college students as a problem attributable to white male students, distinct from other men at ECHU. She also discussed the dynamics of Black Greek life at ECHU, a predominantly white institution, as those that contribute to the misrecognition of women and victims. Similarly, Ruth, a member of Focus Group 11,

referenced her Hispanic ethnicity when resisting attempts to blame women for their experiences with sexual assault.

Ultimately, the work of investigating #MeToo as an intersectional space of resistance to campus sexual violence remains incomplete. In future iterations of this research, improved efforts are needed to recruit African American and LGBTQIA+ women to formulate theories of women's resistance to campus sexual violence. These efforts will likely include training researchers from these groups to host and facilitate focus group discussions about #MeToo, sexual violence, and resistance. Nonetheless, the findings of this study reinforce an absolute need for researchers to avoid framing women's resistance to sexual violence without consideration of their intersectional identities, voices, and words.

Resistance is connected to the negotiation of blame and responsibility.

Female college students discussed resistance to campus sexual violence while negotiating male, female, cultural, and institutional culpability for this violence. In turn, the grounded theory in this study constructs women's resistance as a process that is tied to their negotiations of blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence.

Importantly, participants described resistance without the clear designation of culpability for various forms of campus sexual violence. For example, members of Focus Group 1 characterized consent as a supra-individual effort between partners while assigning responsibility for non-consent to male and female students, including themselves. Furthermore, members of Focus Group 10 asserted women's sexual autonomy while contemplating male students' blame for denying women's sexual wants and needs. In doing so, participants largely avoided the assignment of blame to male students while articulating various forms of resistance. They

narrated resistance while considering whether and how people, themselves included, should be assigned blame and/or responsibility for campus sexual violence.

Implications for knowledge and practice.

The findings of this study connect women's resistance to the negotiation of blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence. Subsequently, these findings have implications for definitions of sexual violence, and women's understandings of perpetration as it intersects with blame.

Problematizing current definitions of sexual violence.

The results of this study problematize definitions of sexual violence, especially campus sexual violence, that rely on perpetration and harmful intentions. At the start of this study, I presented readers with a provisional definition of sexual violence as provided by RAINN (2018): "an all-encompassing, non-legal term that refers to crimes like sexual assault, rape, and sexual abuse" (para. 1). For comparison's sake, in another definition provided by the National Institute of Justice (2017), sexual violence includes crimes of sexual harassment, rape, and sexual assault, unwanted sexual contact, and the display of "sexist attitudes" and "words." Numerous definitions of sexual violence ultimately rely on the concept of perpetration and terms like 'crime,' 'force,' 'coercion,' and intention to harm. Conversely, participants in this study defined campus sexual violence as a series of #MeToo occurrences both with and without relying on perpetration and harmful intentions. In doing so, their perspectives problematize current definitions of sexual violence, while warranting future scholarship at the intersection of sexual violence definitions, perpetration, and harmful intentions.

The findings also begin to upend definitions of victimization that draw an "imaginary line" between "sex and violence" (Bumiller, 1987, p. 81). Historical definitions of victimization

by rape – including those promoted by law and feminist movements of the 1970s – drew this line to increase victims’ credibility in trials and investigations and promote victims’ rights (Bumiller, 1987, p. 81). Though these definitions are historically important, they have also “restricted the social imagination” surrounding victim’s stories of experiencing rape and other forms of sexual violence (p. 81). Participants’ constructions of #MeToo and campus sexual violence contrast with these historical definitions, and in doing so disrupt current understandings of what it means to be a victim. For example, in constructing *non-consent in their relationships with others* and *the denying of women’s sexual autonomy* – distinct from consensual, desirable, sexual practices at ECHU – participants drew the line between sex and violence as one that is “illusive” and “subtle” (Bumiller, 1987, p. 81). Notably, this study does not represent participants’ constructions of campus sexual violence and #MeToo as an emerging set of authoritative boundaries for victimization on behalf of all women, or even all female college students. Nevertheless, the findings offer continued support for feminist calls for new theories of victimization by rape (e.g., Mardorossian, 2002), which are grounded in victims’ “emotional truths” (Bumiller, 1987, p. 82).

Helping women understand blame, responsibility, and perpetration.

The findings of this study indicate a possible gap in teaching women about sexual violence perpetration, as it relates to making sense of blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence. To the best of my knowledge as a feminist who is engaged in sexual assault prevention and outreach efforts at a university, these efforts infrequently address culpability for episodes of sexual violence. Nonetheless, female students at ECHU employed the concepts of blame and responsibility to talk about resistance to campus sexual violence. For example, members of Focus Group 6 discussed the removal of blame from male students in *sexual violence*

perpetration – including men who have admitted to perpetrating sexual assault – by declaring the absence of malicious intent among their male peers. Members of Focus Group 1, including possible victims of sexual assault, blamed themselves for *non-consent in their relationships with others*. This self-blame occurred even in participant discussions of non-consent as a supra-individual practice, perpetuated by more than one person.

The results of this study also offer early indications that administrative efforts to understand and prevent sexual assault, as a form of institutional risk, may perpetuate the current gaps in women's knowledge of perpetration. Previously, research has characterized administrators' understanding and prevention of perpetration as limited, due to their focus on rape and sexual assault as problems of 'stranger-danger' (Cantalupo, 2011). Though the grounded theory is preliminary, it indicates that college women also recognize sexual assault as a general risk of 'stranger-danger' without comprehending the specific empirical realities surrounding perpetration. For example, data generated through The Clery Act suggests that the majority of sexual assaults on college campuses happen in on-campus residences (Curcio, 2016; Shukman, 2016; Fisher, Peterson, Townsend, & Sun, 2016; Curcio, 2017). This data shows that 47% of sexual assaults occur in freshman dorms (Curcio, 2017), and 60% take place in victims' residences (Fisher, Peterson, Cantor, Townsend, & Sun, 2016). In this study, no participants brought up the idea that most sexual assaults occur in students' residences. Studies also show that the vast majority of perpetrators are white, male, and known to victims (Sinozich & Langdon, 2014; Budd et al., 2017). The data suggests that this is true for both male and female student victims of sexual assault on college campuses. Participants had read prior research or heard from other sources that victims of sexual assault usually know their perpetrators (e.g. Fisher et al., 2016). However, when contemplating their resistance to sexual violence

perpetration, participants discussed feeling unprepared to comprehend and resist sexual assault perpetration by a male friend, partner, or classmate at ECHU.

These findings should alarm administrators with regards to college women naming and reporting their experiences with sexual violence perpetration, especially sexual assault. On numerous occasions within this study, participants refrained from naming male students at ECHU – including their male friends, hookup partners, and acquaintances – as perpetrators of sexual violence. The Op-Ed may have had a priming effect on participant conversations in this regard, as it raised questions about Grace’s assignment of blame to Aziz Ansari as a perpetrator. Nonetheless, participants’ discussions indicate that college women may be hesitant to name or report their experiences as victimization, if and when the perpetrator is a fellow student. The findings of this study thus raise questions about the ability of female students to report sexual violence to trusted parties and/or campus authorities. If reporting victimization requires naming a fellow student as the perpetrator, the results of this study suggest that college women may be unprepared to do so. The findings also raise questions about women’s willingness to assign blame to fellow students in conversation with others in their campus community, especially campus authorities, when they were reluctant to do so among friends. Female students appear to need additional information, education, and support when interpreting blame and responsibility for campus sexual violence. This requires future exploration and articulation of resources for women and victims that empower their knowledge of perpetration (i.e. confidential advocates, opportunities for feminist knowledge exchange, sustained dialogues among women), for their own purposes related to resistance.

Resistance is uncertain.

The grounded theory presents uncertainty as a fixture of campus sexual violence and female college students' resistance. In this study, women discussed resistance by working through hesitations, doubts, and reservations throughout their group discussions.

Participants often hesitated to define campus sexual violence and choose words to describe various, problematic practices therein. While conversing with friends, participants discussed campus sexual violence as a series of #MeToo's, including *acts of sexual violence perpetration, non-consent in relationships with others, misrecognition of women and victims, and the denying of women's sexual autonomy*. However, they also struggled to come up with definitions and words for discussing previously unspecified forms of sexual violence, including unwanted and confusing sexual contact in hookups with male students, and administrators ignoring victims' stories of sexual assault. Several groups were also reluctant to name various, problematic practices under #MeToo without additional guidance or permission. Such was the case for Focus Group 10, whose members engaged in a subdued contemplation about campus sexual violence until Georgina, a more confident and cooperative member of the group, broke their silence.

Many participants also faltered while sharing their forms of resistance to campus sexual violence at ECHU. Talking in groups, participants shared their opposition to campus sexual violence as *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration, achieving consensual sex with male students, recognizing women and victims of sexual violence, and asserting sexual autonomy*. In time, they also shared doubts and fears when considering resistance to campus sexual violence, especially when this violence involved their male friends and/or peers. For example, members of Focus Group 8 shared their desire and freedom to say 'no' to male

students' sexual advances, and to be forceful when needed. However, they also identified a dearth of knowledge about sexual violence, sex, sexual communication, and men as hookup partners as a hindrance to their resistance of unwanted, sexual attention from male students.

It is important to note that while conducting this study, I did not attempt to trace participants' uncertainties about resistance back to specific sources within their lives and conversations. Nonetheless, their hesitations and reservations related to resisting sexual violence appear throughout this study; in every group, and in every form of campus sexual violence discussed under #MeToo. Though participants' hesitations and reservations diminished during their focus group discussions, their doubts did not disappear as a result of participation.

Implications for knowledge and practice.

The findings of this study construct female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence as uncertain. In doing so, they have implications for the knowledge and practices surrounding female college students' sexual autonomy and consent between college students.

Understanding and empowering female students' sexual autonomy.

The grounded theory provides empirical evidence of a gap or series of gaps in female college students' knowledge of their sexual autonomy, as it pertains to sexual violence and sex in college. In their focus group discussions, participants discussed wanting to learn about sexual violence perpetration from victimized friends and classmates at ECHU. They also regretted the absence of conversations that support their sexual health and wellbeing with parents, mentors, and influential educators. Lacking these conversations, participants described themselves as hindered in their ability to decide whether how to say 'yes' to positive sex and dating experiences, 'no' to unwanted advances, and protect themselves from coercive and forceful sexual assault. When viewed alongside prior work on post-adolescent women (e.g. Tolman,

1994), the results of this study suggest that female students lack the language necessary to comprehend and pursue their sexual autonomy.

The grounded theory reveals a need for additional research on female college students' understandings of their sexual autonomy. At the beginning of this study, I proposed conversations between female college student friend groups on the topics of #MeToo, campus sexual violence, and women's resistance. I did so with the intention of revealing the voices of female students as oppositional agents and authoritative sources of knowledge related to campus sexual violence. However, as this study concludes, its findings raise new questions about knowledge of female college students' sexual agency, as it is distinct from their resistance. To what extent have the experiences of college women, as sexual agents, determined the discourse on healthy sex, relationships, and desire in college? Alternatively, what amalgamation of voices, other than those that belong to female students, have shaped prevailing understandings of healthy sexual behavior, relationships, autonomy, and consent among college students? As this study concludes, its findings raise more questions than answers regarding the sexual autonomy of female college students. It is worth considering that these questions offer future directions for researchers to consider when exploring new knowledge of female college students and their sexual behavioral experiences on college campuses.

Looking forward, I also recommend future studies that explore the effect of peer-based conversations on female college students' understandings of sexual autonomy, both as oppositional and sexual agents. This research should create opportunities for college women to have minimally facilitated, intragroup dialogues about sexual violence, healthy relationships, and sexual desire. Future research must also improve on this study in recruiting more diverse groups of women to participate, especially LGBTQIA+ women and individuals who perceive the female

gender as important to their identities. Fortunately, Deborah Tolman's prior research on female adolescents, desire, and the performative pressures facing women in femininity (1994; 2002; 2012) may provide a starting place for observing organic dialogues among women in early adulthood, which may lead to a better understanding of their sexual autonomy.

Understanding and empowering students' achievement of consent.

The results of this study also provide empirical evidence of a gap in college students' ability to define, communicate, and achieve sexual consent together as potential sexual partners. As previously mentioned, participants defined sexual consent as that which is affirmative and continuous. They also discussed sexual consent as a process that relies just as heavily on the act of *asking* permission before and during a particular sexual activity, as it does the act of *giving* permission through a verbal and affirmative response. When pressed to consider whether their understanding of consent as a communicative process "kills the mood," the women in this study widely responded, "No." However, they also questioned whether male college students accept women's definitions and understandings of sexual consent as their potential partners in sex and hooking up. When viewed alongside prior research (e.g. Muehlenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, & Peterson, 2016; Jozkowski & Peterson, 2013), the results suggest a lack of agreement among female and male college students as to how consent is defined, communicated, and ultimately achieved between two students.

Based on these results, I suggest future research that explores the effect of peer-based conversations on male and female college students' understandings of sexual consent, both as partners resisting non-consent and as partners achieving healthy and desirable sexual experiences together. This research should offer college men and women an opportunity to engage in semi-organic, intergroup conversations about defining, communicating, and achieving consent

together with sexual partners. The recommendation for this research is grounded in prior studies on intergroup dialogues (e.g. Hurtado, 2001; Engberg, 2004; DeTurk, 2006; Zuniga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007), as those that lead to “intercultural understanding, alliance building, and social change” (DeTurk, 2006, p. 33). Some scholars have emphasized the educational effects of these dialogues, especially with regards to the racial biases of college students (i.e. Zuniga et al., 2006). Others have described the dialogues as generative of an empathetic process of “mutual meaning construction” between individuals from different groups (DeTurk, 2006, p. 35). In either case, the findings of this study suggest that research on male and female college students coming together to talk about consent, as oppositional and sexual agents, is overdue.

A word of caution about future intragroup and intergroup dialogues.

For researchers and administrators who want to embark on this future, dialogic work with college students – myself included – it is important that we proceed with caution, due to the possibility of peer contagion effects among participants in the research setting (Dishion, 2005). Studies show that peer contagion effects may occur in research settings and can lead to unintended and adverse consequences for participants. This includes possible counter-effects that contradict the purpose of interventions (Dishion, 2005; Allison, Warin, & Bastiampillai, 2014). Research also search shows that peer contagion effects happen outside of research settings, especially among college students (e.g. Miller & Mason, 2014; Twamley & Davis, 1999). There is presently a shortage of research that confirms harmful peer contagion effects as a reality, beyond a risk, for women and men in early adulthood (ages 18-31) who are engaged in dialogues about sexual violence, sex, and consent. Nevertheless, out of an abundance of care for participants, scholars should embark on this research while being mindful of the risk of harmful

peer contagion effects among college students. One way to minimize these effects is to follow the lead of this study and recruit students who know each other and/or have already discussed the topics of conversation outside of the intervention setting. Doing so helps to ensure the positive nature of their interactions, and may also increase the educational effect of the discussion (Hurtado, 2001). Another way to minimize such effects is to combine participant observation research with an iterative approach to data collection and analysis, similar to the grounded theory approach used in this study. By using an iterative process, researchers may evolve discussion guides and participant observation methods in real time, based on how participants experience the conversation and its effects on their sexual autonomy.

It is also important that administrators recognize these recommendations for intragroup and intergroup dialogues as early and provisional. At present, higher education administrators at ECHU and elsewhere are eager for new opportunities to improve the protection and empowerment of college women. The results of this study improve the empirical knowledge available for understanding female students' oppositional agency related to campus sexual violence while illuminating gaps in their sexual agency. As previously noted, the grounded theory in this should be understood as preliminary, in that it has not yet been explored at a variety of institutions with a diverse array of college women. I would advise administrators who are interested in this work to assemble a collaborative team that includes applied researchers, sex educators, participant-researchers and student health officials who are all working together to implement these dialogues with minimal risk to students.

#MeToo is a space of personal and political resistance.

When considering the Bari Weiss (2018) Op-Ed and various, problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex on campus, female college students constructed #MeToo as a

space of personal and feminist political resistance to sexual violence. Subsequently, the grounded theory in this study introduces #MeToo as a personal and political discursive space for thinking about and dealing with sexual violence.

Within their group discussions, participants defined #MeToo as a space for discussing their personal, individualized approaches to resisting campus sexual violence on behalf of women and victims. For instance, when participants constructed *asserting sexual autonomy*, they frequently discussed the ways that women act alone to say ‘no’ to unwanted sexual attention and advances from male acquaintances at ECHU. They also constructed *achieving consensual sex with male students* and *asserting sexual autonomy* by sharing and noting that their resistance is subjective, situational, and closely linked to their relationships with male students.

Simultaneously, participants delimited #MeToo as a space for their political resistance to sexual violence, including but not limited to campus sexual violence, through recognition for women and victims. It was as participants constructed *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, in particular, that they discussed engaging in recognition, a form of political, feminist resistance described by Fraser (2000). Fraser (2000) describes recognition as a kind of political, feminist opposition to the “social subordination” of women and victims of sexual violence in society (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). Similarly, in Focus Groups 6, 7, 8, and 9, participants described themselves as recognizing women and victims of sexual violence, by resisting victim-blaming and the ignoring of women’s experiences at ECHU. In turn, participants in these groups expressed their desires to see #MeToo mobilized in a way that amplifies the voices of less-powerful victims of sexual violence and abuse. These victims included survivors of severe forms of sexual abuse – namely, rape – and women whose circumstances do not allow them to escape abusive living and working environments.

Across focus group discussions, participants constructed #MeToo as a space for women to expose everyday occurrences of campus sexual violence: occurrences that “prevent [women] from participating as... peer[s] in social life” (Fraser, 2000, p. 113). Women thus advocated for #MeToo to be a space for repairing the subordinated status of women and victims of sexual violence.

Implications for practice and knowledge.

The outcomes of this study present #MeToo as a personal and political discursive space, in ways that have implications for feminist knowledge and practice related to sexual violence in the U.S.

#MeToo as an empathetic space.

The grounded theory introduces empirical knowledge of #MeToo as a discursive space for women to discuss their personal resistance to sexual violence, including but not limited to sexual violence on college campuses. Leading into this study, I anticipated that college women would use the opportunity to discuss #MeToo in the focus group setting to share their personal, problematic experiences with sexual violence and sex and receive empathy from others. This anticipation was partly grounded in Tarana Burke’s original characterization of #MeToo as a discursive “space” for survivors of sexual violence, harassment, and abuses – including but not limited to women – to resist the silencing of their voices and find “empowerment through empathy” (Rodino-Colocino, 2018, p. 97). However, #MeToo is a new hashtag and social movement. At the launch of this study, little research had been conducted to understand #MeToo as a discursive space and movement for women, including female college students. The findings of this study characterize college women as interested in utilizing #MeToo as a space to

share their personal experiences resisting various, problematic practices related to sexual violence and sex at ECHU.

The findings also support the use of #MeToo as a research tool to generate open-ended conversations among research participants in studies about sexual violence, harassment, and abuse. Given that I conducted focus group conversations in this study in 2018 – not even a full year after #MeToo became a broader, online, social movement in 2017 – #MeToo provided participants with a unique opportunity to define campus sexual violence and resistance for themselves. The outcomes of this study warrant additional studies of #MeToo as a conversational frame for focus group discussions and interviews, and a tool for enabling women and victims to discuss their realities in “contextual” and less “artificial” ways (Wilkinson, 1999, p. 225).

#MeToo as a political space and movement.

This study provides empirical support for #MeToo as a space for women to discuss political and feminist resistance to sexual violence. Early on in this study, I positioned #MeToo as a conversational lens for focus groups, and a tool to promote participant conversation about campus sexual violence and resistance. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this approach was sparked by the prior work of Gamson (1992) and his focus group research using political cartoons as a series of interpretive, collective action frames for group discussions. However, unlike Gamson’s (1992) prior research, there is no prior research on #MeToo as an interpretive framework that prompts female students to think, talk, and organize themselves in political and feminist opposition to campus sexual violence. Meanwhile, leading into this study, it was unclear whether participants would see the opportunity to talk about #MeToo – including Bari Weiss’ (2018) *New York Times* Op-Ed, and women’s prior knowledge of the movement – as an

opportunity to discuss feminist resistance. Participants' constructions of the *misrecognition of women and victims* indicated that in this study, women used #MeToo to articulate their political and feminist resistance to campus sexual violence, in the form of *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*.

The grounded theory in this study also calls for future research on the use and shape of #MeToo as a series of feminist, collective action frames for mobilizing women's and victims' resistance to sexual violence. As previously mentioned, in conjunction with my prompting and facilitation, focus groups discussed #MeToo as a space to discuss various forms of female college students' resistance to campus sexual violence. These forms of resistance included *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration, achieving consensual sex with male students, recognizing women and victims of sexual violence, and asserting sexual autonomy*. In doing so, participants used #MeToo to constitute an early set of collective action frames for female students' joint resistance to campus sexual violence. An important next step in this research includes investigating whether and how these frames are prioritized by diverse groups of college women, such that they may one day be useful and successful in mobilizing collective resistance to campus sexual violence. The findings of this study also warrant future research that investigates these forms of resistance as collective action frames, which mobilize political interest and social action among female college students related to sexual violence.

Limitations

This study maintains a series of limitations, which affect the results of this study and outline areas for research necessary to paint a fuller picture of campus sexual violence and female students' resistance.

Generalizability and transferability.

Generalizability and transferability are not the intent of qualitative research. Per the tenets of qualitative research (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1990) and constructivist grounded theory (e.g., Charmaz, 2006), the results of this study provide a holistic and naturalistic account of campus sexual violence and women's resistance. As a result of the methodological care taken in constructing this grounded theory, the findings present a trustworthy, substantive exploration of women's resistance to campus sexual violence. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the outcomes of this research may not be transferable nor generalizable across research sites and populations of female college students outside of ECHU. Readers should draw their own conclusions when determining how the results of this research relate to their parties and contexts of interest.

Sampling limitations.

Germain (2016) has previously referred to her own study on campus sexual assault survivors as unavoidably "classist, sexist, and... [reinforcing] of gender binaries," in its sampling of participants. In this study, the grounded theory could also be construed as methodologically limited on account of my participant population and sample. The grounded theory in this study was constructed with college women who attend an elite public university, where the average student's median family income is over \$150,000 per year. It was also constructed without a fully representative sample of female ECHU students from across ethnic, racial, sexual, class-based, and disability lines. Female students who were underrepresented in my sample include: Hispanic American women, LGBTQ+ individuals who self-identified as women or were assigned to the female gender, and disabled women. Asian American women were overrepresented in my sample. Fortunately, conversations with participants provided essential

insight as to why these limitations persisted, despite my best efforts in recruitment. For example, Morgan, a member of Focus Group 8, shared with me that LGBTQ+ student groups do not necessarily represent female lesbian, queer, transgendered, and bisexual students at ECHU. Though I tried to work with Morgan directly to recruit self-identified and transgendered women from the LGBTQ+ community, eventually, these efforts did not yield any additional participants. Likewise, Ada, another member of Focus Group 8, spoke with me about recruiting African American women for this study. She told me, “not too many Black women are having these conversations [about #MeToo]. The conversations are very different.” She also seemed unsurprised by the idea that Black women were underrepresented in my sample for this study at ECHU, which is a predominantly white institution.

After extensive outreach to individual women and students from African American and LGBTQ+ communities at ECHU, I decided to end additional recruitment from these groups. Specifically, I decided that it would be unethical to continue to push my recruitment materials and spiel on college women who were uninterested in and potentially uncomfortable with this study. Perhaps these women did not participate because they do not oppose sexual violence at ECHU. More likely than not, these women did not participate because they did not see themselves in a study about #MeToo and campus sexual violence at ECHU. They may also have had reservations about me – a white, female, heterosexual graduate student – as a trusted moderator for the discussions. In any case, future iterations of this research must recruit and train women from these underrepresented groups to facilitate these focus group discussions with peers. It must also investigate and grapple with #MeToo as a trusted space for women and victims to talk about sexual violence and resistance. At present, it is unclear to what extent all

women and victims see #MeToo as a discursive space to discuss their personal and political views on sexual violence and resistance, and receive empathy in conversation.

Researcher role and training.

Lastly, the findings of this study are conditioned by my prior experiences and knowledge related to sexual violence, including but not limited to campus sexual violence. Consequently, the grounded theory in this study is limited by my role in this research.

I have concerned myself with sexual violence for the entirety of my adult life. This concern is a product of my own experience with various, “gray,” problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence, and knowing several female and male friends who have experienced victimization by sexual assault. This concern is also a product of my exposure to and acceptance of feminist politics. As a result, my lens for understanding sexual violence is unavoidably personal and feminist. However, it is worth noting that I have previously sought out therapy, including support groups, and shared my own experiences on social media and in an online blog available to members of my community. These efforts allowed me to receive recognition and empathy for my experiences with problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence before conducting this study and prior to #MeToo becoming a social movement in 2017.

Leading up to data collection and analysis in this study, I served as a certified facilitator of sexual violence prevention curriculum at my university. Specifically, I conducted bystander prevention training to prevent sexual assault at my university. In doing so, I have been exposed to undergraduate students’ experiences with campus sexual violence in ways that other researchers have not. It is because of my conversations in these settings, combined with my personal experiences regarding sexual violence, that this study focuses on women’s opposition to

sexual violence. It is for these reasons, too, that this study presumes that women, including victims, are opposed to sexual violence.

Rather than attempt to minimize my impacts on the study, I have pursued transparency and reflexivity through memos and rich description. I have conducted this research “for and with” female college student participants at ECHU (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. X), and thus played an essential role in constructing grounded theory in this area of study.

Conclusion

This study sits at the intersection between empirical research on campus sexual violence and the lives of female college students, as well as feminist legal, historical, and theoretical scholarship on sexual violence and the lives of women. Within the empirical research on campus sexual violence, there are numerous, taken-for-granted, theoretical lenses used to narrate female students’ resistance to it. These lenses include non-oppositional victimization, feminist resistance to male dominance, and neoliberal risk management. Within prior feminist scholarship on women and sexual violence, there exist critiques of these lenses as they are applied to women more generally and deny women’s and victim’s subjectivity related to sexual violence (e.g., Bumiller, 1987; Mardorossian, 2002; Hall, 2004). Inspired by the gaps in knowledge and language at this intersection, this study presents a grounded theory for female college students constructing resistance to campus sexual violence. Using data from 11 peer focus group discussions with 54 traditionally-aged women attending the same, mid-sized public university in the American Southeast, the grounded theory resulted in four domains for female students’ resistance: *protecting selves from sexual violence perpetration*, *achieving consensual sex with male students*, *recognizing women and victims of sexual violence*, and *asserting sexual autonomy*.

In completing this study, it is my goal to leave audiences with a richer and more complex understanding of the internal and external lives of female college students, as related to sexual violence and sex on campus. With few exceptions in higher education research (e.g., Iverson, 2015; Germain, 2016), feminist critiques have not been used as a point of departure for exploring campus sexual violence and female students' gendered, sexual, and oppositional agency. Yet, when combined with #MeToo and prior higher education research, these feminist critiques enable researchers like myself to open doors for women's perspectives to shed new light on themselves and social problems like campus sexual violence. It is the result of these feminist perspectives that I was able to listen to women and victims of sexual violence, and use their words to construct grounded theory in this study.

In conclusion, I hope audiences have learned that women's resistance to sexual violence is not necessarily diminished by status as victims. Previously, Martha Mahoney (1994) has stated, "Victimization implies the one-way exercise of power; harm without strength. Agency implies freedom from victimization." At the beginning of this study, I was ready to conclude that women's oppositional agency would correlate with a growing distance from victimization by campus sexual violence, especially victimization by sexual assault. However, as the findings of this study evolved, so too did my understanding of the connection between female students' resistance and their freedom from victimization by campus sexual violence. As participants described themselves and other women resisting campus sexual violence, they did not draw lines between victim and agent, dependency and freedom of movement. The findings of this study thus conclude that college women do not need to be distant from victimization to be treated and known as resisters of campus sexual violence. Furthermore, they suggest that female college

students resist various, problematic practices related to sex and sexual violence on American college campuses every day, even when these practices do not constitute sexual assault and rape.

References

- Abbey, A. (2002). Alcohol-related sexual assault: A common problem among college students. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol. Supplement*, (14), 118–128.
- Abbey, A., McAuslan, P., & Ross, L. (2002). Sexual assault perpetration by college men: The role of alcohol, misperception of sexual intent, and sexual beliefs and experiences. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 17(2), 167–195.
- Abbey, A., Ross, L. T., McDuffie, D., & McAuslan, P. (1996). Alcohol and dating risk factors for sexual assault among college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20(1), 147–169. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1996.tb00669.x>
- Abbey, A., Zawacki, T., Buck, P. O., Clinton, A. M., & McAuslan, P. (2004). Sexual assault and alcohol consumption: What do we know about their relationship and what types of research are still needed? *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 9(3), 271–303. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789\(03\)00011-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(03)00011-9)
- Ahearn, L. (2010). Agency and language. In J. Jaspers, J.-O. Östman, & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Society and Language Use* (pp. 28–48). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Albertson Fineman, M. (2008). The vulnerable subject: Anchoring equality in the human condition. *Yale JL & Feminism*, 20, 1.
- Alexander, L. (1996). The moral magic of consent (ii). *Legal Theory*, 2(3), 165–174. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1352325200000471>
- Ali, R. (2011). Dear colleague letter from Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights [Policy Guidance]. Retrieved July 10, 2017, from <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201104.html>

- Aliment, R. (2015). Saying yes: How California's affirmative consent policy can transform rape culture. *Seattle J. Soc. Just.*, 14, 187.
- Allison, S., Warin, M., & Bastiampillai, T. (2014). Anorexia nervosa and social contagion: Clinical implications. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 48(2), 116–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004867413502092>
- Amar, A. F., & Gennaro, S. (2005). Dating violence in college women: Associated physical injury, healthcare usage, and mental health symptoms. *Nursing Research*, 54(4), 235.
- Apple, M. W. (2001). Comparing neo-liberal projects and inequality in education. *Comparative Education*, 37(4), 409–423. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060120091229>
- Arbeit, M. R. (2017). "Make sure you're not getting yourself in trouble." Building sexual relationships and preventing sexual violence at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 54(8), 949–961. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1207055>
- Armstrong, E. A., Hamilton, L., & Sweeney, B. (2006). Sexual assault on campus: A multilevel, integrative approach to party rape. *Social Problems*, 53(4), 483–499. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2006.53.4.483>
- Astin, A. W., & Astin, H. S. (2000). *Leadership reconsidered: Engaging higher education in social change*. Kellogg Foundation.
- Banyard, V. L., Moynihan, M. M., & Crossman, M. T. (2009). Reducing sexual violence on campus: The role of student leaders as empowered bystanders. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(4), 446–457. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.0.0083>

- Banyard, V. L., Moynihan, M. M., & Plante, E. G. (2007). Sexual violence prevention through bystander education: An experimental evaluation. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(4), 463–481. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20159>
- Baum, B. (2004). Feminist politics of recognition. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29(4), 1073–1102. <https://doi.org/10.1086/382630>
- Baumgardner, J., & Richards, A. (2005). *Grassroots: A field guide for feminist activism*. Macmillan.
- Bevacqua, M. (2000). *Rape on the public agenda: Feminism and the politics of sexual assault*. UPNE.
- Bleecker, E. T., & Murnen, S. K. (2005). Fraternity membership, the display of degrading sexual images of women, and rape myth acceptance. *Sex Roles*, 53(7–8), 487–493. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-7136-6>
- Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American Sociological Review*, 19(1), 3–10. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2088165>
- Bogle, K. A. (2014, October 27). “Yes means yes” isn’t the answer. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <https://www-chronicle-com.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/article/Yes-Means-Yes-Isnt-the/149639>
- Böhm, A. (2004). Theoretical coding: Text analysis in grounded theory. In U. Flick, I. Steinke, & E. Kardorff (Eds.), *A Companion to Qualitative Research* (pp. 270–275). London: SAGE Publications.
- Bohmer, C., & Parrot, A. (1993). *Sexual assault on campus: The problem and the solution*. Lexington Books.

- Brener, N. D., McMahon, P. M., Warren, C. W., & Douglas, K. A. (1999). Forced sexual intercourse and associated health-risk behaviors among female college students in the United States. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67(2), 252–259.
- Brodsky, A. (2016). A rising tide: Learning about fair disciplinary process from title ix. *Journal of Legal Education*, 66, 822–849.
- Brodsky, A., & Deutsch, E. (2015). The promise of Title IX: Sexual violence and the law. *Dissent*, 62(4), 135–144. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dss.2015.0075>
- Brown, T. J., Sumner, K. E., & Nocera, R. (2002). Understanding sexual aggression against women: An examination of the role of men's athletic participation and related variables. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 17(9), 937–952. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260502017009002>
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. Fawcett Columbine.
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2010). *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory: Paperback edition*. SAGE.
- Budd, K. M., Rocque, M., & Bierie, D. M. (2017). Deconstructing incidents of campus sexual assault: Comparing male and female victimizations. *Sexual Abuse*, 31(3), 296–317.
- Bumiller, K. (1987). Rape as a legal symbol: An essay on sexual violence and racism. *U. Miami L. Rev.*, 42, 75.
- Bumiller, K. (2013). Feminist collaboration with the state in response to sexual violence. In A. M. Tripp, M. M. Ferree, & C. Ewig (Eds.), *Gender, violence, and human security: critical feminist perspectives*. NYU Press.
- Burke, T. (2013). The “me too” movement. Retrieved January 13, 2019, from Me Too - The Inception website: <http://justbeinc.wixsite.com/justbeinc/the-me-too-movement-cmml>

- Bussel, R. (2008). Beyond yes or no: Consent as sexual process. In J. Friedman & J. Valenti (Eds.), *Yes means yes!: Visions of female sexual power and a world without rape*. Basic Books.
- Campbell, R., Dworkin, E., & Cabral, G. (2009). An ecological model of the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 10(3), 225–246.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838009334456>
- Campbell, R., & Raja, S. (1998). The community response to rape: Victims' experiences with the legal, medical, and mental health systems. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(3), 355–379.
- Cantalupo, N. C. (2011). Burying our heads in the sand: Lack of knowledge, knowledge avoidance and the persistent problem of campus peer sexual violence. *Georgetown Law Faculty Publications and Other Works*, 634. Retrieved from
<https://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/634>
- Cantalupo, N. C. (2015). Title IX's civil rights approach and the criminal justice system: Enabling separate but coordinated parallel proceedings. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The crisis of campus sexual violence: Critical perspectives on prevention and response* (pp. 151–184). Routledge.
- Cantor, D., Fisher, B., Chibnall, S. H., Townsend, R., Lee, H., Thomas, G., ... Westat, I. (2015). *Report on the AAU campus climate survey on sexual assault and sexual misconduct*. Retrieved from
http://ias.virginia.edu/sites/ias.virginia.edu/files/University%20of%20Virginia_2015_climate_final_report.pdf

- Castel, R. (1991). From dangerousness to risk. In M. Foucault (Ed.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 281–298). University of Chicago Press.
- Champion, H., Foley, K., DuRant, R., Hensberry, R., Altman, D., & Wolfson, M. (2004). Adolescent sexual victimization, use of alcohol and other substances, and other health risk behaviors. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 35*(4), 321–328.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2003.09.023>
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2008). Constructionism and the grounded theory method. In J. Holstein & J. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (Vol. 1, pp. 397–412). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2017). The power of constructivist grounded theory for critical inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry, 23*(1), 34–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800416657105>
- Clark, A. E., & Pino, A. L. (2016). *We believe you: Survivors of campus sexual assault speak out*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Clarke, A. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. SAGE.
- Coker, A., G Cook-Craig, P., Williams, C., Fisher, B., Clear, E., S Garcia, L., & M Hegge, L. (2011). *Evaluation of Green Dot: An active bystander intervention to reduce sexual violence on college campuses* (Vol. 17). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211410264>
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Psychology Press.
- Connell, R. (2000). *The men and the boys*. University of California Press.

- Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3–21.
- Corrigan, R. (2013). *Up against a wall: Rape reform and the failure of success*. NYU Press.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *U. Chi. Legal F.*, 139.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE.
- Crosset, Todd W. (2015). Athletes, sexual assault, and universities' failure to address rape-prone subcultures on campus. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The Crisis of Campus Sexual Violence: Critical Perspectives on Prevention and Response* (pp. 92–118). Routledge.
- Cumiskey, K. M., & Brewster, K. (2012). Mobile phones or pepper spray? *Feminist Media Studies*, 12(4), 590–599. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2012.741893>
- Curcio, A. A. (2016). What schools don't tell you about campus sexual assault. Retrieved April 8, 2019, from The Conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/what-schools-dont-tell-you-about-campus-sexual-assault-57163>
- Curcio, A. A. (2017). Institutional failure, campus sexual assault, and danger in the dorms: Regulatory limits and the promise of tort law. *Mon. Law Review*, 78(31).

- Daigle, L. E., Fisher, B. S., & Cullen, F. T. (2008). The violent and sexual victimization of college women: Is repeat victimization a problem? *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 23(9), 1296–1313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260508314293>
- Davis, K. (2018). Slutwalk. feminism, activism and media (Kaitlynn Mendes). *Feminism & Psychology*, 28(2), 300–302. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517701492>
- DeTurk, S. (2006). The power of dialogue: Consequences of intergroup dialogue and their implications for agency and alliance building. *Communication Quarterly*, 54(1), 33–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463370500270355>
- Dick, K., & Ziering, A. (2016). *The hunting ground: The inside story of sexual assault on American college campuses*. Skyhorse Publishing, Inc.
- Dishion, T. J., & Dodge, K. A. (2005). Peer contagion in interventions for children and adolescents: Moving towards an understanding of the ecology and dynamics of change. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 33(3), 395–400.
- Donat, P. L. N., & D’Emilio, J. (1992). A feminist redefinition of rape and sexual assault: Historical foundations and change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(1), 9–22. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1992.tb01154.x>
- Draucker, C. B., Martsolf, D. S., Ross, R., & Rusk, T. B. (2007). Theoretical sampling and category development in grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(8), 1137–1148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307308450>
- DuRant, R., Champion, H., Wolfson, M., Omli, M., McCoy, T., D’Agostino Jr., R. B., ... Mitra, A. (2007). Date fighting experiences among college students: Are they associated with other health-risk behaviors? *Journal of American College Health*, 55(5), 291–296.

- Easton, A., Summers, J., Tribble, J., Wallace, P., & Lock, R. (1997). College women's perceptions regarding resistance to sexual assault. *Journal of American College Health*, 46(3), 127–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07448489709595598>
- Ehrlich, S. L. (2001). *Representing rape: Language and sexual consent*. Psychology Press.
- Engberg, M. E. (2004). Improving intergroup relations in higher education: A critical examination of the influence of educational interventions on racial bias. *Review of Educational Research*, 473–524.
- Estrich, S. (1987). *Real rape*. Harvard University Press.
- Evans, G. (2013). A novice researcher's first walk through the maze of grounded theory: Rationalization for classical grounded theory. *Grounded Theory Review*. Retrieved from <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2013/06/22/a-novice-researchers-first-walk-through-the-maze-of-grounded-theory-rationalization-for-classical-grounded-theory/>
- Faber, J. (1992). Expanding Title X of the Education Amendments of 1972 to prohibit student to student sexual harassment. *UCLA Women's LJ*, 2, 85.
- Fine, M. (1992). *Disruptive voices: The possibilities of feminist research*. University of Michigan Press.
- Finley, C., & Corty, E. (1993). Rape on the campus: The prevalence of sexual assault while enrolled in college. *Journal of College Student Development*, 34, 113–113.
- Fisher, B., Peterson, S., Cantor, D., Townsend, R., & Sun, H. (2016). *Characteristics of nonconsensual sexual contact incidents: Penetration and sexual touching by force or while incapacitated*. Retrieved from Association of American Universities Washington, DC website:

<https://www.aau.edu/sites/default/files/%40%20Files/Climate%20Survey/Characteristics-of-Nonconsensual-Sexual-Contact.pdf>

Fisher, B. S., Daigle, L. E., Cullen, F. T., & Turner, M. G. (2003). Reporting sexual victimization to the police and others: Results from a national-level study of college women. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 30(1), 6–38.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854802239161>

Fisher, B. S., & Sloan, J. (2003). Unraveling the fear of victimization among college women: Is the “shadow of sexual assault hypothesis” supported? *Justice Quarterly*, 20(3), 633–659.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820300095641>

Fraser, N. (2000). Rethinking Recognition. *New Left Review*, (3), 107–120.

Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Germain, L. J. (2016). *Campus sexual assault: College women respond*. JHU Press.

Gibson, L. (2013, August 14). A template for writing fieldnotes. Retrieved February 23, 2019, from anthropod website: <https://anthropod.net/2013/08/14/a-template-for-writing-fieldnotes/>

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis*. University of California Press.

Gilligan, C., & Eddy, J. (2017). Listening as a path to psychological discovery: An introduction to the Listening Guide. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, 6(2), 76–81.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40037-017-0335-3>

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. Sociology Press.

- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Aldine.
- Greathouse, S. M., Saunders, J. M., Matthews, M., Keller, K. M., & Miller, L. L. (2015). *A review of the literature on sexual assault perpetrator characteristics and behaviors*. Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation.
- Gruber, A. (2015). Anti-rape culture symposium: Sexual assault on campus. *University of Kansas Law Review*, 64, 1027–1056.
- Hall, R. (2004). “It can happen to you.” Rape prevention in the age of risk management. *Hypatia*, 19(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hyp.2004.0054>
- Hall, W. A., & Callery, P. (2001). Enhancing the rigor of grounded theory: Incorporating reflexivity and relationality. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(2), 257–272. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973201129119082>
- Hallberg, L. (2006). The “core category” of grounded theory: Making constant comparisons. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*, 1(3), 141–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482620600858399>
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066>
- Harding, S. (1995). “Strong objectivity”: A response to the new objectivity question. *Synthese*, 104(3), 331–349.
- Harding, S. G. (1987). Introduction: Is there a feminist method? In S. G. Harding (Ed.), *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues* (pp. 3–14). Indiana University Press.

- Harding, S. G. (2004). Introduction: Standpoint theory as a site of political philosophic and scientific debate. In S. G. Harding (Ed.), *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies* (pp. 1–15). Psychology Press.
- Hartsock, N. C. M. (1983). *Money, sex, and power: Toward a feminist historical materialism*. Retrieved from <http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u140116>
- Henderson, H. (2007). Feminism, Foucault, and rape: A theory and politics of rape prevention. *Berkeley J. Gender L. & Just.*, 22, 225.
- Henriksen, C. B., Mattick, K. L., & Fisher, B. S. (2015). Mandatory bystander intervention training. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The crisis of campus sexual violence: Critical perspectives on prevention and response*. Routledge.
- Holland, D. C., & Eisenhart, M. A. (1992). *Educated in romance: Women, achievement, and college culture*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hollander, J. A., & Rodgers, K. (2014). Constructing victims: The erasure of women's resistance to sexual assault. *Sociological Forum*, 29(2), 342–364.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12087>
- Holton, J. A. (2008). Grounded theory as a general research methodology. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from Grounded Theory Review website:
<http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2008/06/30/grounded-theory-as-a-general-research-methodology/>
- Hoogensen, G., & Stuvøy, K. (2006). Gender, resistance and human security. *Security Dialogue*, 37(2), 207–228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010606066436>
- Howell, K. E. (2013). *An introduction to the philosophy of methodology*. London: SAGE.

- Humphrey, J. A., & White, J. W. (2000). Women's vulnerability to sexual assault from adolescence to young adulthood. *The Journal of Adolescent Health: Official Publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine*, 27(6), 419–424.
- Iverson, S. V. (2015). A policy discourse analysis of sexual assault policies in higher education. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The crisis of campus sexual violence: Critical perspectives on prevention and response* (pp. 28–54). Routledge.
- Jackson, K. (2018). How the success of #MeToo is evident on college campuses - Women's Media Center. Retrieved February 23, 2019, from <http://www.womensmediacenter.com/fbomb/how-the-success-of-metoo-is-evident-on-college-campuses>
- Jarvis, P. (2000). The practitioner–researcher in nursing. *Nurse Education Today*, 20(1), 30–35. <https://doi.org/10.1054/nedt.2000.0428>
- Jessup-Anger, J., Lopez, E., & Koss, M. P. (2018). History of sexual violence in higher education. *New Directions for Student Services*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20249>
- Johnson, N. L., & Johnson, D. M. (2017). An empirical exploration into the measurement of rape culture. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 886260517732347. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260517732347>
- Jones, J. S., Alexander, C., Wynn, B. N., Rossman, L., & Dunnuck, C. (2009). Why women don't report sexual assault to the police: the influence of psychosocial variables and traumatic injury. *The Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 36(4), 417–424. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jemermed.2007.10.077>
- Jones, L., deHeer, B., & Prior, S. (2016). Conceptualizing vulnerable groups in an unfolding legal context. In M. A. Paludi (Ed.), *Campus Action Against Sexual Assault: Needs,*

Policies, Procedures, and Training Programs: Needs, Policies, Procedures, and Training Programs. ABC-CLIO.

Jozkowski, K. N. (2015). "Yes means yes"? Sexual consent policy and college students. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 47(2), 16–23.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2015.1004990>

Jozkowski, K. N., & Peterson, Z. D. (2013). College students and sexual consent: Unique insights. *Journal of Sex Research*, 50(6), 517–523.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2012.700739>

Jozkowski, K. N., Peterson, Z. D., Sanders, S. A., Dennis, B., & Reece, M. (2014). Gender differences in heterosexual college students' conceptualizations and indicators of sexual consent: Implications for contemporary sexual assault prevention education. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 51(8), 904–916. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2013.792326>

Kamberelis, G., & Dimitriadis, G. (2013). *Focus groups*. Routledge.

Karjane, H. K., Fisher, B. S., & Cullen, F. T. (1999). Campus sexual assault: How America's institutions of higher education respond. *Final Report, NIJ Grant*.

Kelle, U. (2007). "Emergence" vs. "forcing" of empirical data? A crucial problem of "grounded theory" reconsidered. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*.

Supplement, (19), 133–156.

Kelly, L. (2013). *Surviving sexual violence*. John Wiley & Sons.

Khalil, H. (2013). Organise the messiness of qualitative analysis. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from The NVivo Blog website: <http://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo/nvivo-community/blog/audit-trail-in-nvivo>

Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick, H. S., Ruggiero, K. J., Conoscenti, L. M., & McCauley, J. (2007).

Drug-facilitated, incapacitated, and forcible rape: A national study. Retrieved from

http://www.antonioacasella.eu/archila/Kilpatrick_drug_forcible_rape_2007.pdf

Kimble, M., Neacsiu, A. D., Flack, W., & Horner, J. (2008). Risk of unwanted sex for college

women: Evidence for a red zone. *Journal of American College Health*, 57(3), 331–338.

<https://doi.org/10.3200/JACH.57.3.331-338>

Kingkade, T. (n.d.). As more college students say “Me Too,” accused men are suing for

defamation. *BuzzFeed News*. Retrieved from

<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/tylerkingkade/as-more-college-students-say-me-too-accused-men-are-suing>

Kitzinger, J. (1994). Qualitative research: Introducing focus groups. *BMJ: British Medical*

Journal, 311(7000), 299–302.

Knisely, L. (2016). Facing Each Other. In K. Dick & A. Ziering (Eds.), *The hunting ground: the*

inside story of sexual assault on American college campuses. New York, NY: Hot Books.

Koss, M., & Gaines, J. (1993). The prediction of sexual aggression by alcohol use, athletic

participation, and fraternity affiliation. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8(1), 94–108.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/088626093008001007>

Koss, M. P., & Gidycz, C. A. (1985). Sexual experiences survey: Reliability and validity.

Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53(3), 422–423.

Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and

prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher

education students. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55(2), 162.

- Krebs, C., Lindquist, C., Shook-Sa, B., Peterson, K., & Berzofsky, M. (2016). *Campus climate survey validation study final technical report*. Retrieved from http://www.rti.org/sites/default/files/resources/CampusClimateSurvey_Krebs_Jan2016.pdf
- Krebs, C. P., Lindquist, C. H., Warner, T. D., Fisher, B. S., & Martin, S. L. (2009). College women's experiences with physically forced, alcohol- or other drug-enabled, and drug-facilitated sexual assault before and since entering college. *Journal of American College Health: J of ACH*, 57(6), 639–647. <https://doi.org/10.3200/JACH.57.6.639-649>
- Kruks, S. (2001). *Retrieving experience: Subjectivity and recognition in feminist politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Lackie, L., & de Man, A. F. (1997). Correlates of sexual aggression among male university students. *Sex Roles*, 37(5), 451–457. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025613725757>
- Lafrance, D. E., Loe, M., & Brown, S. C. (2012). “Yes means yes.” A new approach to sexual assault prevention and positive sexuality promotion. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 7(4), 445–460. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2012.740960>
- LaRossa, R. (2005). Grounded theory methods and qualitative family research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(4), 837–857.
- Lee, H., Roh, S., & Kim, D. J. (2009). Alcohol-induced blackout. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 6(11), 2783–2792. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph6112783>
- Lee, R. W., Caruso, M. E., Goins, S. E., & Southerland, J. P. (2003). Addressing sexual assault on college campuses: guidelines for a prevention/awareness week. *Journal of College Counseling*, 6(1), 14–24. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1882.2003.tb00223.x>

- Lee, V. E., Croninger, R. G., Linn, E., & Chen, X. (1996). The culture of sexual harassment in secondary schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 33(2), 383–417.
- Leichliter, J., Meilman, P., Presley, C., & Cashin, J. (1998). Alcohol use and related consequences among students with varying levels of involvement in college athletics. *Journal of American College Health*, 46(6), 257–262.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07448489809596001>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. SAGE.
- Lindsey, B. (1997). Peer education: A viewpoint and critique. *Journal of American College Health*, 45(4), 187–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.1997.9936882>
- Lyons, A. C., & Willott, S. A. (2008). Alcohol consumption, gender identities and women's changing social positions. *Sex Roles*, 59(9–10), 694–712. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9475-6>
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1979). *Sexual harassment of working women: A case of sex discrimination*. Yale University Press.
- Maitra, I., & McGowan, M. K. (2010). On silencing, rape, and responsibility. *Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, 88(1), 167–172.
- Marcus, S. (1992). Fighting bodies, fighting words: A theory of politics and rape prevention. In J. Butler & J. W. Scott (Eds.), *Feminists theorize the political* (pp. 385–402). Routledge.
- Mardorossian, C. M. (2002). Toward a new feminist theory of rape. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 27(3), 743–775. <https://doi.org/10.1086/337938>
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2010). *Designing qualitative research*. SAGE Publications.
- Martin, P. Y. (2016). The rape prone culture of academic contexts: Fraternities and athletics. *Gender & Society*, 30(1), 30–43.

- Martin, P. Y., & Hummer, R. A. (1989). Fraternities and rape on campus. *Gender and Society*, 3(4), 457–473.
- Martin, P. Y., & Powell, R. M. (1994). Accounting for the “second assault”: Legal organizations’ framing of rape victims. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 19(4), 853–890.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.1994.tb00942.x>
- Matthews, N. A. (2005). *Confronting rape: The feminist anti-rape movement and the state*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203993033>
- McCaughey, M., & Cermele, J. (2017). Changing the hidden curriculum of campus rape prevention and education: Women’s self-defense as a key protective factor for a public health model of prevention. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 18(3), 287–302.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838015611674>
- McGregor, J. (1996). Why when she says no she doesn’t mean maybe and doesn’t mean yes: A critical reconstruction of consent, sex, and the law. *Legal Theory*, 2(3), 175–208.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1352325200000483>
- McMahon, S., & Banyard, V. L. (2012). When can I help? A conceptual framework for the prevention of sexual violence through bystander intervention. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 13(1), 3–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838011426015>
- Mendes, K. (2015). Representing the movement: Slutwalk challenges rape culture. In K. Mendes (Ed.), *SlutWalk: Feminism, Activism and Media* (pp. 86–112).
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-37891-0_4
- Merriam-Webster. (2017). Definition of WOKE. In *Merriam-Webster*. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/woke>

- Mies, M. (1991). Women's research or feminist research? In M. M. Fonow & J. A. Cook (Eds.), *Beyond Methodology : Feminist Scholarship As Lived Research*. Retrieved from <http://www.proxy.its.virginia.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=603&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Miller, A. B., & Mason, G. (2014). Short-term longitudinal peer influence processes associated with binge drinking among first year college students. *Graduate Student Journal of Psychology, 15*, 47–56.
- Morgan, D. (2012). Focus groups and social interaction. In J. F. Gubrium, J. Holstein, A. Marvasti, & McKinney (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft* (pp. 161–177). SAGE.
- Mouffe, C. (1995). Feminism, citizenship, and radical democratic politics. In L. Nicholson & S. Seidman (Eds.), *Social postmodernism: Beyond identity politics* (pp. 369–384). Cambridge University Press.
- Muehlenhard, C. L., Humphreys, T. P., Jozkowski, K. N., & Peterson, Z. D. (2016). The complexities of sexual consent among college students: A conceptual and empirical review. *The Journal of Sex Research, 53*(4–5), 457–487.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1146651>
- Muehlenhard, C. L., & Linton, M. A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34*(2), 186–196.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.34.2.186>
- Murnen, S. K., & Kohlman, M. H. (2007). Athletic participation, fraternity membership, and sexual aggression among college men: a meta-analytic review. *Sex Roles, 57*(1–2), 145–157. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9225-1>

- Mustaine, E. E., & Tewksbury, R. (2002). Sexual assault of college women: A feminist interpretation of a routine activities analysis. *Criminal Justice Review*, 27(1), 89–123.
- Namigadde, A. (n.d.). #Metoo week aims to fight sexual harassment at Ohio State. Retrieved November 29, 2017, from <http://radio.wosu.org/post/metoo-week-aims-fight-sexual-harassment-ohio-state>
- Napolitano, J. (2014). Only yes means yes: An essay on university policies regarding sexual violence and sexual assault. *Yale L. & Pol'y Rev.*, 33, 387.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2018). Fast facts. Retrieved April 7, 2019, from <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=372>
- Natividad, A. (2015). Still don't understand sexual consent? It's like a cup of tea, says this brilliant PSA. *Adweek*. Retrieved from <https://www.adweek.com/creativity/still-dont-understand-sexual-consent-its-cup-tea-says-brilliant-psa-167823/>
- Nonnemaker, J. M., McNeely, C. A., & Blum, R. W. (2003). Public and private domains of religiosity and adolescent health risk behaviors: evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 57(11), 2049–2054. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(03\)00096-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(03)00096-0)
- Norris, J., Nurius, P. S., & Dimeff, L. A. (1996). Through her eyes: Factors affecting women's perception of and resistance to acquaintance sexual aggression threat. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20(1), 123–145. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1996.tb00668.x>
- Oakley, A. (1998). Gender, methodology and people's ways of knowing: Some problems with feminism and the paradigm debate in social science. *Sociology*, 32(4), 707–731.

- Office for Civil Rights. (2001). *Revised sexual harassment guidance: Harassment of students by school employees, other students, or third parties*. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf>
- Oliveira, D. L. de. (2011). The use of focus groups to investigate sensitive topics: An example taken from research on adolescent girls' perceptions about sexual risks. *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva*, 16(7), 3093–3102. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-81232011000800009>
- O'Sullivan, L. F., & Allgeier, E. R. (1998). Feigning sexual desire: Consenting to unwanted sexual activity in heterosexual dating relationships. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 35(3), 234–243. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499809551938>
- O'Sullivan, L. F., Byers, E. S., & Finkelman, L. (1998). A comparison of male and female college students' experiences of sexual coercion. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22(2), 177–195. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1998.tb00149.x>
- Parker, N. (n.d.). Who is Tarana Burke? Meet the woman who started the Me Too movement a decade ago. Retrieved January 13, 2019, from AJC website: <https://www.ajc.com/news/world/who-tarana-burke-meet-the-woman-who-started-the-too-movement-decade-ago/i8NEiuFHKaIvBh9ucukidK/>
- Patton, M. Q. (1982). *Practical evaluation*. SAGE Publications.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Pini, B. (2002). Focus groups, feminist research and farm women: opportunities for empowerment in rural social research. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 18(3), 339–351. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167\(02\)00007-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(02)00007-4)

- Powell, A., & Henry, N. (2017). Digital Justice and Feminist Activism. In A. Powell & N. Henry (Eds.), *Sexual Violence in a Digital Age* (pp. 271–298). https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58047-4_9
- Price, V. (1994). [Review of *Review of "Talking politics,"* by W. A. Gamson]. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 58(1), 147–150.
- Próspero, M., & Vohra-Gupta, S. (2008). The use of mental health services among victims of partner violence on college campuses. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 16(4), 376–390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926770801926450>
- RAINN. (2018). Types of sexual violence. Retrieved March 14, 2018, from <https://www.rainn.org/types-sexual-violence>
- Råssjö, E.-B., & Kiwanuka, R. (2010). Views on social and cultural influence on sexuality and sexual health in groups of Ugandan adolescents. *Sexual & Reproductive Healthcare*, 1(4), 157–162. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.srhc.2010.08.003>
- Reger, J. (2015). The story of a slut walk: Sexuality, race, and generational divisions in contemporary feminist activism. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 44(1), 84–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241614526434>
- Rentschler, C. A. (2014). Rape culture and the feminist politics of social media. *Girlhood Studies*, 7(1), 65–82. <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070106>
- Rodino-Colocino, M. (2018). Me too, #MeToo: Countering cruelty with empathy. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 15(1), 96–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1435083>
- Rose, V. M. (1977). Rape as a social problem: A byproduct of the feminist movement. *Social Problems*, 25(1), 75–89.

- Rothman, E. F., Paruk, J., & Banyard, V. (2018). The escalation dating abuse workshop for college students: Results of an efficacy RCT. *Journal of American College Health*, 66(6), 519–528. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07448481.2018.1431909>
- Roupenian, K. (2017, December 4). Cat person. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/11/cat-person>
- Rozee, P. D., & Koss, M. P. (2001). Rape: A Century of Resistance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 25(4), 295–311. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-6402.00030>
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2012). Of animals and objects: men's implicit dehumanization of women and likelihood of sexual aggression. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(6), 734–746. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212436401>
- Sanday, P. R. (1992). *Fraternity gang rape: Sex, brotherhood, and privilege on campus*. NYU Press.
- Sandler, B. R., & Shoop, R. J. (1997). *Sexual harassment on campus: A guide for administrators, faculty, and students*. Allyn & Bacon, Longwood Division, 160 Gould Street, Needham Heights, MA 02194-2310 (\$32).
- Schoem, D. L., Hurtado, S., & Hurtado, S. (Eds.). (2001). Research and evaluation on intergroup dialogue. In *Intergroup dialogue: deliberative democracy in school, college, community, and workplace* (pp. 22–35). University of Michigan Press.
- Schwartz, M. D., & DeKeseredy, W. (1997). *Sexual assault on the college campus: The role of male peer support*. SAGE Publications.
- Schwarz, A. (2015, January 19). Sorority anti-rape idea: Drinking on own turf. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/20/us/sorority-anti-rape-idea-drinking-on-own-turf.html>

- Searles, P., & Berger, R. J. (1987). Current status of rape legislation: An examination of state statutes. *Women's Rights Law Reporter*, 10, 25.
- Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Teachers College Press.
- Seidman, I., & Vickers, S. (2004). The second wave: An agenda for the next thirty years of rape law reform. *Suffolk UL Rev.*, 38, 467.
- Sherer, M. L. (1993). No longer just child's play: School liability under Title IX for peer sexual harassment. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 141(5), 2119–2168.
- Shih, C. (n.d.). How 18 women responded to “Grace” and the Aziz Ansari allegation - The Lily. Retrieved February 27, 2019, from <https://www.thelily.com> website:
<https://www.thelily.com/how-18-women-responded-to-grace-and-the-aziz-ansari-allegation/>
- Shukman. (2017, September 7). Half of sexual assaults on campus take place in freshman dorms, new figures show. Retrieved April 8, 2019, from The Tab US website:
<https://thetab.com/us/2017/09/07/a-third-of-all-campus-sexual-assaults-happen-in-freshman-dorms-according-to-a-new-71446>
- Sinozich, S., & Langton, L. (2014). *Rape and sexual assault victimization among college-age females, 1995-2013*. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice
- Slaughter, L., Brown, C. R. V., Crowley, S., & Peck, R. (1997). Patterns of genital injury in female sexual assault victims. *American Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology*, 176(3), 609–616. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-9378\(97\)70556-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-9378(97)70556-8)

Smith, D. E. (1997). Comment on Hekman's "Truth and method: Feminist standpoint theory revisited." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2), 392–398.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/495164>

Sochting, I., Fairbrother, N., & Koch, W. J. (2004). Sexual assault of women: Prevention efforts and risk factors. *Violence Against Women*, 10(1), 73–93.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801203255680>

Sokolow, B. A., Schuster, S. K., Lewis, W. S., & Swinton, D. C. (2015). Complying with Title IX by unifying all civil rights-based policies and procedures. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The Crisis of Campus Sexual Violence: Critical Perspectives on Prevention and Response* (pp. 132–150). Routledge.

Steinberg, T. N. (1991). Rape on college campuses: Reform through Title IX. *JC & UL*, 18, 39.

Stephens, B. (2017). Campus Rape, a survivor's story. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/opinion/campus-rape-devos-title-ix.html>

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. SAGE Publications.

Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273–292). Sage Publications.

Sugar, N. F., Fine, D. N., & Eckert, L. O. (2004). Physical injury after sexual assault: Findings of a large case series. *American Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology*, 190(1), 71–76.

[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-9378\(03\)00912-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-9378(03)00912-8)

Suran, E. (2014). Title IX and social media: Going beyond the law. *Mich. J. Gender & L.*, 21, 273.

- Suri, H. (2011). Purposeful Sampling in Qualitative Research Synthesis. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 11(2), 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ1102063>
- Swartout, K. M., Koss, M. P., White, J. W., Thompson, M. P., Abbey, A., & Bellis, A. L. (2015). Trajectory analysis of the campus serial rapist assumption. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 169(12), 1148–1154. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapediatrics.2015.0707>
- Swidler, A. (1993). [Review of *Review of talking politics*, by W. A. Gamson]. *Contemporary Sociology*, 22(6), 810–812. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2075960>
- Sztompka, P. (1994). *Agency and structure: Reorienting social theory*. Gordon and Breach.
- The Chronicle of Higher Education. (n.d.). Campus sexual assault under investigation. Retrieved July 24, 2017, from The Chronicle of Higher Education website: <http://projects.chronicle.com/titleix/>
- Tolman, D. L. (1994). Doing desire: Adolescent girls' struggles for/with sexuality. *Gender & Society*, 8(3), 324–342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124394008003003>
- Tolman, D. L. (2002). *Dilemmas of desire*. Harvard University Press.
- Tolman, D. L. (2012). Female adolescents, sexual empowerment and desire: A missing discourse of gender inequity. *Sex Roles*, 66(11–12), 746–757.
- Travis, C. B. (2003). Talking evolution and selling difference. In C. B. Travis (Ed.), *Evolution, gender, and rape*. MIT Press.
- Twamley, E. W., & Davis, M. C. (1999). The sociocultural model of eating disturbance in young women: The effects of personal attributes and family environment. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 18(4), 467–489. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.1999.18.4.467>

Tweed, A., & Charmaz, K. (2012). Grounded theory methods for mental health practitioners.

Qualitative Research Methods in Mental Health and Psychotherapy: A Guide for Students and Practitioners, 131–146.

United Nations Development Programme. (1994). *Human development report 1994*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

United Nations Human Security Unit. (2009). *Human security in theory & practice* (p. 1).

United States Department Of Justice. Office Of Justice Programs. Bureau Of Justice Statistics.

(2016). National Crime Victimization Survey, 2015 [Data set]. *National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) Series*. <https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR36448.v1>

Vaughn, S., Schumm, J. S., & Sinagub, J. M. (1996). *Focus group interviews in education and psychology*. SAGE.

Wade, L. (2017). *American hookup: The new culture of sex on campus*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Wallace, J. M., & Forman, T. A. (1998). Religion's role in promoting health and reducing risk among American youth. *Health Education & Behavior*, 25(6), 721–741.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/109019819802500604>

Ward, S. K., Chapman, K., Cohn, E., White, S., & Williams, K. (1991). Acquaintance rape and the college social scene. *Family Relations*, 40(1), 65. <https://doi.org/10.2307/585660>

Warner, T. D., Allen, C. T., Fisher, B. S., Krebs, C. P., Martin, S., & Lindquist, C. H. (2018). Individual, behavioral, and situational correlates of the drugging victimization experiences of college women. *Criminal Justice Review*, 43(1), 23–44.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0734016817744606>

- Warr, D. J. (2005). "It was fun... but we don't usually talk about these things": Analyzing sociable interaction in focus groups. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11(2), 200–225.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800404273412>
- Way, K. (2018, January 13). I went on a date with Aziz Ansari. It turned into the worst night of my life. Retrieved February 24, 2019, from babe website:
<https://babe.net/2018/01/13/aziz-ansari-28355>
- Wechsler, H., Kuh, G., & Davenport, A. E. (1996). Fraternities, sororities and binge drinking. *NASPA Journal*, 33(4), 260–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.1996.11072415>
- Weiss, B. (2018, January 15). Aziz Ansari is guilty. Of not being a mind reader. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/15/opinion/aziz-ansari-babe-sexual-harassment.html>
- Wies, J. (2015). Title IX and the state of campus sexual violence in the united states: Power, policy, and local bodies. *Human Organization*, 74(3), 276–286.
- Wilkinson, S. (1998). Focus groups in feminist research: Power, interaction, and the co-construction of meaning. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 111–125. Elsevier.
- Wooten, S. C. (2015). Heterosexist discourses: How feminist theory shaped campus sexual violence policy. In S. C. Wooten & R. W. Mitchell (Eds.), *The crisis of campus sexual violence: Critical perspectives on prevention and response* (pp. 55–74). Routledge.
- Wooten, S. C., & Mitchell, R. W. (2015). Introduction. In *The crisis of campus sexual violence: Critical perspectives on prevention and response* (pp. 15–27). Routledge.
- World Health Organization. (2019). Definition and typology of violence. Retrieved January 13, 2019, from World Health Organization website:
<https://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/>

Wuest, J. (2012). Grounded theory: The method. In P. Munhall (Ed.), *Nursing research* (pp. 225–256). Jones & Bartlett Learning.

Zinn, M. B., & Dill, B. T. (1996). Theorizing difference from multiracial feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 22(2), 321. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178416>

Zuniga, X., Nagda, B., Ratnesh., A., Chesler, M., & Cytron-Walker, A. (2007). *Intergroup dialogue in higher education: Meaningful learning about social justice* (No. Volume 32, Number 4). John Wiley & Sons.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: Focus Group Details

Group 1: Sorority women (1)					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Michelle	21	4	White	No	No
Annemarie	22	4	White	Yes	Yes
Bridget	22	4	White	No	No
Toni	22	4	White	No	No
Alina	21	5	White	No	No

Group 2: Club sports teammates					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Judy	19	2	White	No	No
Viviana	20	2	White	No	No
Hannah	20	2	White	Yes	No
Carlie	20	3	White	No	No
Shevon	20	2	White	No	No

Group 3: Friends from freshman year (1)					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Melinda	20	2	White	No	No
Claire	18	2	White	No	No
Jess	19	2	White	Yes	Yes

Group 4: Students in healthcare field					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Carmen	21	4	African American	Yes	No
Taye	21	4	Biracial	No	No
Kelsey	22	4	Asian	Yes	No
Akira	22	4	White	No	No

Group 5: Friends from freshman year (2)					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Naomi	19	2	White	No	No
Jenna	19	2	White	No	No
Ruby	19	2	White	Yes	Yes

Group 6: Sorority sisters (2)					
-------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Rosemarie	18	2	White	No	No
Helen	18	2	White	No	Yes
Frankie	19	2	White	No	No
Rochelle	19	2	White	No	No
Anisa	19	2	White	No	Yes
Rocky	20	2	White	No	No
Chloe	19	2	Greek	Yes	Yes
Flora	21	4	White	No	No
Wendy	20	2	White	No	No

Group 7: Students in STEM					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Elaine	20	3	Asian	No	Yes
Keiko	20	4	Asian	No	No
Lina	20	4	Asian	No	No

Group 8: Student leaders					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Morgan	20	4	African American	Yes	Yes
Ada	20	4	Korean American	Yes	Yes
June	20	4	White	No	Yes
Alla	20	4	White	No	No

Group 9: Friends from Christian organization					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Adeline	21	4	Asian American	No	No
Jiang	21	4	Vietnamese American	No	No
Annie	21	4	Asian American	No	No
Connie	21	4	Korean American	No	No

Group 10: Varsity sports teammates					
Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Kinley	19	3	White	No	No
Joslyn	19	2	Indian	No	No
Hadley	20	4	White	No	No
Monica	20	3	White	No	No
Georgina	21	4	White	Yes	No

Group 11: Women who are not friends					
-------------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

Name	Age	Year	Race/Ethnicity	Active in Violence Prevention?	Active in Feminist Groups?
Roberta	20	3	Chinese	Yes	Yes
Ruth	22	4	Hispanic	No	No
Elsie	20	3	Hispanic	No	No
Kristi	20	3	Vietnamese	No	No

APPENDIX B: Recruitment Email

Dear [Student],

I hope this email finds you well. I am a PhD candidate, and I am currently recruiting female college students to participate in study IRB-SBS #2018-0159 (my dissertation).

This study is an investigation of women's individual and group perceptions of campus sexual violence - including both its causes and its prevention - and the #MeToo movement.

Because the end of the semester is fast approaching, I am reaching out to a range of student organizations on your campus, which serve the interests and needs of women, to see whether they might be willing to share my announcement among undergraduate women.

I am conducting two rounds of focus groups during Spring and Summer 2018. My first round of focus groups is intended to take place ASAP. If students would prefer, they may instead choose to participate in a focus group during the summer.

Would you be willing to share my recruitment announcement formally, among students who are a part of [your organization/team/class], or informally, with other college women you know? I have attached my flyer and a short email, below, which has more information on the project.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Best Regards,
Jennifer (Jenny) Poole

Hello there! I am a PhD student, and I am currently recruiting female undergraduate students to participate in study IRB-SBS #2018-0159 (my dissertation). This study is an investigation of women's individual and group perceptions of campus sexual violence - including both its causes and its prevention - and their thoughts on the #MeToo movement.

To complete this study, I am looking for **small groups of female college student friends (3 to 8 friends) from a variety of backgrounds** to take part in confidential, 90-minute conversations from May through July 2018. During these focus groups, friends will be asked to talk about their opinions on campus sexual violence and their thoughts on the #MeToo movement.

If you choose to participate, you will receive your choice of food during our meeting, at a time and location that works for you. You will also receive a small coffee shop gift card for your participation.

Groups of female friends who are interested in participating in this study, please contact Jennifer (Jenny) Poole, at [email], or by phone at [phone number].

Kindest regards,
Jenny Poole

[illegible]

APPENDIX D: Organizations & Spaces for Recruiting

More specific organization names and contacts have been redacted for confidentiality

Student Organizations Emailed

Inter-sorority Council (ISC) chapters
Multicultural sororities (Asian American, Latinx, others)
National Pan-Hellenic sororities (Historically Black sororities)
Professional organizations serving women
Women's political/social activism organizations
Women's health programs
Ethnic and multicultural organizations
Women's club sports teams
Women's intercollegiate sports teams
Other clubs serving women

Administrative Contacts Emailed

Women's center administrators
Women's studies program
Residence life contacts
Student health promotion contacts

Physical Spaces for Recruitment

Student health center
Student activities center
Classroom buildings
Campus sidewalks
Student residential areas
Restaurants, bars, and coffee shops near campus
Gyms and fitness studios near campus

APPENDIX E: Social Media Recruitment

Short version for Facebook ad targeted to 19-23 year old women:

Hello there! I am a PhD student and I am currently recruiting female undergraduate students to participate in study IRB-SBS #2018-0159 (my dissertation). This study is an investigation of women's individual and group perceptions of campus sexual violence - including both its causes and its prevention - and their thoughts on the #MeToo movement.

To complete this study, I am looking for small groups of female college student friends from your college (3 to 8 friends) from a variety of backgrounds to take part in confidential, 90-minute conversations from May through July 2018. During these focus groups, friends will be asked to talk about their opinions on campus sexual violence and their thoughts on the #MeToo movement.

Your group will receive your choice of food during our meeting AND \$5 coffee shop gift cards. I am also able to conduct these focus groups at a time and location that is convenient for participants.

Interested participants should contact Jennifer (Jenny) Poole, [email], or [phone].

APPENDIX E: Pre-Focus Group Questionnaire**Campus Sexual Violence & Empowerment Focus Group***Behavioral Pre-Questionnaire*

The purpose of this pre-focus group questionnaire is to provide the researcher(s) with more information to tailor our questions about sexual violence, and your lives as college students. Importantly, this information helps us to pursue diversity in choosing additional groups for inclusion in the study. All answers are confidential, and completely voluntary.

The questions in this pre-focus group questionnaire are designed to be completed as a group. However, you need only enter one person's contact information.

Thanks!

Contact Information for Group Members Please list emails				
Phone # for Main Contact				
Preferred Location for Focus Group	On campus (Reserved by research team) Off-campus (Reserved by researcher) Off-campus (Arranged by participants)			
	Person #1	Person #2	Person #3	Person #4
Year in college (e.g., 1 st year, 2 nd year)				
Active in sexual violence prevention on campus? (Circle one)	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Active in feminist organizations/events on campus?	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Socialize with friends at parties and other social events?	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
Where do you live?	On-campus housing Off-campus housing	On-campus housing Off-campus housing	On-campus housing Off-campus housing	On-campus housing Off-campus housing
Where do you socialize?	Fraternity parties	Fraternity parties	Fraternity parties	Fraternity parties

	Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars
	Apartments	Apartments	Apartments	Apartments
	Dormitories	Dormitories	Dormitories	Dormitories
	House parties hosted by men	House parties hosted by men	House parties hosted by men	House parties hosted by men
	House parties hosted by women	House parties hosted by women	House parties hosted by women	House parties hosted by women
	Other:	Other:	Other:	Other:

APPENDIX F: Focus Group Consent Form

Informed Consent Agreement

Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to better understand how female college students construct sexual violence, both with and without the use of institutional definitions. This includes their definitions of sexual violence while in college, their interest in sexual violence prevention, and their empowerment related to sexual violence as it faces themselves and their friends.

What you will do in the study:

1. You will complete a pre-focus group questionnaire, which asks for your background information.
2. You will participate in a focus group, consisting of a series of open-ended questions related to your perspectives on sexual violence. All focus groups will be audio-recorded, and there will be a note-taker on-hand for each group. At the end, you will be asked to take part in a 30 second poll via text message.
- Immediately following the focus group (within 48 hours), you **may** be invited to participate in a follow-up conversation with the researcher, if you have additional thoughts to share. This is entirely optional, and has no impact on your receipt of your gift card. Your responses will be recorded either via email, or through audio recording.
- As this research begins to wrap-up (within 2-3 months), you may be asked to participate in a short follow-up interview (approximately 20% of focus group participants). This is to confirm/disconfirm 3-6 themes from across focus groups after they emerge. Once again, this is entirely optional, and has no impact on your receipt of your gift card. Your responses in this interview will be audio recorded.

Time required: The time required for participation is as follows:

- For the pre-group survey: 5 minutes.
- For the focus group participation: 90 minutes.
- For the follow-up conversation (if you choose to take part): 20 minutes.
- For the follow-up interview (if you choose to take part): 45 minutes.

Risks: As with any study involving a relatively small data set, there is a risk that your responses may be traced back to you. To minimize this risk, all information in this study will be de-identified and kept confidential per the procedures listed below.

There may be instances when conversations about campus sexual violence turn towards victimization, and may bring up difficult feelings and/or past experiences. **You do not need to divulge your past experiences with sexual violence in this study.** Anything you say will be treated with confidentiality by researchers. However, it is not required that you will share this personal information. The data that will be used in the course of the project relates to your perspectives, opinions, interactions, and discourse related to campus sexual violence.

To ease any burdens associated with this research, your facilitator has been trained in mental health first aid and supporting sexual assault survivors. She is also an active facilitator for positive bystander trainings. If you request additional support, the researcher can work with you to find it.

Know that if you are a student who has experienced sexual assault while in college, you have rights. More information on students' rights under Title IX are available at [website redacted].

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you in participating.

Confidentiality: Because of the nature of the data collection – through focus groups – the researcher cannot guarantee that your data will be confidential. It will be possible for others in each focus group to know what you have reported. Focus group participants will be constantly reminded that they are not to repeat or divulge what they discuss during the focus group dialogues. However, the researcher is also limited in her ability to protect your privacy among other members who engage with you in the focus group discussion.

With regards to your personal information and insights, the researcher will handle the information that you share in the study **confidentially**. Your personal information will not be shared across focus groups, nor will it be shared outside of the research context. In the final report, themes will be reported in aggregate. Any individual data that is used in the final report – names, locations, group affiliations, majors, etc. – will be disguised through the use of pseudonyms. Quotes will be de-identified as well. Any files that contain your information are kept in password-protected file storage through the duration of the study. Audio files will be destroyed once they are transcribed.

This confidential treatment of information, when it is possible, extends to participants' disclosure of past experiences with sexual violence. You are free to share your thoughts on and experiences with sexual violence without worry that these past experiences will be reported to administrators.

If the researcher expects that any participants exhibit a current and immediate risk for self-harm, as a matter of ethics, she will reach out to the student to discuss next steps. This may include the involvement of a professional from the student health center.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary.

Right to withdraw from the study: You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

How to withdraw from the study: If you want to withdraw from the study before it is complete, please tell the researcher directly. If you would like to withdraw during the focus group and/or interview, while it is recording, please let the researcher know that you would like to stop the recording. If you would like to withdraw after you have participated in the group and/or one of the follow-up interviews, please contact Jennifer Poole at the contact information listed below.

There is no penalty for withdrawing. You will still receive your \$5 gift card for the study.

Payment: You will receive a \$5 coffee gift card at the conclusion of the study, and food during the focus group discussion. There is no payment for the follow-up interviews.

APPENDIX G: Pre-Focus Group Questionnaire

The purpose of this pre-focus group questionnaire is to provide the researcher(s) with more information about focus group participants as a whole. Importantly, this information helps us to pursue diversity in choosing additional groups for inclusion in the study. All answers are confidential, and completely voluntary. If you do not want to answer a particular question, just skip it!

Age: _____

Year in college (e.g., 1st, 2nd year): _____

Race/ethnicity: _____

Active in sexual violence prevention on campus? (Y/N) _____

Active in feminist organizations/events on campus? (Y/N) _____

Gender description (Please check one):

- ☐ Cisgender student
- ☐ Transgender student
- ☐ Gender non-conforming student
- ☐ Other: _____

Where do you live?

- ☐ On campus
- ☐ Off-campus

Where do you spend time socializing on weekend evenings?

- ☐ Fraternity parties
- ☐ Bars
- ☐ Apartments
- ☐ Dormitories
- ☐ House parties hosted by men
- ☐ House parties hosted by women
- ☐ Other: _____

APPENDIX H: Focus Group Discussion Protocol – Version 1**[PRIOR TO STARTING THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT]**

The purpose of this focus group is to better understand how female college students construct sexual violence, with or without the use of institutional definitions. This includes:

1. How college women perceive sexual violence as a social problem, especially in light of #MeToo.
2. How college women perceive the impacts of such violence on themselves, and their female friends/community.
3. How and why college women perceive sexual violence as something for women to prevent, intervene into, and redress.
4. How and why college women perceive sexual violence as something for institutions to prevent, intervene into, and redress.

During this 90-minute focus group, you will be asked a series of open-ended questions about your perceptions of sexual violence during your time in college. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you would like to withdraw before the focus group is completed, just let me know and I will turn off the digital recorder.

There may be instances when conversations about campus sexual violence turn towards victimization, and may bring up difficult feelings and/or past experiences. **You do not need to divulge your past experiences with sexual violence in this study.** Anything you say will be treated with confidentiality by the researchers, per the rules of the Institutional Review Board. However, it is not required that you share this personal information. The data that will be used in the course of the project relates to your perspectives, opinions, interactions, and discourse related to campus sexual violence.

The researcher also does not have the ability to protect your privacy among other members within this room. To allow people to speak freely, I ask you not to repeat or divulge what is discussed outside of this focus group. However, I cannot control what others do once we are outside of the focus group setting.

Before we begin, I just wanted to take a moment to say thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. As we proceed through the focus group, please let me know if you do not understand any of the questions – as I am happy to rephrase and/or explain them. **Also, you should please feel free to take breaks at any time.**

I am going to turn on the recording device now **[TURN ON THE DIGITAL RECORDER]**.

Today is **[STATE FULL DATE, I.E., FRIDAY, JULY 11, 2018]**. This is focus group # **[STATE INTERVIEW NUMBER]**. This focus group is being conducted as part of a research

project on female college students and their perceptions of sexual violence, especially in light of the #MeToo movement.

Exploring definitions: College women and sexual violence. (40 minutes)

[Provide women with a copy of the Bari Weiss Op-Ed, “Aziz Ansari Is Guilty. Of Not Being a Mind Reader.” (January 15, 2018)]

1. To begin, I just wanted to share this article with you – some of you may have read it, some of you may not. Take a couple of minutes to read it, and then we can go ahead and have a discussion on what you think.
 - a. **[After reading]:** What do you think?
 - b. **Follow-up questions:**
 - c. Why do you feel this way?
2. Now I want you to think about the kinds of things that you feel like you might put under a #MeToo hash-tag, on behalf of female college students.
 - a. **If not addressed:**
 - b. Would you call these things sexual violence? Or something else?
 - c. Why do you feel that way?
3. Now that we have gone through and listed the previous items, are there any that you think face you while in college?
 - a. **If needed:** Can you be more specific?
 - b. **If not addressed:**
 - c. Do you think alcohol (or other substances) play a role in your perceptions, here?
 - d. Where would this violence play out?
 - e. Who do you think might perpetrate this kind of thing? I don’t need names; just the kinds of people you perceive might be responsible.

Discussing sexual violence that impacts women and their communities, as they’ve defined it (if they indicated that substance use/alcohol plays a part, please keep this in mind). (35 minutes)

1. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **prevent** such violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] before it happens?
 - a. **If needed:** What do you think has informed your understanding of prevention, in this regard?
 - b. **Only if not addressed:**
 - c. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **prevent** such things before they happen to you?
 - d. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **prevent** such things before they happen to your friends, or even strangers?
 - e. Sometimes it can be hard to know what is happening and what to do, to **prevent** such things. Are there times when it would seem especially hard to do so?

2. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **intervene** into such violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] while it is taking place, on your behalf?
 - a. **If needed:** What do you think has informed your understanding of intervention, in this regard?
 - b. **Only if not addressed:**
 - c. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **intervene** into such things while they are taking place, on behalf of your friends?
 - d. How about people you don't know? Is it the same, or different?
 - e. Sometimes it can be hard to know what is happening and what to do, to **prevent** such things. Are there times when it would seem especially hard to do so?
3. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **redress** in this this kind of violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] after it happens, should it happen to you?
 - a. **If needed:** Where do you think you have gotten these ideas, re: how to redress such things?
 - b. **Only if not addressed:**
 - c. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **redress** such things after they happen, should they happen to your friends? How about people you don't know? Is it the same, or different?
 - d. Sometimes it can be hard to know what is happening and what to do, following such things. Are there times when it would seem especially hard to do so?
4. What feels most helpful and/or empowering to you all, when you think about dealing with such violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] before, during, or after it happens?
 - a. **If needed:** What do you believe are your strengths and/or capacities for addressing such things now?

Discussing the role of universities. (10 minutes)

Thinking back to the impacts of sexual violence on the lives of college women, and the ways to protect women like you from such violence...

1. How do you think institutions play a role in protecting women related to such violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] while in college, if at all?
 - a. If so, how? Institutions, norms, policies, education?
 - b. If not, why not?
2. How do you think institutions play a role in empowering women related to such violence [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] on their own behalf?
 - a. If so, how? Institutions, norms, policies, education?
 - b. If not, why not?

Conclusion (5 minutes)

Thank you for your time and participation today, I really appreciate it. Just a couple of follow-up items before we adjourn: I have a short poll for you to fill out, which you will receive as a text message sometime soon.

As a reminder: We have also (kindly!) asked that you do not repeat or divulge what is discussed outside of this focus group. While we have no control of what happens outside of this room, it is out of respect for everyone's participation in today's group.

After the data collection and analysis for this study are complete, I will share the top themes of this research with participants, too.

If you have additional friends whom you think would like to participate, please feel free to pass along the information about this opportunity, including my contact information: [email] or [phone].

APPENDIX I: Focus Group Discussion Protocol – Version 2**[PRIOR TO STARTING THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT]**

The purpose of this focus group is to better understand how female college students construct sexual violence, with or without the use of institutional definitions. This includes:

1. How college women perceive sexual violence as a social problem, especially in light of #MeToo.
2. How college women perceive the impacts of such violence on themselves, and their female friends/community.
3. How and why college women perceive such violence as something for women to prevent, intervene into, and redress.
4. How and why college women perceive such violence as something for institutions to prevent, intervene into, and redress.

During this 90-minute focus group, you will be asked a series of open-ended questions about your perceptions of sexual violence during your time in college. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you would like to withdraw before the focus group is completed, just let me know and I will turn off the digital recorder.

There may be instances when conversations about campus sexual violence turn towards victimization, and may bring up difficult feelings and/or past experiences. **You do not need to divulge your past experiences with sexual violence in this study. You may, if you choose to do so.** Anything you say will be treated with confidentiality by the researchers, per the rules of the Institutional Review Board. However, it is not required that you share this personal information. The data that will be used in the course of the project relates to your perspectives, opinions, interactions, and discourse related to campus sexual violence.

The researcher also does not have the ability to protect your privacy among other members within this room. To allow people to speak freely, I ask you not to repeat or divulge what is discussed outside of this focus group. However, I cannot control what others do once we are outside of the focus group setting.

Before we begin, I just wanted to take a moment to say thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. As we proceed through the focus group, please let me know if you do not understand any of the questions – as I am happy to rephrase and/or explain them. **Also, you should please feel free to take breaks at any time.**

I am going to turn on the recording device now **[TURN ON THE DIGITAL RECORDER]**.

Today is **[STATE FULL DATE, I.E., FRIDAY, JULY 11, 2018]**. This is focus group # **[STATE INTERVIEW NUMBER]**. This focus group is being conducted as part of a research

project on female college students and their perceptions of sexual violence, especially in light of the #MeToo movement.

Exploring definitions: College women and sexual violence. (40 minutes)

[Provide women with a copy of the Bari Weiss Op-Ed, “Aziz Ansari Is Guilty. Of Not Being a Mind Reader.” (January 15, 2018)]

1. To begin, I just wanted to share this article with you – some of you may have read it, some of you may not. Take a couple of minutes to read it, and then we can go ahead and have a discussion on what you think.
 - a. **[After reading]:** What do you think?
 - b. **Follow-up questions:**
 - c. Why do you feel this way?
2. Now I want you to think about the kinds of things that you feel like you might put under a #MeToo hash-tag, on behalf of yourselves, and female college students in general.
 - a. **If not addressed:**
 - b. Why do you feel that way?
 - c. Ask for specifics.

Discussing sexual violence that impacts women and their communities, as they’ve defined it (if they indicated that substance use/alcohol plays a part, please keep this in mind). (35 minutes)

1. In what ways do you act, or think about acting, to **preventing/addressing/redressing** such things [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence]?
2. Sometimes it can be hard to know what is happening and what to do, to **prevent or address** such things. Are there times when it would seem especially hard to do so?
3. What feels most helpful and/or empowering to you all, when you think about dealing with the kinds of things we’ve been talking about, under #MeToo?
 - b. **If needed:** What do you believe are your strengths and/or capacities for addressing such things now?

Discussing the role of universities. (10 minutes) [IF NOT ADDRESSED]

Thinking back to the impacts of sexual violence on the lives of college women, and the ways to protect women like you from such violence...

1. What do you think the role of the university is, related to the things you’ve described earlier [use their language surrounding sexual violence/#MeToo if they do not use the term violence] while in college, if at all?
 - a. If so, how? Institutions, norms, policies, education?
 - b. If not, why not?

Conclusion (5 minutes)

1. Is there anything else you would like to share, prior to the conclusion of this focus group?

Thank you for your time and participation today, I really appreciate it. Just a couple of follow-up items before we adjourn: I have a short poll for you to fill out, which you will receive as a text message sometime soon.

As a reminder: We have also (kindly!) asked that you do not repeat or divulge what is discussed outside of this focus group. While we have no control of what happens outside of this room, it is out of respect for everyone's participation in today's group.

After the data collection and analysis for this study are complete, I will share the top themes of this research with participants, too.

If you have additional friends whom you think would like to participate, please feel free to pass along the information about this opportunity, including my contact information: [email] or [phone].

APPENDIX J: Post-Focus Group Text Message Survey

Hello there! Thank you for participating in yesterday's focus group. On a scale from 1 to 5, do you feel that you were able to share all that you wanted to share during the focus group? Option 1 is "Not at all," Option 2 is "A little," Option 3 is "Somewhat," Option 4 is "Mostly," and Option 5 is "Definitely."

Please text your response to [this number] which will record your response.

APPENDIX K: Focus Group Note-Taking Worksheet

This worksheet is reproduced from musicologist and anthropologist Lorena Gibson's (2013) *Anthropod* blog post, "Field Note Template." Source: <https://anthropod.net/2013/08/14/a-template-for-writing-fieldnotes/>

[DETAILS]

Focus #:

Group Date: _____

[DESCRIPTION]

Who/what/when/where/why

[REFLECTIONS]

Reflect on the day's experiences, writing about how I might have influenced events, what went wrong (and what I could do differently next time), and how I feel about the process.

[EMERGING QUESTIONS/ANALYSES]

Note questions I might ask, potential lines of inquiry, and theories that might be useful. This is where I start to do some analytical work.

[FUTURE ACTION]

This is a 'to-do' list of actions.

APPENDIX L: Operational Memo Sample

Preparing categories from codes:

1. Preparing codes for substantive and theoretical "heft" as categories.
2. Beginning to add dimension to focused and substantive codes as possible analytical categories (see Memo 2)
3. Coding FG's 4-5, and then combing back through codes from 1-3, using the structure outlined in Methodological Memo 2
4. Conducted free writing (on substantive areas re: #metoo)
5. Meet with methodological committee member to get insight re: elevating codes into categories, in a way that I can use the codes to approach theory. Wrote a note on the meeting, tabled her thoughts.
 - a. Offered voice/narrative as a way to get at categories, eventual concepts. Create "buckets" based on different "voices" by women
 - b. Offered the focus group setting as categorical
6. Decision to add narrative components to coding/code for focus group setting, including:
 - a. We-poem
7. Reviewed areas of internal/conflicted thinking by participants/areas of discord among participants/Moments when participants move from #metoo to not #metoo
8. Decided to revisit feminist theory to answer the question, in round two, of "What is this a study of?", while taking into account committee members' comments on voice, and prior parking lot for agency concepts. Up until this point, I am VERY unfamiliar with the concept of agency, other than it is a thing that pertains to sexual violence and feminist views on it.
 - a. Read Laura Ahearn's article on "Agency," which is a meta-analysis of theoretical perspectives on agency.
 - b. Write memo on the potential of Ahearn's article for this study

Memo Title:

Date:

Focus Group:

Questions to consider (Circle all that pertain):

- What is this data a study of?
- What does the data suggest? Pronounce?
- From whose point of view? Points of view?
- What theoretical directions does this data point to?

Memo Text:

Pithy category ideas:

APPENDIX J: Focused Coding Notes

Memo title:

Date:

Code name (gerund):

Questions:

- What process(as) is/are at issue here? How can I define it?
- How does this process develop?
- How does the research participant(s) act while involved in this process?
- What does the research participant(s) profess to think and feel while involved in this process? What might his or her observed behavior indicate?
- When, why, and how does the process change?
- What are the consequences of the process?

Memo text and narrative:

APPENDIX K: Exploring CategoriesMemo title:Step 1: Naming the category

Category name:	
-----------------------	--

Step 2: Considerations

Code(s) subsumed under the category	
Conditions surrounding the category – when does it arise/change:	
Relationship(s) to prior theory/sensitizing concepts:	
Properties/dimensions:	
Consequence(s) of the category:	
Relationship to other categories in the data:	
Emerging subcategories:	

Step 3: Narrative (including the use of quotations)

APPENDIX L: Asking ‘Axial’ Questions of Categories

Category Name:

Category Context:

“When, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences” do categories arise in my data?

Interactional/actional strategies within the category?

Properties? Dimensions? Other Notes?

APPENDIX M: Operational Memo Example**Narrative:**

Initial coding takes off through a series of codes that are based on the different sections of my protocol.

1. Reacting to article about Aziz Ansari, Bari Weiss, and "bad sex" commentary.
2. Shifting gears to talk about the kinds of things that women would, after this discussion, put under a #Metoo hashtag on behalf of female college students. (I use the term "kinds," so they do a sort of cataloging, even as they are negotiating).
3. Providing ideas on the ways that they resist sexual violence on behalf of themselves, and their friends
4. Talking about what the institution does or could do to better support their resistance to sexual violence, or "women's #MeToo's"

At this point, I had 183 codes. Most were "in vivo," with some being gerunds. The gerunds include:

- Defining (including "unmasking")
- Negotiating (which is used more than once)
- Discussing
- Describing
- Recommending
- And "putting self in another's' shoes."

The rest were in vivo codes, which I (based on the sheer volume of in vivo codes alone), began to consolidate as I coded.

Based on the four areas of my questionnaire, the buckets that I have for in vivo codes include:

1. Responding to the article about Aziz, written by Bari Weiss, and her take on what it means to label "bad sex" as part of the #metoo movement:
 - a. Negotiating the boundaries of #metoo - "What qualifies?"
 - b. Negotiating Aziz's duties in a sexual situation (which matches up with what women suggest men's duties are under the #Metoo movement)/a man's duties to a woman in this kind of "Gray" situation
 - c. Negotiating the responsibilities of women to men in a sexual situation, which has not yet progressed to violence or completed sex
 - d. Recalling women's subjectivity in sexual situations
 - e. Assigning blame to Aziz
2. Constructing #MeToo's on behalf of college women - incidents of sexual violence, harassment, or "misconduct" (which seems to capture the rest)

- a. Types of violence, harassment, unwanted attention, disrespect - physical and language-based. Women's inability to wear what they want, or walk by themselves - self-regulating for fear of unwanted attention.
 - b. A normalized culture/cultural problem related to women and sex
 - c. The role of men in college women's #MeToo's - perpetuating, having a duty to women
 - d. Duty of men in sexual situations (relation to women) as distinct from duty of men in sexual violence, harassment, misconduct (violation)
3. Resisting sexual violence and harassment on behalf of themselves and their friends
4. Negotiating possible solutions to sexual violence - Consent and respect, and male/female/institutional roles in it
 - a. Consent - what it is, what it isn't, whose responsible for consensual sexual activity (men, women, both)
 - b. Respect and language
 - c. The role of the institution

APPENDIX N: Audit Meeting for Dissertation – Schedule and Materials

Share the instrument, the materials that each focus group was given, and my overall sentiments about the 11 groups (brief snapshot of the groups)

Walk you through the process that I used to code and organize my data

Show you the resultant grounded theory (sans rich descriptive text)

Provide ample time for comments about what doesn't make sense/needs improvement

Types of “breadcrumbs” for audit:

- Date: ethnographic memos + transcripts for each FG (1-11)
- Memos:
 - o Decision trail memos (report out of the work of each section's) (green)
 - o Personal memos (reflexive, interpretive, freewriting memos - a place to set aside my preconceptions) (red)
 - o Methodological memos (process-oriented) (blue)
 - o Analytical memos (conceptual, theoretical) (yellow)

Sections of audit:

* Sample of ethnographic memo, transcript, and core reflexive memo (answering the questions for myself)

1. Developing codes and early categories
 - a. Decision trail for developing early, substantive codes (lots of in vivo codes) and moving to focused codes
 - b. Personal memo
 - c. Methodological memo for developing early and focused codes
 - i. At this point – began to consider the need to consider how to shape a vast array of in vivo and substantive codes into a grounded theory – using the concept of a “process” from Charmaz.
 - d. The exploration of early codes as categories.
 - i. How I began to increase the theoretical heft of the theory, by thinking of the interconnections between in vivo and substantive codes.
2. Developing categories (pre-concepts, substantive categories)
 - a. Decision trail for developing categories from codes
 - b. Personal memos
 - i. Cataloging college women's #MeToo's
 - ii. #MeToo as a discursive space – what is it?
 - iii. Notes after meeting with mentor
 - iv. Wondering about various theoretical ideas...
 - c. Methodological memo – circling the NVivo codes around the process of the focus groups
 - i. Decision – code for the process of the FG discussion, connect codes via the FG process
 - ii. Brought in Glaser and Strauss Coding families – conditions, interactions/actions, consequences of a process
 - d. Analytical memos – early ones on conditions and actions/interactions

- i. **Major shift – bringing in concept of agency and language from Ahearn (2010)**
- 3. Developing theoretical core concepts
 - a. Decision trail for sorting codes, categories into concepts, using Ahearn’s work on agency
 - b. Personal memos
 - i. Freewriting memo – bringing agency theory into the study; recognition theory
 - ii. Issues with intersectionality in sampling
 - iii. Narrative re: agency
 - c. Methodological memos
 - i. Bringing in narrative components – “we poem” – to preserve voice of each group
 - ii. Revisiting line-by-line coding for groups
 - d. Analytical memos
 - i. Preparing for a big sort related to agency (resistance) and praxis (sexual violence/non-consent/harassment).
 - ii. Bringing in concepts of assigning/negotiating blame and/or responsibility (in vivo codes)
 - iii. Revisiting research questions – shifted
 - iv. Development of core concepts
 - v. **Light bulb moments notes re: agency and discourse**
- 4. Bringing in axial coding
 - a. Sorting in “the big sort” using an axis
 - b. Analytical memos

APPENDIX O: Second Member Check MaterialsEmail Sent – November 2018:

Hi Participant,

I hope this email finds you well. I wanted to reach out to you to share the initial findings of my dissertation study, which has begun to take shape as a result of your focus group participation earlier this year.

The tentative, working title of this study is "Female College Students Constructing Campus Sexual Violence and Women's Oppositional Agency: A Study Under #MeToo." The attached does not contain the results and discussion typed up in full, but rather, includes a bulleted summation of many themes, which will be put together in a narration as I begin writing ASAP.

I share these themes with you for two reasons. First, I share these themes with you so that you may offer your feedback as contributor and essential part of this research. If you have substantive feedback, I ask that you send it to me by next Friday, November 19.

Please note: The attached includes a long list of themes, and they are not specific to your focus group. Your group may not have touched on all of the domains in this study, under #MeToo, and that's fine - I only ask that you consider offering your feedback on those domains that came up in your group conversation. Also: If you don't have substantive feedback, that's completely fine too!

Second, I share the attached as a thank you for your participation: to give you insight into the kind of study that is shaping up as a result of your help and participation. This would not have been possible, without your willingness to work with me to comprise a focus group. By sending you this email, you are one of the first people to see this research take shape, other than myself. Thank you so much for your participation.

Kindest regards,
Jenny

Findings Outline For Participant Review – November 2018

Statement of purpose: The purpose of this study was to explore and emancipate ways in which, female college students' construct campus sexual violence, and their opposition to such violence.

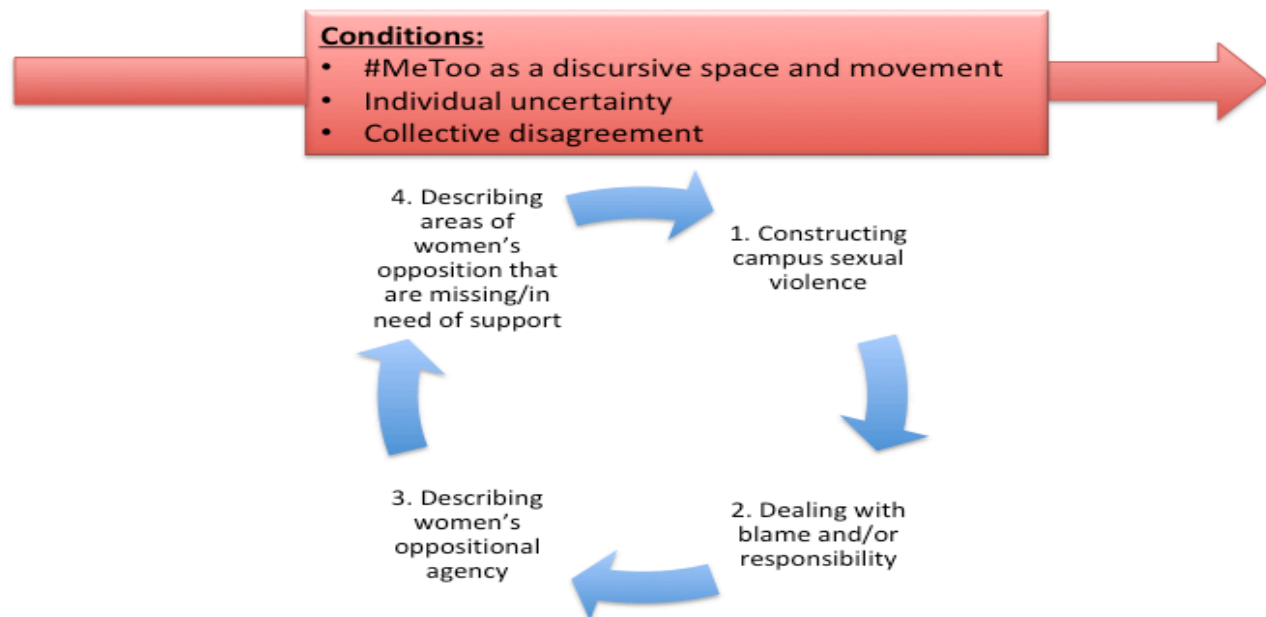
Research questions: What is the discursive process by which, female college students negotiate campus sexual violence, and construct their opposition to campus sexual violence? This includes:

- How do female college students describe campus sexual violence as a series of problematic practices?
- How do female college students construct their *oppositional agency* (Ahearn, 2010, p. 31), related to campus sexual violence?

- How do female college students perceive #MeToo serve as a discursive space for thinking and talking about campus sexual violence, and oppositional forms of agency?

Findings: Female college students' constructing campus sexual violence and women's oppositional agency under #MeToo.

The process of women constructing campus sexual violence and oppositional agency in conversation about #MeToo:



The findings (categorized into conditions and four different domains):

The conditions surrounding women's theorizing:

- **Women's perceptions of #MeToo as a discursive space and movement.**
- In this study, participants were asked to begin focus group discussions by negotiating #MeToo as a discursive space, through a specific example – *New York Times'* Op-Ed, *Aziz Ansari Is Guilty. Of Not Being a Mind Reader* (Weiss, 2018).
- As participants moved through the conversation, they ultimately constructed and delimited #MeToo as a discursive space through a series of parameters:
 - A space for uncovering everyday occurrences of sexual violence (9/11 groups)
 - A space that is delimited by women's own interpretations of their problematic sexual encounters and sexual violence (8/11 groups)
 - A space for empowering and supporting women (6/11 groups)
 - A space for disclosing victimization (5/11 groups)
 - Others (not as frequent): A space for survivors of rape and sexual assault **only** (5/11); A space that is constructed so that men will listen (5/11); A space that is understood through power imbalances (4/11).
- Participants also articulated concerns about #MeToo, as a discursive space.

- Participants described apprehension about undermining or minimizing the movement, if and when experiences other than rape and sexual assault are allowed to define #MeToo (8/11)
- Participants also expressed hesitation at the intersection of male feelings, and the #MeToo movement. More precisely, they considered #MeToo as a space that makes room for the experiences of male victims, and weighed the concerns of men as bystanders who feel alienated by the #MeToo movement.
- In doing so, participants expressed uncertainty as to what #MeToo is: as a social movement, and the concept of victimization under #MeToo.
 - As a social movement – Participants held competing ideas, regarding #MeToo as a space for recognizing all forms of victimization experienced by women, or #MeToo is a space for recognizing those experiences that qualify as the “most severe,” like rape and sexual assault (discussed in 6/11 groups)
 - Talking about these uncertainties caused some participants to shift their understandings of #MeToo (8/11)
 - The “fit” of women’s victimization with #MeToo – Participants lacked language for describing women’s experiences as those that “fit” under #MeToo, when these experiences did not clearly fit pre-established definitions and understandings of rape or sexual assault (7/11). They also expressed doubt that their own experiences are those that “fit” (6/11) – even when these experiences, by definition, qualify as attempted sexual assault.

Domain 1: Sexual violence perpetration and personal security

1. Constructing the practice of sexual violence perpetration (11/11)
 - a. Participants categorized the practice of sexual violence perpetration through the following:
 - i. Feeling fear of sexual violence perpetration; The experience of harassment by male peers. Mostly, these descriptions centered on unwanted touching and attention from male students at parties and bars (9/11), but also catcalling by male students (4/11).
 - ii. Rape and attempted or completed sexual assault as forms of sexual violence that female college students experience at ECHU. (9/11)
 - iii. Other ways that female college students’ characterized sexual violence included:
 1. Coerced sex, in which a fellow male student forces himself onto you (4/11)
 2. Controlling partner/intimate partner violence (4/11)
 3. Physical assault linked to the sexual intentions of male students (2/11)
2. Dealing with blame and responsibility related to sexual violence perpetration (6/11)
 - a. Removing blame and responsibility for sexual violence perpetration (5/11)
 - i. Participants removed blame from male peers, in the perpetration of sexual violence (5/11). This appeared to be a case of needing intent to assign blame to a male peer as a perpetrator (5/11).

1. Participants also experienced disagreement and uncertainty, related to assigning blame to male students regarding sexual violence perpetration (5/11).
- b. Assigning blame and responsibility for sexual violence perpetration (4/11)
 - i. Participants assigned responsibility to female college students, with regards to protecting themselves from sexual violence. Participants also engaged in self-blame, related to their experience with sexual violence. (2/11)
 1. At the same time, participants disputed the understanding of women as responsible for prevention and risk management related to sexual violence perpetration (3/11).
3. Describing their opposition to sexual violence through protection (9/11)
 - a. Participants described opposition to sexual violence as a process of managing the risk of sexual violence perpetration (7/11). This managing of risk included: sharing their location with friends on their phones; finding safety in numbers; and pursuing safety efforts while walking around and near campus at night.
 - b. Participants also described taking a defensive stance related to sexual violence (9/11). This included carrying a weapon (pepper spray, a Taser) (5), and receiving protective assistance from male peers (4).
4. Missing areas of women's agency re: protecting themselves from violence perpetration
 - a. Participants described female college students as lacking knowledge of sexual violence perpetration (10/11), including knowledge of perpetrators (4/11), and missing language/terms to describe sexual violence (4/11).
 - b. Participants also described a lack of conversation around the topic of sexual violence, for female college students (6/11). They described these conversations as missing between students, and between students and their family members.

Domain 2: Non-consensual sex between students and achieving consensual sex together (supra-individual agency)

1. Constructing the practice of non-consensual sex between students (8/11)
 - a. Participants characterized non-consensual sex between students through the experiences of emotional manipulation between male and female students (5/11), the pursuit of sex with incapacitated peers (4/11), the experience of being "ghosted" by a sexual partner, and miscommunication by a partner in sex.
2. Dealing with blame and responsibility regarding non-consensual sex between students
 - a. Uncertainty regarding blame/responsibility for non-consensual sex between students:
 - i. Participants expressed uncertainty related to who, exactly, is responsible or worthy of blame, related to non-consensual sex between students (4/11). This was particularly true when alcohol was involved.
 - ii. When they were able to assign blame/responsibility related to non-consensual sex between students, they assigned it to both male and female students (3/11).
 1. Participants assigned responsibility to male students to ask for consent in sex with peers, and to be aware of their power in sex.

2. Participants assigned responsibility to female students to recognize that consent is a relationship with male students, to do communicate verbally with men. Participants also engaged in self-blame, as women, in their experiences with non-consensual sex.
- b. Removing blame for non-consensual sex between students:
 - i. Participants removed blame from male students related to non-consensual sex between students. They described male students as lacking malevolence in their contribution to non-consensual sex between students, and deficient in knowledge of what consensual sex is.
3. Describing opposition to non-consensual sex between students, by achieving consensual sex together (a supra-individual form of sexual agency)
 - a. Participants described opposing non-consensual sex between students, through the pursuit and achievement of affirmative and continuous consensual sex between students (6/11).
 - b. Participants also described opposing non-consensual sex between students, through clear communication between students, leading up to and during sex (4/11).
4. Missing areas of women's agency re: achieving consensual sex with male students
 - a. Participants described missing knowledge and strategies for how to communicate with their peers, in order to achieve consensual sex between students (9/11). This was particularly true, in describing their attempts to achieve consensual sex with male students.
 - b. Missing knowledge:
 - i. Participants described a lack of knowledge about their peers, as current and potential sexual partners (6/11).
 - ii. Participants described uncertainty as to what constitutes the achievement of consensual sex between students, and how to distinguish it from non-consensual sex (7/11).
 - c. Missing strategies:
 - i. Participants described a lack of a shared definition of consensual sex among students, as potential sexual partners for each other.
 1. Participants acknowledged that male peers hold misperceptions of what constitutes sexual consent between students, and that this stands in the way of achieving a consensual sexual partnership with their male peers (7/11).
 2. Participants described alcohol as a confounding factor in these misperceptions, too.

Domain 3: Misrecognition and recognizing others

1. Constructing their experiences with misrecognition (misrecognition being, the social subordination of victims of sexual violence, and women) (11/11)
 - a. Participants characterized the social subordination of victims, on their college campus, as the following:
 - i. Participants described the ignoring of victims' stories and voices, as they attempt to describe their victimization experiences (11/11).

- ii. Participants described the university's failure to assert sexual violence as a problem, in an acknowledgment of victims (10/11). This included:
 - 1. The failure to adequately deal with sexual violence perpetration and perpetrators, on behalf of victims (4/11).
 - 2. The institution acting in a limited/minimal/reactive way, related to addressing sexual violence on behalf of victims (i.e., what happens when victims report their experiences with sexual violence, the use of inconsequential online modules in violence prevention) (6/11).
 - 3. The institution actively suppressing a more public, campus-wide acknowledgment of victimization (4/11).
 - iii. Participants also described a practice of victim-blaming (8/11), particularly as it is conducted by male students (4/11), but also as it is conducted by women.
 - b. Participants characterized the social subordination of women, on their college campus, as follows:
 - i. Participants described the ignoring of women's stories and voices, as they attempt to describe their problematic, gendered, sexual experiences (7/11). This included:
 - 1. The university's refusal to disrupt problematic, male peer subcultures, including those that exist among fraternities.
 - ii. Participants described the practice of blaming female college students for problematic sexual practices on their campus, including but not limited to sexual violence (7/11). This includes:
 - 1. Charging female students with the responsibility of risk-avoidance, related to these practices (6/11).
 - iii. Participants described a practice of disrespectful language being used towards female college students, especially as it is used by male students male students (6/11).
- 2. Dealing with blame and responsibility regarding misrecognition:
 - a. Assigning blame and responsibility related to misrecognition:
 - i. Participants assigned the responsibility of recognizing victims, and other women, to fellow female students. This included recognizing victims' and their stories, supporting other women, and educating their male peers to do both (6/11).
 - ii. Participants assigned blame for misrecognition of victims and women, to the university (5/11). More precisely, participants described the university as having a responsibility to acknowledge victims, including creating consequences for perpetrators. Participants also described the university as having a responsibility to women and their problematic, gendered, sexual experiences, including disrupting problematic male peer subcultures that lead to the misrecognition of women.
 - iii. Participants assigned blame and responsibility for misrecognition of victims and women, to male students (4/11). Participants assigned blame to male students for disrespecting women, and refusing to listen women. Participants also assigned responsibility to male students, in supporting victims, and supporting their female college student peers.

- b. Removing blame and responsibility related to misrecognition:
 - i. Once again, participants removed blame from male students (5/11). Participants redirected blame to campus and student cultures, rather than to their male peers. Participants also described their male classmates as ignorant of misrecognition, as a problematic practice.
 - 1. Here, participants also expressed uncertainty related to male students, and whether/how they can be taught to recognize others – especially, women and victims – if at all. (4)
- 3. Describing their opposition to misrecognition through acknowledging women and victims
 - a. Describing themselves as recognizers (11/11)
 - i. Participants described their opposition to the misrecognition of victims (9/11), by acknowledging victims. This included:
 - 1. Acknowledging the victimization of men under #MeToo (4/11)
 - 2. Recognizing women who are vulnerable to victimization (4/11)
 - 3. Holding perpetrators accountable for their actions (4/11)
 - ii. Participants described their opposition to the misrecognition of women through supporting other women (5/11). This included teaching men about women (5/11) (i.e., respect for women, information on women's lives and experiences).
- 4. Missing areas of women's agency re: acknowledging victims and women
 - a. Participants described a lack of support for female college students as recognizers (8/22).
 - i. Participants described missing areas of support for women, in their attempts to recognize victims (6/11).
 - ii. Participants described missing areas of support for women, in their support and encouragement of other women (5/11).
 - b. Participants described missing resources and conversations for women who are victimized (6/11)
 - c. Participants described missing support for their male peers, as fellow recognizers (5/11) (i.e., missing knowledge of victims and women, inability to hold other male students accountable).

Domain 4: The denial of women's sexual choices and pursuing sexual autonomy

- 1. Constructing the denial of female college students' sexual choices (9/11)
 - a. Participants characterized the denial of female students' sexual choices, while in college, through the following: The expectations of hookup culture for female students (8/11); The notion of sex as an exchange with male peers (5/11); The objectification of female students by male students, and in particular, being a "body" in male students' "body counts" (6/11); Male students' refusal of female students' choices in sexual (5/11), including men ignoring women's "no's," and attempting to ply women for sex
- 2. Dealing with blame and responsibility regarding denial of women's sexual choices
 - a. Assigning responsibility to men (6/11)
 - i. Participants assigned blame and responsibility for denying women's sexual autonomy and choices to their male peers (6/11).

- ii. Participants assigned blame to male students for failing to listen to or support women's sexual choices (2/11).
 - iii. Participants described male peers as responsible for respecting women's choices and autonomy in sex (4/11).
- 3. Describing their opposition to the denial of their sexual choices, through pursuing sexual autonomy
 - a. Participants described their opposition to the denial of their sexual choices, through assertions of their sexual autonomy (8/11). This included: Saying "no" to sexual attention from male peers/sexual partners (4); Ignoring unwanted advances; Teaching current and potential male partners about consent; Sharing their knowledge and experiences related to sex (3/11)
- 4. Missing areas of women's agency re: opposing the denial of their sexual choices
 - a. Participants described missing strategies for expressing their sexual wants and needs with potential and current sexual partners (8/11).
 - b. Participants also described missing talk about sex, which would support women's sexual autonomy (5/11). This included talk about sexual health, talk that supports women's sexuality, and talk with their parents.
 - c. Participants also described missing knowledge of sex.