Looking at Rape Prevention: An Analysis of the Representations of Sexuality, Gender and Rape Myth in Rape Prevention Poster Campaigns

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Abstract

Rape prevention campaigns have the potential to counter and resist discourses that are fundamental to rape culture and the on-going perpetuation of sexual violence. They are therefore a crucial site of anti-rape activism. Yet such campaigns can also reinforce the discourses of rape culture. Their effectiveness as a prevention tool hinges on how they construct sexuality, gender and rape myth. This thesis uses a discursive analysis to evaluate the effectiveness of a selection of rape prevention poster campaigns. Through my analysis, I come to argue that anti-rape feminists have the opportunity to effectively harness the disciplinary power of poster campaigns, and create subject positions which enable ethical and respectful relationships. I contend that in order for rape prevention poster campaigns to be effective, they must resist or create alternative discourses of sexuality, as sexuality is crucial to the way we can use disciplinary power to ‘conduct the conduct’ of subjects. This thesis addresses a gap in the literature of rape prevention social marketing campaigns, by compiling and evaluating a selection of campaigns.
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Dedications

Dedicated to my grandpa, grandma and nana, all of whom passed on while I was writing this thesis.

Thomas William Hatere Knowles 1933-2013
Ellen Jean Knowles 1934-2014
Edna Helena Beaton 1919-2015

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.

I will never be lost, for I am the seed which was sown from Rangiātea.
Introduction

I am a researcher who studies rape. That means I think about rape for prolonged periods of time. I read about it, talk about it, write about it and bear witness to it [...] it’s a rare day that I don’t think about rape. There are words and images I wish I could forever purge from memory, but cannot. I carry them with me, and try to make peace with them and learn from them. I don’t think I have ever truly believed that ‘I’ve seen it all’ because I know it can always be worse. But very little surprises me anymore and very little shocks me. My imagination knows some sickening bounds. (Campbell, 2013, p.1)

The first time I read this introduction to Campbell’s (2013) Emotionally Involved: The Impact of Researching Rape, I felt a huge sense of relief at seeing my experience reflected in her words. Like Campbell, as well as researching rape I also worked and volunteered in a crisis centre supporting survivors and their loved ones for a number of years. I really loved the work there and I hope to continue working and researching in this area for some time, but the way the work impacted me was quite profound. People often ask me if doing this type of work is hard, and of course, hearing the experiences of survivors and their whānau is hard, because in reality sexual violence is not like it is on television or in movies. In real life you cannot just cut to the next scene. The reality of rape is that the effects are deep, they are sometimes long term, they are widespread and they are painful to witness, let alone for someone to experience. But the hardest thing for me was that this work and my research changed everything I thought I knew about rape. Suddenly I realised that all my efforts at ‘risk management’ were in vain, that it does not matter if I guard my drink, or change my outfit, or get a taxi home instead of walking because rape is often random. Rape ceased to be about the ‘other’ and started to be about me, because I was sitting across from a survivor and she was my age and we visited the same places and we had the same interests and I realised it could have been me, that there is no reason why it could not be, and so it changed the whole way I approached the world.

Many of us at the centre were very young and in our darkest moments we would sit around and ask each other: ‘if you could go back and un-know everything you know now would you do

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1 I say often because as will be outlined in detail in Chapter Two, while rape can and does happen to anyone, those who are the most vulnerable are at the highest risk of sexual victimisation.
And sometimes it felt like it would be easier that way, but I always knew that I wouldn’t because if survivors can get up every day and raise their kids, go to work, forgive perpetrators or testify against them in court, love their families and get on with life then I could too. I came to rape prevention work after a moment of realisation similar to that described by one of the researchers in Campbell’s (2013) study. She says:

No more tears. I don’t have enough tears to cry for each rape survivor. I don’t have enough. My tears aren’t going to help that woman and they aren’t going to help anyone. (p.87)

So, I began working in prevention education as much for myself as for the clients I worked with. I know that rape prevention can and does make a difference to the lives of many, but it also makes a difference to me. I have done prevention work with non-government organisations locally as well as nationally, as well as most recently with the New Zealand government where I researched and developed an anti-dating violence and sexual violence prevention programme. The programme, called ‘Mates & Dates’ is currently being piloted as part of the New Zealand curriculum and uses a ‘healthy relationships’ framework (Bishop, 2014; New Zealand National Party, 2014; One News, 2014).

These experiences have taught me a lot about the theory of rape prevention, but most importantly also about the challenges of doing the work. I now know the challenge of translating theory into practice, of working in organisations with limited resources or limited budgets. I understand how hard it is to create something that meets best practise when you have a very tight deadline, or the institution you work in has policies and values which constrain what you can produce. I know that the political climate might dictate what kind of intervention you end up creating, and even if you have developed something which you think will be very effective, the person in charge might want you to change it based on their own beliefs. One of the key issues around sexual violence prevention is that it is difficult to

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2 I remember with some amusement working on a role play for ‘Mates & Dates’ which I was adapting from Carmody’s (2009) Sex & Ethics programme. One of the role play characters (who is based on a real woman who was part of Carmody’s research) was 16 and had had about 18 or so partners. This caused quite a stir with other people who were working on the programme with me, particularly the male manager who was quite conservative. They wanted to change the scenario so that she had significantly less partners because they were worried it would read as encouraging students to have sex with different partners and we would be telling them this was ‘ok’ when obviously it is ‘not ok’ (according to them). I spent some time trying to explain that they were missing the point of the exercise which was to
measure its impacts, but there is mounting evidence that rape prevention strategies are useful, and evidence that rape prevention poster campaigns in particular as a type of anti-rape intervention are effective (Potter, 2012; Potter, Stapleton, & Moynihan, 2008; Potter, Moynihan, Stapleton, & Banyard, 2009). Research suggests that well planned, best practice interventions can decrease individuals’ rape myth acceptance, attraction to sexual aggression and hostile attitudes towards women (Baker, 2013; Flood, 2005). Studies also suggest that rape prevention programmes can actually decrease sexually aggressive behaviour in some people, increase their empathy for survivors, increase their skills in bystander intervention and their skills in providing support for survivors (Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; Foubert, 2000; Foubert & Perry, 2007; O’Donohue, Yeater, & Fanetti, 2003; Schewe & O’Donohue, 1996).

I have chosen to focus on rape prevention poster campaigns in this thesis for a number of reasons. As aforementioned, poster campaigns can be utilised as an effective rape prevention strategy and they represent an extremely versatile approach to rape prevention. We know that social marketing campaigns can be very effective in targeting populations and changing the behaviour of individuals (Whitney & Viswanath, 2004). Poster campaigns can be very cost effective to produce and this makes them an asset as organisations, community groups, sports clubs and others can create a poster campaign even with limited resources. Poster campaigns can also be created by any person or group and can be made to target specific or diverse audiences, and so they represent a way in which everyone can be involved in ‘doing’ rape prevention. Their biggest advantage however is also one of their biggest weaknesses. Because anyone can go about making poster campaigns there is no way to guarantee that people have any knowledge of sexual violence or its prevention. Therefore, there is no way to ensure a quality standard of the kinds of messages and images that are represented within these campaigns and this limits them as a strategy for social change.

Thus, while poster campaigns can be an effective anti-rape strategy, like other interventions they can also be very damaging if done incorrectly. Some rape prevention programmes have get young people to discuss different people’s approaches to sex and sexuality and that the focus of the activity is on resisting discourses which shame young women and men about their sexual activity. Eventually the conversation deteriorated into a bargaining situation between me and the manager with him offering that she could be 18 with four partners and me countering with 17 and 12 and so on. I think we settled on 18 years old with nine partners. The point is that regardless of what you know about prevention and what best practice is; because the subject matter is contentious it is always going to be difficult to create exactly what you envisaged.
documented ‘rebound effects’ in attitudes and beliefs in their participants where the programme inadvertently reinforces rape myths. This is significant, as strong belief in rape myth is a predictor for sexually aggressive behaviour (Heppner, Humphrey, Hillenbrand-Gunn, & DeBord, 1995). The potential for unanticipated harm highlights that it is necessary for campaigns to be thoroughly researched in order to make a positive impact, but more importantly, so that they do not have a negative impact. However, McGann (2009) argues that while there is a lot of literature around rape prevention more generally, there is no serious analysis of the visual form of rape prevention and related content of social marketing campaigns. As I have been researching this thesis I have yet to find any literature that evaluates and compare multiple rape prevention campaigns, which means there is no broad analysis of the efficacy of rape prevention posters. This thesis therefore works to address the gap in the literature and to evaluate an array of rape prevention poster campaigns for their efficacy, but without aiming for a global analysis of campaigns.

The 13 rape prevention poster campaigns I analyse in this thesis come from a variety of sources including: police forces; local councils; sexual violence and rape crisis services; government agencies and not-for profit organisations. They originate from the United Kingdom, United States, Canada and New Zealand. I have carefully selected these campaigns in order to try and reflect a broad range of approaches to rape prevention, but also to reflect changes in interventions across the past two decades as prevention theory has become increasingly understood. There are limitations to the campaigns that I have chosen for this thesis in terms of scope, access to different campaigns and copyright considerations. In order to judge the effectiveness of each campaign I will use a discourse analysis approach to ask: ‘to what extent do rape prevention posters resist and/or reinforce discourses which help to create and perpetuate sexual violence? To what extent do they create alternative discourses?’ And finally ‘what discourses should we utilise to create an effective campaign?’ Through my analysis of the poster campaigns in this thesis, I come to argue that feminist anti-rape activists can co-opt the disciplinary power of rape prevention campaigns and use it to reshape the possible action of subjects in ways that are ethical and non-violent.

Using Foucault’s (1978) work on sexuality, where he argues that discourses of sexuality are immensely powerful and are inextricably linked to devices of power, the disciplining of the body and the regulation of the population, the other key finding of this thesis is that the most powerful way to influence the behaviour of subjects and populations is through discourses of sexuality. I argue that in order for sexual violence prevention poster campaigns to be effective they must resist dominant discourses and/or create alternative discourses of sexuality, as
sexuality is crucial to the way we can use disciplinary power to ‘conduct the conduct’ of subjects. Furthermore, if we follow Stoltenberg’s (1999, p.20, original emphasis) assertion that “sexuality does not have a gender, it creates a gender”, I argue that our primary focus for rape prevention should be on governing sexuality in ways that resist the use of violence or coercion, as this will in turn impact constructions of masculinity and femininity, allowing them to be resignified in ways that are respectful and non-violent.

I am aware that many feminists and theorists are suspicious of disciplinary power and have argued that it is non-benign, pointing to the way it can act to limit subjects’ freedom (Agamben, 2000; Atkinson, 2011; Farrar, 2000). Feminists’ suspicion of governmentality and disciplinary power has led some such as Gruber (2009) and Halley et al. (2006), to argue that feminists and feminist ideas have become part of actual legal and institutional power. This has led them to advocate a libertarian position on the use of governmentality and disciplinary power that Foucault would not necessarily endorse. In fact, Foucault is critical of the way sexuality in particular is enmeshed in relations of power and does not argue for “complete freedom or total liberation of sexual acts” (Foucault & Kritzman, 2013, p.269). Instead, he explicitly states “I say freedom of sexual choice and not freedom of sexual acts because there are acts like rape which should not be permitted whether they involve a man and woman or two men” (Foucault & Kritzman, 2013, p.269). Thus, Foucault himself does not argue for complete libertarianism, but suggests that when it comes to sexual violence there should be limitations to the types of conduct subjects can engage in. In this thesis I wish to explore the potential of harnessing disciplinary power for social justice ends, on the presumption that theorising disciplinary power does not necessarily (or always) lead to a libertarian position. Furthermore, while I contend that rape prevention poster campaigns can be utilised as an effective method to conduct the behaviour of subjects in more egalitarian ways, we should not overestimate the disciplinary power of social marketing campaigns compared to the (overwhelming) force of rape culture. That is, rape prevention social marketing campaigns should be considered one tool of many that feminists can utilise to push back against rape culture.

This thesis is organised into five chapters. Together, Chapters One and Two lay out the theoretical foundations of my analysis, while Chapters Three and Four present my analysis of the rape prevention poster campaigns. Chapter Five addresses and analyses the key themes and findings across this thesis. Chapter One outlines the key theoretical ideas I will engage with in this thesis, including: second-wave feminist theories of sexual violence; discourse; power; governmentality; the body; sexuality and gender. Discourse analysis will be the primary
tool I utilise to evaluate the effectiveness of the poster campaigns. I use ‘effective’ in this thesis to mean the extent to which the campaigns undermine discourses which perpetuate or contribute to damaging constructions of sexuality, gender and rape myth. As Weedon describes, according to Foucault ‘discourse’ refers to:

> Ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the ‘nature’ of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern.

(Weedon cited in Davies, 2000, p.43)

Foucault’s work will support my analysis of the discursive frameworks represented in the posters, and the extent to which they resist and/or reinforce discourses which help to create and perpetuate sexual violence, or whether they create alternative discourses, and the impact this may have on subjects’ material realities. In particular, Foucault’s work on power, governmentality and sexuality will provide a foundation which will inform my analysis of the poster campaigns selected for this thesis.

In Chapter Two I examine theories of rape prevention which reflect the approaches to anti-rape strategies in the poster campaigns examined in Chapters Three and Four. The chapter begins with an outline of the statistics relating to sexual violence victimisation and perpetration. It is necessary that we are aware of the scope of the problem in order to evaluate strategies to prevent it, and also because I argue that effective campaigns reflect the realities of how sexual violence occurs rather than reinforcing rape myths. In this chapter I outline five rape prevention theories, including: rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction; social norms theory; bystander intervention theory and ethical relating and gender transformation theory. Finally, I will discuss social marketing theory as this is relevant to the use of poster campaigns as a tool for rape prevention. The five approaches to rape prevention I discuss are the most dominant in social marketing campaigns which aim to prevent sexual violence and they also align to the poster campaigns that are analysed in this thesis. Overall Chapters 1 and 2 set out the theoretical framework informing my analysis and Chapters 3 and 4, set out my analysis of 13 rape prevention poster campaigns and 43 different campaign images.

Chapter Three includes six poster campaigns, four of which align with the theories of rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme. The campaigns are: *Call The Shots; Safe*
Night Out; Association of Chief Police Officers and Cabwise/Safer Travel at Night. These campaigns focus on women as potential victims of rape and encourage them to avoid, reduce their risk of, or resist sexual violence through various methods. The second half of this chapter discusses perpetrator-focused strategies and includes campaigns from: Safe Night Out; Association of Chief Police Officer; No Excuses and The UK Home Office. These campaigns target men as potential perpetrators and portray the chance of prison time as the consequence of this behaviour. I argue that these campaigns represent a positive shift away from women as potential victims and onto men who are the most likely perpetrators of violence. Chapter Four continues the analysis of poster campaigns, and in this chapter I present and analyse seven poster campaigns which I consider to be potentially or actually effective. It begins with a continued discussion of perpetrator-focused prevention strategies with the Don’t Be That Guy campaign. I argue that this campaign represents a more effective iteration of this strategy, as it strongly resists discourses of victim-blaming and attempts to shape the space of possible actions of men by shaming violent behaviour.

I move on to discuss two campaigns that explore the theory of bystander intervention, Make Your Move Missoula and Are You That Someone? Let’s Stop Sexual Violence. I argue that these campaigns have significant issues in their racist representations of sexual violence and could be potentially damaging in terms of reinforcing rape myth. However, I also suggest that with some adjustments these images could easily be adapted to be effective campaigns that encourage the respectful behaviour of subjects. I will then highlight one campaign created by the Rape and Incest National Network that aligns with the social norms theory of rape prevention. I will argue that this campaign represents an extremely versatile and effective way of doing rape prevention, as it challenges ideas of masculinity and masculine sexuality, changing the perceptions of men and encouraging them to conduct their behaviour in non-violent ways. The final section of Chapter Four features three campaigns that focus on ethical relating and gender transformation prevention theories: My Strength is Not for Hurting; It’s About Mana and We Can Stop It. I suggest that these poster campaigns represent a useful way of approaching men as allies against rape prevention, and they work to promote men’s behaviour as respectful and ethical.

In Chapter Five I bring together the key rape prevention theories and themes from across the thesis to compare and contrast the ways rape prevention poster campaigns represent sexuality, gender and rape myth. This final chapter takes a broader view of the theories that I have highlighted across my analysis of the poster campaigns, and discusses the ways that these key discourses are made visible or invisible and the impact that this has on whether the
posters can be considered effective or ineffective. In line with Foucault’s theory of power I will argue that no campaign entirely resists discourses which contribute to the on-going perpetuation of sexual violence, but rather that most campaigns both resist and reproduce these discourses. While some go as far to create new and alternative discourses of sexuality, gender or sexual violence, they also reinforce and extend some discourses which contribute to rape and rape culture. Through this analysis I come to argue that, if, according to Foucault, discourses of sexuality are immensely powerful and act to regulate populations and bodies, then it is through discourses of sexuality primarily, and discourses of gender and sexual violence secondarily, that we have the opportunity to effectively harness the disciplinary power of poster campaigns and conduct the behaviour of subjects. Highlighting and developing these more ethical representations within rape prevention strategies is an effective way forward amidst the rape culture which characterises the current social context.
1. Chapter One: Outlining the Theoretical Framework

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the foundation of my theoretical framework, in order to clarify how I draw particular meanings from the poster campaigns presented in Chapters Three and Four. First, I will outline my philosophy of sexual violence which is based on rape crisis feminism from the early second wave feminist movement. I will clarify the reasons why it is that I work from this particular theory, which emphasises sexual violence as a social and structural issue, and a logical outcome of a rape culture which minimises and trivialises sexual abuse, blames survivors and supports perpetrators (Harding, 2015; “Occupy Rape Culture,” 2011). The concept of rape and sexual violence as a structural and collective issue contrasts with neoliberal ideas of sexual violence as the responsibility of individuals, based on individual risk management (Hall, 2004). Working from a feminist understanding of sexual violence as a social and structural issue is significant in analysing rape prevention campaigns, as research into primary prevention shows that including a pro-feminist framework is much more effective than taking a gender neutral approach in preventing gendered violence (Baker, 2013).

Following this, I will outline Foucault’s theory of discourse. Discourse analysis will be the primary framework through which I will assess the effectiveness of the posters in Chapters Three and Four. As mentioned in the introduction, I am using ‘effectiveness’ here to mean the extent to which the posters resist or reinforce discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth which are central to perpetuating sexual violence. According to discourse theory, language is one of the most significant things shaping our material reality as discursive formations work to organise ideas and concepts and produce the objects of our knowledge (Danaher, Tony, & Webb, 2000).

Building on Foucault’s theory of discourse I will outline his work on power and governmentality. Foucault (1978, p.97) argues that “power relations are both intentional and non-subjective, there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives”. Foucault’s (1978) theory of power shifts the idea that power is only ever unilateral and repressive, and argues instead that power is something that circulates and can be resisted and negotiated. Thus, this section will emphasise that disciplinary power can, and is, mobilised as a force that which works to oppress the lives and bodies of subjects. However, I will also
highlight that the reverse can be possible: that the disciplinary power of poster campaigns can be harnessed with the effect of preventing the physical reality of rape and sexual violence.

I will then expand on Foucault’s theory of power in his work on governmentality, which examines the way power operates and the effects it has on the lives and bodies of its subjects. Governmentality refers to a systemised and regulated mode of power that is “foremost about guidance, governing the forms of self-government, structuring and shaping the field of possible action of subjects” (Lemke, 2002, p.53). This does not mean that to guide the conduct of others is intrinsically bad, and in this section I will argue that rape prevention posters have the capacity to govern the conduct of subjects’ in a way that is ethical, peaceful and non-violent. Because governmentality and power work to shape subjects’ bodies and realities, I will then move on to outline some theories of the body. In this section I contend that power and discourse come together on the body, to shape the way we experience our bodies as well as shaping what our bodies come to represent and I will draw primarily from Cahill’s (2000, 2001) theory of embodied subjectivity and the significance of this for analysing the representation of different bodies in the campaign images.

Working from Foucault’s (1978, 2012b) theory of sexuality I will explain the importance of discourses of (hetero)sexuality in creating and maintaining sexual violence and the importance of the way they are articulated in the poster images. According to Foucault (1978), discourses of sexuality have immense power effects and are primarily concerned with controlling bodies and populations. Therefore, I will argue that discourses of sexuality are a principle site for feminist activism and rape prevention. Resisting negative constructions of masculine and feminine sexuality and creating alternative discourses of sexuality are instrumental to an effective poster campaign and to modifying the behaviour of subjects. I will then move on to discuss the importance of gender in my analysis. The extent to which gender norms and roles are reflected in the poster images will be of central importance to analysing the effectiveness of the campaigns, as constructions of masculinity and femininity are crucial to the perpetration of sexual violence. Research has shown a link between the amount of violence in society and the degree to which that society supports flexible gender roles (Hong, 2000). Furthermore, I argue that sexual violence stems from ideologies that reflect and reinforce male sexual entitlement and so sexual violence is more likely and occurs more often “against young women in contexts characterised by gender segregation, a belief in male sexual conquest, strong male bonding, high alcohol consumption, use of pornography, and sexist social norms” (Baker, 2013, p.13).
1.2 Philosophy of sexual violence

I began volunteering at my local rape crisis collective two weeks before my 19th birthday. As mentioned in the Introduction, the process of working at rape crisis meant I had to ‘unlearn’ a lot of what I had known about rape and sexual violence. The group I worked for operated according to a constitution put forward by the survivors who founded the organisation in the 1970s. This philosophy is grounded in a theory of patriarchy which constitutes rape as a violation of freedom and self-determination, where rape is considered to be upheld by a patriarchal and colonial society. According to this conception of sexual violence, rape is a product of a society that sets up an unequal dynamic between men and women and also between people of different races, sexualities and abilities. Like other rape crisis organisations formed in the late 1970s (nationally and internationally), members believed that the only way to create a world free from rape was to create a society based on equality (Maier, 2008). The structure of rape crisis centres are considered just as important as their mission, with the first rape crisis centres (and many still today) run as grassroots collective organisations. Founders of rape crisis centres challenged hierarchical and bureaucratic ways of operating, as these structures directly opposed feminist anti-rape principles of egalitarian relationships.

Within this understanding of rape, sexual violence is seen as a predictable outcome of a society with a strong rape culture, a culture which normalises, encourages, condones, excuses and tolerates rape and perpetuates inequality (Bahadur, 2014; Harding, 2015; “Occupy Rape Culture,” 2011). Sexual violence is used as an umbrella term, where rape is considered a specific form of sexual abuse and sexual abuse encompasses any form of unwanted sexual contact and non-contact. Contrary to some legal definitions, rape crisis theory considers rape to be all sexual acts that are forced upon unwilling participants, not specifically penis to vagina. Rape crisis philosophy also considers all forms of sexual coercion, not only physical, to constitute rape. This is significant, as different researchers will use different definitions of rape and many will not include statistics of rape by coercion, particularly verbal, and these definitions will differ according to different jurisdictions. Therefore, research undertaken by

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3 For example, under New Zealand law, rape is gender specific as it involves a penis and a vagina, although it also includes people who have surgically altered their genitals. Unlawful sexual connection covers penetrative sexual contact that occurs without consent and is non-gender specific. That is, it allows for non-consensual sexual contact between male to female, male to male, female to male and female to female individuals. Unlawful sexual connection also includes oral sex given or received without consent (“New Zealand Crimes Act,” 1961).
police or justice departments may follow legal definitions of rape and this will impact the statistics that are gathered. This broad understanding of sexual violence intends to flatten the value base of violence, such that rape crisis philosophy challenges public discourse of a ‘hierarchy of violence’ and does not consider any act of sexual violence or sexual harassment as ‘more serious’ than any other act. Rather, it acknowledges that all acts of sexual violence are a degradation of a person’s whole self and that “rape and the fear of rape affect all women all of the time” (Nga Whiitki Whanau Ahuru Mowai o Aotearoa/The National Collective of Rape crisis and Related Groups Aotearoa, 1982, p.2). In line with this philosophy, I understand sexual violence to be not only an individual experience, but one that affects all women and, in particular, a force which impacts on the way women experience their bodies. However, statistics highlight that sexual violence is perpetrated more often against women at the intersection of multiple oppressions, and so Chapter Two will outline the prevalence of sexual violence and the way it affects different groups of women, as not all women are equally affected by sexual violence (Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009).

While some rape crisis centres have remained committed to these principles and structures, Maier (2008), writing about the herstory of the rape crisis movement in the United States, argues that as rape crisis centres began to accept public funding they ‘de-radicalised’ their efforts and sought to move away from the social change philosophy that tied them to the feminist movement. One director of a rape crisis centre in Maier’s (2008, p.90) study noted:

I know it to be one [a feminist organisation] but I wouldn’t describe it that way. It’s not advertised that way. When we recruit for new members and volunteers and talk to people about our services we don’t promote ourselves as a feminist organisation.

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4 For example, in New Zealand the National Survey of Crime Victims (NZNSCV) records information on sexual victimisation and has changed the way it asks about sexual victimisation over time, which has changed the number of self-reported sexual assaults. The 1996 NZNSCV used legal language and referred to the penetration of the vagina or anus by the penis. The 2001 NZNSCV, used a broader definition and participants were asked “has anyone ever sexually interfered with or sexually assaulted you or made you carry out any sexual activity when you did not want to?” (Ministry of Justice, 2006, p.18).

5 Hierarchies of violence are apparent in discussions of ‘real rape’ or ‘rape rape’ such as those tweeted by Richard Dawkins in July 2014, which caused an internet controversy: “date rape is bad. Stranger rape at knife point is worse”; “mild paedophilia is bad. Violent paedophilia is worse” (Libby, n.d., para.2).
Other theorists such as Bulmiller (2008), have argued that in the current climate, original feminist anti-rape activities that aim to empower women have been undermined by neoliberal ideologies. Mardorossian (2002) also addresses this shift in the rape crisis movement in her article ‘Towards a New Feminist Theory of Rape’. She argues that what made the second wave so powerful was that the movement was founded on victims of male violence organising to promote social justice. She contends that, at present, survivors are seen as the objects of the movement rather than the subjects. She believes that victims have become divorced from a movement which promotes the idea that privileged women are better able to take care of, and make sense of the experiences of survivors.

Many rape crisis centres have deliberately moved away from the original philosophies of the anti-rape second wave movement and become increasingly professionalised. The distancing of anti-rape theory from a wider social change movement is detrimental to feminist work in prevention, as the goal of prevention is to eliminate rape and sexual abuse through social and collective change. The focus on sexual violence as impacting only individuals rather than society at large is detrimental to this strategy. For these reasons, I will work from a philosophy of sexual violence that is closely aligned to the early rape crisis theory, as it has at its core a commitment to feminism, to social change and to an understanding of sexual violence as reinforced by structural issues of sexism, racism, classism, ableism and heterosexism. However, while I work from a particular philosophy of sexual violence, I also acknowledge that there is no universal experience or understanding of violence, and thus different people will experience violence in different ways and imbue it with different meanings (Cahill, 2001).

1.3 Discourse

Having outlined my philosophy of sexual violence, I now turn to describing the key theoretical principles I will utilise to critically assess the poster campaigns presented in Chapters Three and Four. There are many different ways to read and interpret images, and the remainder of this chapter will provide a justification of the methods I will use to evaluate the effectiveness of the images as rape prevention strategies. Foucault’s (2002) theory of discourse is useful for considering rape prevention, as it outlines both how discourses can act to create subject positions, and also how we can resist and transform particular discourses in order to alter these subject positions across time. Thus, through discourse we have the potential to change the material reality of sexual violence by utilising alternative discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth which promote respect and non-violence, which in turn creates new egalitarian
subject positions. According to Foucault’s theory, discourse informs social structures, which in turn inform discourse.

Discourses can therefore work to maintain unequal power dynamics within these structures. These dynamics of inequality are maintained when discourse becomes naturalised, a taken for granted view point. The more a discourse is held to be common sense or natural the more powerful it becomes, as it effectively masks these unequal dynamics of power helping to reproduce them. Because the philosophy of sexual violence that I work from posits that sexual violence is the product of a patriarchal and hierarchical system which allows men to exert power over women, children and also other men, I will use a critical discourse analysis to read the poster images for the way they promote or undermine discursive frameworks that support unequal gendered and/or racial power dynamics (Finestone, 2008; Lazar, 2009). When analysing the posters I will therefore consider the extent to which they are complicit with or resist particular discourses and social structures that maintain inequality. I will also question whether they have the potential to be effective in preventing sexual violence by resisting discursive frameworks that maintain rape culture.

My understanding of discourse and discursive analysis is drawn from the work of Foucault (2002), whose seminal text The Archaeology of Knowledge, sets out to theoretically describe the method of analysis he used in his works: Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason (1973); The Birth of the Clinic (2003) and The Order of Things (2012b). Foucault takes the concept of discourse and uses it to study not just the history of ideas, but the history of ‘things said,’ in the specific condition of their emergence and transformation. He contends that we must conceive of discourse “as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable” (Foucault, 1978, p.100). He looks at the discontinuities between ‘epistemes’ or knowledge systems, in particular socio-historical contexts, and analyses how it is that some types of knowledges become subjugated or framed as hierarchically inferior. Foucault is interested in discourse as a system of representation and he focuses on how some discourses have come to shape and create meaning systems which are accepted and made ‘true’ within particular historical contexts, even though these discourses themselves are neither true nor false (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984). He argues that each society has a regime of truth, or a general politics of truth, which he takes to mean types of discourse which are accepted and ‘made true’.

However, he urges that we must not imagine a world where discourse is divided between accepted and excluded, but rather know that there are a multiplicity of discursive elements
that can come into play at various times. The aim then, is to reconstruct the ‘things said’ and those concealed or forbidden, and to analyse the effects this creates (Foucault, 1978). Foucault’s theory of discourse examines how language in speech and writing not only transmits ideology but also creates the objects of our knowledge (Isenberg, 1992). He argues that nothing exists that is meaningful outside of discourse - that is, things may exist materially or physically outside of discourse, but we can only have knowledge of these things if they have a discursive meaning (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001). This understanding of discourse recognises that knowledge or discourse produces the conditions of possibility for being in the world, as subject positions are produced within discursive frameworks. Discourse is therefore fundamental in creating our social context and the subject positions that we come to occupy (Isenberg, 1992; Rowntree, 2010). The focus is on discourse itself, rather than considering discourse as a means of accessing reality that lies beyond it. That is, language is constitutive and we deal with the world in terms of this construction, not in a direct and unmediated way (Gill, 2009).

In Foucault’s view, there is no fixed and final structuring of identity and practices as they are a function of socio-historical specific discourses (Gavey, 2011; Wetherell et al., 2001). An understanding of how these and other discursive frameworks are created in particular contexts may open up the stage for change and contestation, as new discourses or ‘epistemes’ take over at a different historical time, supplanting an old one (Wetherell et al., 2001). Foucault argues that it is in discourse that power and knowledge are brought together, so that discourse is both an instrument and an effect of power, but he also considers discourse as a crucial point of difference and a starting point for an opposing strategy to dominant discourse. Thus, discourse is a potential ground of resistance, whereby it can act to create new identities, practices and subject positions. Nevertheless, while resistance is possible, it is still confined in a sense by what discourse is available to us:

 [...] as we approach the problem of what to change and how to change, we are already within the confines of a language, a discourse and an institutional apparatus that will orchestrate for us what will or will not be deemed possible. (Judith Butler cited in Olson & Worsham, 2000, p.740)

Using Foucault’s theory of discourse, I will be analysing the extent to which the posters reinforce dominant discourses, knowledges and ‘truths’ about sexual violence which allow it to continue. In particular, I am interested in the way the images reproduce discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth, but I also acknowledge that understandings and
representations of sexuality and gender are different at the intersections of race, class and ability. I will also consider the extent to which the images challenge these discourses and/or produce alternative conceptualisations of sexuality, gender and rape myth that create new identities and subject positions.

1.4 Power

In the forthcoming sections, I will outline Foucault’s theories of power and governmentality. I will argue that following Foucault’s (1978) contention that power is not only unilateral and repressive, the processes of power and governmentality allow a platform to utilise the disciplinary power of poster campaigns, and in turn to impact our social contexts and the subject positions we come to occupy. Foucault’s view of power has been extremely influential and also helped frame feminist theories of power, which suggest that patriarchy not only manifests in structural arrangements but in the very consciousness of gendered subjects (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Dworkin, 2009; MacKinnon, 1989). Foucault’s theorisation of power is significant in that it highlights both the structural and everyday implications that power has on the subject’s material reality. In The History of Sexuality: Volume One Foucault (1978) argues that under early modern and modern liberalism power had been conceptualised as what he terms a ‘juridicio-discursive’ formation. Under this conception power is something negative, centralised and unidirectional. That is, it is held by one group/institution and exercised from the top down against those who do not have it, thereby enslaving free subjects. Foucault argues that we must rid ourselves of this juridical, unilateral and negative representation of power and cease to conceive of it solely in terms of law, prohibition, liberty and sovereignty. Instead, Foucault contends that we should acknowledge that what makes power effective is precisely that it is not simply a negative force, but a force which transforms and produces things, forms knowledge and creates discourse. For Foucault power must be analysed as something that circulates, not something that is exercised from the outside by particular individuals, groups or institutions. Rather, it is immanent in everyday relationships and is exercised through everyday relationships including sexual relationships (Macleod & Durrheim, 2002).

Power needs to be considered as something that is present throughout the entire social body, as something much more than just a structure of repression (Foucault, 1978, 2012a; Foucault & Rabinow, 1984). For Foucault (1978, p.93) then, power is omnipresent, “not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere”. This is not to say that Foucault argues that every person is positioned equally within power relations or that relationships of
domination do not exist. Foucault (1978, p.94) argues that power is “exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-equalitarian and mobile relations”. According to this conceptualisation of power, nothing that exists can be considered to exist outside of power relations, as power produces the world around us as well as our subjectivities (Sanger, 2008). Importantly, Foucault (2002, 2012) distinguishes between hierarchical relations of power and relationships based on domination, in which power relations are stable and fixed and subordinated persons have little room to manoeuvre (Hindess, 1996; Lemke, 2002).

Thus while relative disempowerment can be conceptualised, Foucault would argue that subjects are never entirely powerless. According to Foucault, power and freedom are not mutually exclusive and he suggests that it is wrong to think as many do of ‘freedom’ as a state that has escaped power. In liberalism the subject is governed through freedom: “indeed, from this perspective, productive power, essentially, subjectivates: it produces the very notion of free subjects and produces an individual's sense of being free” (Henderson, 2007, p.235). Freedom is therefore an effect of power; it is internal to power rather than being opposed to it. To say that subjects are free then, is to say that they are in a position to act and be resistant, but also to exercise power over others, and therefore Foucault considers power relationships to be ambiguous, unstable and reversible (Foucault, 1978; Hindess, 1996). Crucial to this theory of power is Foucault’s assertion that power is a structure of actions that acts upon subjects who are free. While he acknowledges that linkages between power and freedom are enmeshed and that it is impossible to conceive of these terms as separate entities, he believes that power relies on the freedom of subjects. In his view power is not only negative but should be thought of as a complex network of relations and the myriad of discourses, norms and ‘truth’ which shape our society are therefore produced and sustained by power relations.

1.5 Governmentality

Foucault (1997) expands on his theory of power in his work on governmentality. Foucault theorised that governmentality forms a new way of thinking about and exercising power, and throughout his analysis he uses government and governmentality in interrelated ways (Lemke, 2007). In his work on governmentality (which he produced in the later years of his life before his death in 1984, and which was never fully completed), Foucault is concerned with the form power assumes within liberalism. He argues that the modern state still has sovereignty, just not in the full Hobbesian sense of undivided or absolute sovereignty. His concern is with liberalism, which he understands not primarily as a doctrine of how to govern, but a type of governing that arose as a backlash to excessive government. He argues that in relation to the
politics of epidemics in the 18th century, the population became the focus of authorities with
the result that populations, rather than families, were seen as requiring the intervention of
government (Rose, O’Malley, & Valverde, 2006). Governmentality is understood “in the broad
sense as techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour. Government of children,
government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state or of oneself”
(Foucault, 1997, p.82). Foucault contends that rather than one single body, such as the state,
being responsible for governing, governmentality highlights the ways in which many different
authorities govern in different sites and have different objectives (this is evident in the poster
campaigns discussed in Chapter Three and Four, with images being produced by multiple
agencies such as: law enforcement; rape crisis centres; social services; local councils etc.).
Governmentality is therefore concerned with the ‘conduit of conduct’ a term that Foucault
uses to mean the government of oneself and the government of others.

In other words, government is an activity which aims to shape, regulate or guide the behaviour
and actions of subjects:

The ‘conduit of conduct’ occurs at multiple, interwoven levels. It concerns
the self-relating with the self, private interpersonal relations that involve
some sort of control or guidance, relations within social institutions, and
relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty. (Macleod &
Durrheim, 2002, p.46)

In Foucault’s theory, the activities of the state have become increasingly interested in
attending to the conduit of subjects through ‘disciplinary techniques’ and disciplinary power.
Foucault (2012) contends that disciplinary power is a specific form of power which emerged in
17th century Europe and continues to be exercised throughout the Modern West. He theorises
disciplinary power as a particular type of power that is exercised over one or more individuals
in order to promote their ability to act in a particular way, and to provide them with particular
skills or attributes. The human subject thus becomes the focus of disciplinary power which acts
through techniques of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement, regulation and self-
surveillance. This characterises a shift away from what Foucault (2012, p.209) calls
“exceptional discipline”, sudden and violent forms of discipline, to “generalisable surveillance”.
In this way, governmentality analysis tries to link the micro effects of power with macro
strategies of power without giving one more importance than the other (Hindess, 1996;
Macleod & Durrheim, 2002).
For example, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters, his theory of governmentality is evident in the way women are encouraged to take steps to avoid or prevent sexual violence. Women are treated as if they must always be on guard against rape, and so women learn to self-surveil and police their own behaviours, as well as the behaviour of other women (by policing the way other women dress, or their sexuality through words like ‘slut’, ‘tramp’ or ‘whore’). Governmentality can also be considered a matter of body politics, as bodies are at the centre of the struggle of techniques of regulation. Drawing from Foucault, my intention is that rather than viewing governmentality and the ‘conduct of conduct’ as necessarily repressive, we can analyse the poster campaigns as an attempt to promote the ability of subjects to behave in ethical, non-violent ways. By harnessing the processes of governmentality and disciplinary techniques we can provide subjects with particular skills and attributes.

1.6 Theorising the body

Because governmentality impacts so directly on subject’s bodies, it is important I detail some theories of the body in order to explain the connections between the body and discourses of sexuality, and sexual violence specifically. In Foucault’s theories of discourse, power and governmentality outlined above, I have shown the way power shows itself in subjects’ bodies as these concepts shape the way we perform and act out our bodily selves (Danaher et al., 2000). The body, then, is an inscribable surface on which exterior forces write the ‘truth’ of dominant discourses. Within this framework, the body becomes an expression of social discourses that surround the subject and the bodily inscription of power in turn creates physical realities. If, as Foucault claims, bodies are produced with certain identifiable characteristics which relate to power dynamics, then bodies are texts which need to be read to highlight the narratives of dominant discourses (Butler, 2011; Butler & Salih, 2004; Meijer & Prins, 1998). In the forthcoming analysis this conception of the body will be particularly useful in reading the anti-rape poster campaigns and considering the political and social meanings that representations of the body entail. Furthermore, understanding bodies as being shaped by techniques of power and discourse is instrumental to a feminist theory of sexual violence, like theories put forward by feminists such as Dworkin (2009), MacKinnon (1989) and Millett (2000).

These accounts diverge from other perspectives that seek to naturalise sexual violence, such as Thornhill and Palmer's (2001) A Natural History of Rape: Biological Causes of Sexual Coercion,
in which the authors argue that rape is innate and biological, an outcome of evolutionary adaptation which is devastating to survivors because it circumvents women’s reproductive mate choice. In keeping with theorising sexual violence as a social and structural issue (rather than innate or biological) in her book *Rethinking Rape*, Cahill (2001) works from a theory of embodied subjectivity which argues that the subject be defined in terms of, rather than against, the materiality of the body as a specific and situated being. As such, different experiences can be integrated as part of each body’s subjectivity and thus the embodied subject is not a free rational subject, but a subject who is endowed with specific individualised abilities and characteristics (Cahill, 2000). Rape in this context can be conceived of as being charged with particular bodily and political meanings and sexual violence can be understood as a threat to the bodily integrity of a woman and consequently her status as a subject. This conception of embodied subjectivity is extremely useful for a theory of sexual violence as it begins with a discussion of difference, and therefore allows for a discussion of the way different discourses act upon bodies and how subjects experience these discourses in specific and distinctive ways.

Because we exist in social contexts that are created at the intersection of various systems of power and oppression, no one dimension such as gender inequality can be privileged in explaining sexual violence, because gender oppression is modified by its intersection with other oppressions. Within sexual violence theory many feminists have challenged the primacy of gender and emphasised the need to examine other forms of inequality and oppression such as racism, classism, ableism and heterosexism, as well as the way these oppressions interact with gender inequality (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). Following a theory of embodied subjectivity encourages me to consider the representations of different bodies in the campaign images in a number of ways. It means that various bodies will carry with them various and different meanings that are not solely connected to the gender of the person represented, but are also connected to their positioning in relation to other structural oppressions and relations of power. This is particularly significant as Chapter Two will highlight that while sexual violence is overwhelmingly a gendered crime, perpetrated by men against women (and men) it is also influenced by other oppressions such as race, class, sexuality and ability. At these intersections

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6 This is not to say that some feminists do not argue that rape is ‘natural’ or biological. Most notably, Brownmiller’s (2013, p.39) *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* where she argues “had it not been for this accident of biology, an accommodation requiring the locking together of two separate parts, penis into vagina, there would be neither rape nor copulation as we know it”.

7 See a critique of this work by Ward and Siegert (2002).
of oppression rates of sexual violence increase. The next section of the chapter will outline male and female discourses of heterosexuality. These discourses of sexuality are fundamental to rape myths that provide the foundation for rape culture and the perpetration of sexual violence. Reimagining sexuality as ethical and non-violent is a key aspect of rape prevention strategies and therefore will be an important focus of effective poster campaigns. It is necessary then, to understand discourses of sexuality in order to analyse the images in Chapters Three and Four.

1.7 Sexuality

In Foucault’s (1978) *The History of Sexuality Volume One*, he argues that towards the beginning of the 18th century in the West there emerged a political, economic and technical incitement to discuss sex. Importantly, Foucault argues that the incitement to discuss sex was not as a theory of sexuality but as a form of analysis and classification, what Foucault calls ‘scientia sexualis’, which has as its primary focus knowledge rather than pleasure. Foucault argues that while the Victorians are known and thought of as prudish and censoring, they actually gave rise to an explosion of discourses about sex, “purporting to reveal the truth about sex, modify its economy within reality, subvert the law that governs it and change its future” (Foucault, 1978, p.8). He contends that this is what distinguishes the last three centuries in regards to sex, that rather than a censorship of sex there has been a wide dispersion of devices for speaking about sex (Dean, 1994). Foucault asserts that discourses of sex and sexuality have immense power effects such that sexuality has come to be thought of as the place where our deepest ‘truth’ is expressed. In an interview Foucault argued: “since Christianity, the western world has never ceased to say ‘to know who you are, know what your sexuality is’” (Foucault & Kritzman, 2013, p.104).

This is certainly consistent with a feminist theory of patriarchy and gendered oppression which suggests that male power is reinforced through discourses of sexuality that frame men as naturally dominant and women as naturally submissive (Dworkin, 2009). He argues that sex is placed in a binary system of illicit and licit, forbidden and permitted. In this way, sex and sexuality together comprise a set of practices, behaviours and values whereby we produce ourselves, and are produced, as knowing, ethical and social subjects, an experience which both affects and involves the body. In Foucault’s view, discourses of sexuality are tied to devices of power that have been expanding since the 18th century and have been linked from the outset with the body and its exploration as an object of knowledge and enmeshment with modes of power:
The deployment of sexuality has its reason for being, not in reproducing itself, but in proliferating, innovating, annexing, creating, and penetrating bodies in an increasingly detailed way and in controlling populations in an increasingly comprehensive way. (Foucault, 1978, p.107)

Feminist research has brought attention to the way normative discourses of heterosexuality position male sexuality as superior to females. Brickell (2009) has argued that power is intrinsic to sexuality which he considers both a mode of constitution and a form of social control. Radical feminist theorists such as Dworkin (1989, 2005, 2009), MacKinnon (1989) and Millet (2000) in the 1970s and 80s drew attention to the way that sexuality was socially constructed along gendered lines to reinforce patriarchal power and the social dominance of men. These feminists were interested in the links between hegemonic heterosexuality and men’s power over women expressed in practices such as sexual violence (Beasley, 2008).

Hollway (1984) first introduced the idea of the male sex drive discourse, whereby men are viewed as having an inherent and ‘insatiable’ ‘need’ for sex which is considered natural and necessary. In contrast, women are characterised by a ‘missing discourse of desire’ and are considered to be only interested in sexual activity as a means to gaining emotional feeling and love (Fine, 1988). Hollway (1984) calls this the ‘have and hold’ discourse where women are understood as emotional, needy and wanting to be looked after as part of heterosexual relationships. Women’s (lack of) desire and positioning as passive recipients of men’s sexual desire is seen as problematic next to men’s active and naturalised ‘need’ for sex. Further to this, mainstream discourses of heterosexuality also include a narrative of the ‘coital imperative’, or the understanding that sexual activity must culminate in penetrative (penis to vagina) sex which is seen as a compulsory part of sexual activity. In addition to this, women are positioned as ‘gate-keepers’ of sexual activity where their role is to decide at what point in a relationship they ‘let’ men fulfil their need for sex (Moran & Lee, 2014; Muise, 2011).

In these accounts sexuality focuses on male power and dominance in relation to female’s bodies and sexualities which are tied to concepts of submission. Thus, hegemonic discourses of sexuality serve to prioritise ideas of male pleasure, minimising the importance and reality of women’s enjoyment in sexual activity. In effect, these discourses work to set up a double standard where women’s sexuality (and arguably women in general) is considered subordinate.

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8 This is highlighted in Moran and Lee’s (2014) research where they interviewed women about their non-romantic sexual relationships. Two of the participants stated “you are the one who chooses and decides” and “it is almost like the girl is supposed to resist and give in, right?” (p.171).
to men’s sexuality. It follows that sexualities are constructed and can be considered neither neutral nor fixed. Similarly, feminists like Fine (1988), Segal (1994) and Connell (2002) have argued against the categorisation of all heterosexuality as victimisation, fraught with risk, fear and vulnerability but rather, as will be discussed in the forthcoming chapter, to theorise heterosexuality as a potential source of pleasure and interest.

In keeping with Foucault’s theory of discourse Gavey (1992) argues that these discourses of sexuality work to regulate the material practices of heterosexual relations. While within any discourse multiple subject positions are available, and these discourses shift historically, she argues that most individuals are likely to be located within the dominant discourse available to them. Gavey (2005) contends that these discourses of sexuality serve to reproduce unequal power relations in heterosexual relationships in ways that subordinate women. These discourses of sexuality are fundamental in setting up our rape culture, a culture that trivialises, perpetuates and condones sexual violence (“Occupy Rape Culture,” 2011).9 We can see these discourses in operation in headlines of newspaper articles such as ‘man to face sex charges’, (“Man to face,” 2014); ‘lawyer defends client by saying woman should have ‘kept her legs together’, (“She Asked For,” n.d.) and ‘women told not to walk home at night following sex attacks’ (Police, 2010; Russel, 2008b). Underlying these themes is the notion that men have a right to women’s bodies, that men ‘need’ sex which is an inherent and natural part of their biology and that women are expected to comply with the desires of men (Shugart, 1994).

Sexual activity can be considered a very productive site for feminist activism, as discourses of sexuality have immense power effects and are integral to the construction of gender and other structures which sustain and legitimate the practice of sexual violence (Shugart, 1994). To create new norms of sexuality, then, is to have a significant impact on subjects’ bodies and also

9 While I am arguing that these normative discourses of sexuality are crucial for understanding sexual violence and its prevention, this is not to say that all sexualities can be placed into two distinct masculine and feminine categories. Sexuality is complex and, like other forms of power people can, and do, both reinforce and resist particular discourses around sexual scripts (Tolman, 2012). Moreover, I am allowing for the fact that women may attach their own meanings to sexuality (but never in an immediate, unmediated way). Indeed, much work has been done on investigating women’s sexuality and giving voice to women’s ‘discourse of desire’ (Allen, 2013; Gill, 2009). Research has shown that women desire sexual desire, even if they feel like they do not have any, but are wary of the demands of sexual activity brought about by competing discourses and expectations (Hayfield & Clarke, 2012). Furthermore, feminists such as Irigary (1996) have described in detail a female sexuality characterised by process, connectedness, fluidity and multiplicity in a way that male sexuality is not.
to regulate subjects’ behaviour. The findings of my analysis lead me to argue that sexuality is the primary discourse through which we can promote subjects’ abilities to act in certain ways, as sexuality and gender are inherently enmeshed. To change discourses of sexuality and create alternatives would impact the behaviours and practices of subjects, and in this way we can undermine discourses which serve to legitimate sexual violence. Challenging damaging discourses of sexuality is therefore pivotal to rape prevention and to assessing prevention strategies. The above discussion of sexuality suggests that traditional concepts of gender are deeply embedded in the normative construction of male and female sexualities (DeShong, 2011). Sexuality works to create and extend hegemonic discourses of gender, and thus by transforming discursive formations of sexuality we also transform categories of gender.

1.8 Gender

Connell (2002) has argued that gender is much more than one to one relationships between bodies, but rather a vast and complicated institutional and cultural order. Working from a theory of gender as a set of socially determined and regulatory norms, we can consider masculinity and femininity to be socially constructed forces that impact on subjects’ physical realities and the way they live their lives. It also follows that these gendered identities can be resisted and resignified. By working to recreate the norms that constitute subjects we can make more, and different, subject positions available. An analysis of the way masculine and feminine subjects are constructed is useful to sexual violence prevention, and scholars like Capraro (1994) have argued that our understandings of rape should be embedded within a discussion of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is often defined in relation to various subordinated masculinities, as well as in a dichotomous relationship to femininity (Berkowitz, 2002; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). In line with a philosophy of sexual violence that sees rape as a predictable outcome of normative discourses of gender and heterosexuality, we can think of rape as a behaviour that is linked to larger systems of attitudes, values and modes of conduct that constitute hegemonic masculinity and male sexuality. We can see this connection in research which highlights that rape proclivity is strongly associated with hyper masculinity or the tendency to over conform with male gender role expectancy (Laker & Davis, 2011).

For example, it is well established that on an individual level men are more likely to rape if they hold rape myths to be true, lack empathy for victims, express anger and hostility towards women, identify strongly with traditional images of masculinity and male gender privilege, see male violence as desirable and believe in male sexual entitlement (Baker, 2013; Berkowitz,
Research has indicated that men and boys experience significant social pressure to endorse gendered societal prescriptions (Courtenay, 2000). This hegemonic masculinity has been described by theorists as a ‘man box’, where men are constrained to conform to particular ideas of masculinity which involve characteristics such as toughness, dominance, repression of empathy, and competitiveness. If men try to step outside of the ‘man box’, they may face repercussions and therefore it follows that ‘real men’ are forced to live inside the ‘man box’ (Allen, 1994; Kivel, 1992; Miedzian, 2002). While many conceptualisations of masculinity exist and are taken up by subjects, because hegemonic masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininity, it works to socialise and constrain men to stigmatise or devalue anything associated with the feminine.

The feminine is often associated with the body, dependence, emotions, passivity, vulnerability and nurturance. Courtenay (2000) argues that it is not just the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity but the rejection of femininity which is crucial to demonstrating hegemonic masculinity in a sexist and gender dichotomous society, such that “men and boys who attempt to engage in social action that demonstrates feminine norms of gender risk being relegated to the subordinated masculinity of ‘wimp’ or ‘sissy’” (Courtenay, 2000, p.1389). Understanding gender norms is crucial to analysing the effectiveness of rape prevention interventions, as it has been established that violence against women is more likely in contexts where manhood is culturally defined in strong opposition to femininity and where masculinity is linked to dominance, toughness or male honour (Hong, 2000). In light of these arguments, much rape prevention work now focuses on men and aims to undermine the beliefs, values and discourses which support violence, to challenge patriarchal constructions of masculinity and male sexuality which promote and are maintained by violence, and also to stimulate alternative constructions of masculinity which are respectful and non-violent (Flood, 2003).

### 1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework that informs my analysis in subsequent chapters and provides a justification for how I will judge the effectiveness of rape prevention poster campaigns. This chapter highlights the centrality of discourses of sexuality, gender and sexual violence on how I will judge the usefulness of the rape prevention campaigns discussed in Chapters Three and Four. It also provides an outline of why I believe that poster campaigns can operate as such a powerful tool in ending rape culture and sexual violence. If we utilise Foucault’s work on discourse, power and governmentality there is obvious scope here to
imagine how we can harness disciplinary power, create new subject positions and govern the behaviours of subjects in more egalitarian and peaceful ways. In order for me to thoroughly consider the effectiveness of particular rape prevention poster campaigns, it is necessary to identify the problem. In the upcoming chapter, I will provide an overview of the problem of sexual violence and then discuss a selection of rape prevention theories that have shown to be effective in creating change. Chapter Two will provide an additional lens for analysing the poster campaigns, enabling us to ask how well they reflect what works in sexual violence prevention theory.
2. Chapter Two: Examining Rape Prevention Strategies

2.1 Introduction

Anti-rape activists have been working towards eliminating violence against women and children since the second wave feminist movement of the 1970s (Hromek & Walsh, 2012). However, despite over 30 years of feminist anti-rape activism, changes to laws and legislation, community awareness raising and the provision of specialist support services for survivors and perpetrators, sexual violence has not abated (Carmody, 2005). Although sexual violence is often a private crime, feminist campaigning has brought sexual violence into the public sphere and it is now recognised as an issue that demands attention by governments and communities more generally. However, similar progress cannot be said to have been made around the issue of rape prevention (Rowntree, 2010). It is also acknowledged that it is difficult to measure the impacts of prevention, to see that when you do something “something else does not happen” (Hromek & Walsh, 2012, p.47). While there is some evidence of feminists’ work in this space, for example with shifts in community attitudes towards sexual violence, it may take years for us to see the full extent of the impact that feminists’ prevention work has had on individuals and communities. However, I contend that it is still worthwhile for prevention efforts to be explored and evaluated if we want rape prevention initiatives to be valuable and effective.

In order to discuss rape prevention, it is necessary to first outline the problem so that we can evaluate the solutions. This chapter will begin by outlining the data available around sexual violence including the prevalence of the issue, as well as the information we have on risk factors associated with victimisation and perpetration. From there, drawing on selected literature I will discuss theories and models that underpin rape prevention practices generally and draw on studies that point to the effectiveness of particular prevention theories more specifically. It is important to talk about these theories as they are utilised in the rape prevention social marketing campaigns that I will be discussing in Chapters Three and Four. In order to evaluate the posters it is necessary to have an understanding of how well they align to theories that are effective. Finally, because I am interested in poster campaigns specifically as a form of prevention, I will consider literature that explains the theory behind social marketing campaigns, common critiques of social marketing and examples of how it has been used effectively in other campaigns for other social issues.
2.2 Defining the problem

New Zealand has exceptionally high rates of sexual violence with 1 in 3 girls and 1 in 6 boys experiencing some form of sexual abuse before the age of 18 and 29% of women and 9% of men experiencing some form of unwanted and distressing sexual contact during their life time ("Abuse of women," n.d.; Ministry of Justice, 2006; The University of Auckland: Adolescent Research Group, 2007). A recent report in the British medical journal The Lancet indicated that New Zealand’s sexual violence rate is far higher than the OECD average, the third highest alongside Australia ("Sexual assault high," n.d.). In comparison, the United Kingdom estimates around 1 in 5 women experience sexual violence and United States statistics suggest 1 in 6 women and 1 in 33 men are survivors of rape or attempted rape in their life time (Ministry of Justice, Home Office, & Office for National Statistics, 2013; “Rape crisis,” n.d.; “Reporting Rates,” n.d.). However, while these statistics are high they need to be acknowledged in a context of low reporting and differing understandings of sexual violence. That is, sexual violence is the least likely crime to be reported to police and reporting rates are consistently low, with only 9% of sexual violence reported in New Zealand, an estimated 15% reported in the United Kingdom10 and a 40% reporting rate in North America (McDonald & Tinsley, 2012; Ministry of Justice et al., 2013; “Rape and Incest,” 2009).

Moreover, information from the New Zealand Crime and Safety Survey (2006) found that over half the survivors surveyed felt that sexual abuse was wrong but not a crime or sexual violence was described as “something that just happens” (Ministry of Justice, 2006, p.26). Only 15% of young people in the New Zealand Youth 2000 survey had told an adult about experiencing sexual abuse (The University of Auckland: Adolescent Research Group, 2007). Because of these trends in statistics, it is generally acknowledged that reporting and disclosure rates are lower than actual prevalence. However, while sexual violence can be perpetuated by, and happen to, anyone regardless of gender, age, race, sexuality, class or ability, it is necessary to recognise that not all people are at equal risk of experiencing and perpetrating sexual violence. As will be outlined below, research indicates that sexual violence varies according to a mostly predictable set of personal and socio demographic patterns of gender, ethnicity and relationship to the perpetrator.

10 An investigation into the integrity of police crime reporting in the United Kingdom in 2014 found that police were failing to record 26% of rapes as crimes (Travis, 2014).
2.3 Victimisation

Gender is a major predictor of victimisation with women being at significantly higher risk of being victimised than men (Basile & Smith, 2011; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009). In New Zealand, young women between 15 to 24 and Māori women are twice as likely than other women to experience sexual violence, and young Pacific women also experience high levels of unwanted and distressing sexual contact, mostly from partners and ex-partners (Ministry of Justice, 2006; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009). In a survey of women university undergraduate students, researchers found that 51.6% of the sample had experienced sexual victimisation and 25.5% of those had experienced rape or attempted rape (Gavey, 1991). The Ministry of Women’s Affairs (2012) research suggests that at least 50% of girls and women who are sexually abused will be revictimised. This is in keeping with data from the Ministry of Justice’s National New Zealand Survey of Crime Victims (2001) which found that victimisation is often experienced more than once, within a relatively short period of time.

In addition to this, lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgendered and/or queer individuals are also at a much higher risk of victimisation than heterosexual or cisgendered individuals, either from partners or as a result of homophobic violence. Rates of sexual violence are sometimes as high as 47% within these groups (“80% of trans,” n.d.; “Special Reports,” n.d.). Individuals with disabilities are also more likely to experience sexual violence. Some international studies put the rates of sexual abuse as twice as high as those for able bodied people, studies also suggest that rates of sexual violence in these communities are sometimes up to 90% (“Crimes Against People,” 2007; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009). The impacts on survivors and our communities are also high. Sexual violence is correlated with almost every indicator of social deprivation related health issues as well as other so called ‘social problems’ including “increased smoking, drug and alcohol overuse, relationship break down, truancy, teenage pregnancy, the ability to parent well and suicidality” (Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009, p.ii). Treasury estimates that sexual offending costs the New Zealand economy 1.2 billion dollars per year, around $72,130.37 per incident, and is by far the most costly crime per incident in the country (Roper & Thompson, 2006).

2.4 Perpetration

Similar risk factors exist for perpetration. As previously mentioned, perpetrators can be anyone from any background. However, sexual violence is a highly gendered crime and 99% of perpetrators in New Zealand are male (Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009).
Research suggests that perpetrators are most likely to be people known to the survivor, with one third of sexual violence committed by current partners and then in decreasing order to ex-partners, friends and colleagues (“Rape and Incest,” 2009). This is in keeping with statistics from The National Collective of Rape Crisis Aotearoa which found that 92.6% of survivors knew their perpetrators (Holdt & Associates, 1997). The New Zealand National Survey of Crime Victims (2001) found that almost all of the survivors surveyed said the perpetrator was male and the majority stated that they already knew their perpetrator(s). We also know that most perpetrators begin perpetrating in adolescence or as young adults and it is a minority of perpetrators who commit the majority of sexual offences (Burn, 2009). Moreover research suggests that alcohol is a significant risk factor for sexual violence with 75% of sexual assaults co-occurring with alcohol use (Russell, 2008a), and 50% of sexual violence incidents involve alcohol use by the perpetrator (Burn, 2009). Surveys of college students suggest that between 62% and 72% of survivors were impaired or incapacitated at the time of the assault (Burn, 2009). Drug and alcohol related assaults are more common than non-drug and alcohol related assaults, and these assaults are most frequently associated with voluntary drinking by the survivor, although alcohol is also the most often used date rape ‘drug’ (Russell, 2008a).

2.5 Prevention theories

In order to do the work of rape prevention it is important for us to understand the problem of sexual violence, and the way it plays out in communities as a predictable outcome of a patriarchal and colonial society. Understanding the scope and impact of sexual violence is significant for prevention as it allows anti-rape initiatives to be targeted towards those most at risk of offending, and can also aim to improve protective factors for the most vulnerable groups. Prevention is defined in three different levels: primary; secondary and tertiary. Primary prevention aims to stop sexual violence before it occurs. Secondary prevention relates to the first response to survivors and perpetrators after violence has occurred and tertiary prevention is about long term responses to survivors and perpetrators. Tertiary prevention also includes perpetrator treatment programmes (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004). Initially, prevention efforts focused on secondary and tertiary interventions, i.e. raising awareness of the issue, bringing forward the voices of survivors and arguing for dedicated specialist sexual violence resources for survivors. Primary prevention in contrast involves developing comprehensive strategies to stop sexual violence before either victimisation or perpetration occurs. Within this approach prevention strategies can be universal, aimed at a general population, regardless of how they are affected by sexual violence, or targeted at
selected at risk groups (Lee, 2007). Many different theories of sexual violence prevention exist and this section will outline some of the most prominent theories including: rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction; social norms theory; bystander intervention theory; models of ethical relating and approaches which focus on engaging men as allies in ending sexual violence sometimes called gender transformative theory. Many more theoretical models exist but I have selected these theories to apply to the collection of poster campaigns in this thesis.

### 2.6 Rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction.

Preventative efforts with women have been aimed at them as potential victims and predominantly teach them to modify their behaviour to prevent victimisation. Rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction strategies work from a neoliberal perspective of sexual violence which situates rape as problem of individual women and individual perpetrators, rather than a social and structural problem stemming from patriarchal and colonial inequality. Research in this prevention area has looked at women’s rape avoidance or resistance techniques during assaults in order to judge which tactics are ‘more effective’ at stopping rapes from being ‘completed’ (Levine-MacCombie & Koss, 1986). Other research suggests this is necessary as women who experience ‘completed rapes’ are more traumatised than women who experience ‘attempted rapes’ (Ullman, 1997, 2002, 2007). I find this framework problematic as it reinforces a hierarchy of violence which suggests that an ‘attempted assault’ is inherently less traumatic than a so called ‘completed assault’. In doing so, these definitions also necessarily reinforce heteronormative discourses of sexuality which consider penetration to be a central part of sexual activity and also sexual violence.

Rape resistance, avoidance and risk reduction programmes have included both avoidance tactics and resistance strategies (Basile, 2003; Piccigallo, Lilley, & Miller, 2012). As we shall see in my later discussion of subsequent poster campaigns, risk reduction strategies for women such as avoiding walking alone at night, limiting how much you drink, changing the way you dress, or learning self-defence are still widely endorsed by some organisations and some feminists.\footnote{See Cahill’s \textit{Rethinking Rape} (2001) for an excellent discussion of rape as an embodied experience and a disappointing suggestion that women learning self-defence is a useful solution to rape prevention.} Research has shown that programmes that teach risk reduction strategies such as self-defence are empowering for individual women, but work to depoliticise the issue of sexual violence and therefore erode ideas of collective action and community responsibility for rape prevention (Vetten, 2011). Furthermore, risk reduction strategies responsibilise women to...
resist rape and contribute to discourses that blame women, restrict the freedom of women’s choices and reinforce rape myth. Statistically, it is in fact much safer to be out alone rather than at home with your partner, as women are most often raped by someone they know in their own home or the perpetrator’s home (“Rape and Incest,” 2009; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009). These strategies also devalue and make invisible the many ways in which women non-violently resist sexual violence, by disassociating, pretending to be asleep or unconscious, bargaining and negotiating (Jordan, 2008).

### 2.7 Social norms theory

A paradigm shift in prevention has seen a move away from the type of prevention interventions that address women as potential victims, and have instead moved towards addressing men both as a group at risk of perpetration and as potential allies. One method that is used to influence non-violent behaviour is based in social norms theory. According to social norms theory, individuals often falsely believe that most people engage in unhealthy behaviours or hold unhealthy attitudes, a misperception that may motivate people to increase their own unhealthy behaviour (Cox, Lang, Townsend, & Campbell, 2010). The assumption that these misperceptions (otherwise referred to as pluralistic ignorance) influence people’s behaviour is a central assumption of the social norms approach. Social norms research has established that much human behaviour is based on misperceptions and that misperceptions are more extreme in individuals who already exhibit problem behaviour (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). In relation to violence, there is now consistent evidence of a relationship between rape supportive beliefs and attitudes, hostility towards women and/or feminism and violent behaviour at both individual and community levels (Bernat, Calhoun, Clum, & Frame, 1997; Truman, Tokar, & Fischer, 1996; Zinzow & Thompson, 2014). For example, boys and young men who endorse rape supportive attitudes are more likely to have been sexually coercive. Thus, the literature establishes a firm relationship between men’s adherence to sexist, patriarchal and/or sexually hostile attitudes towards women and their actual use of violence against women (Flood & Pease, 2009).

Social norms theory draws from research which suggests that men are often uncomfortable with the way that they have been taught to be men and want to be accepted and appreciated by other men. This results in men tolerating other men’s abusive behaviour and attitudes towards women (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). Most men overestimate the degree to which other men believe in stereotypical characteristics of what it means to be a man; most men do not endorse these attitudes but think that other men do. In addition to this, a number of studies
have highlighted that men underestimate other men’s discomfort with language or behaviour that objectifies women, men’s desire to seek consent, men’s desire to act out against injustice and other men’s willingness to prevent sexual violence (Baker, 2013; Carr & VanDeusen, 2004; Flood, 2005; Kilmartin et al., 2008). Social norms theory begins with the recognition of the disparity of these ideas and aims to shift the perception of these norms by revealing the reality undermining men’s conformity to these norms (Flood, 2005).

Social norms theory now has documented success in creating long term change in behaviour in regards to HIV prevention. HIV/AIDS prevention efforts have included social networks and community level structures within gay communities to disseminate information, change social norms and empower men to promote safer sex with tangible success (Devos-Comby & Salovey, 2002). Like sexual violence, safe sexual practices usually occur in private. However, they are influenced by the perceived norms and expectations communicated by, and within, peer social networks. A central tenet of the social norms model is that individual behaviour change needs to be supported by normalising (in this case) ethical sexual behaviour in a broader sense (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; Heise, 1998). While social norms have been used successfully to reduce HIV (as well as drug and alcohol use), it is important to note that one key factor contributing to this approach’s failure is an individual’s resistance to the campaign messages based on what they perceive to be ‘low believability’. It is important that the norms presented are believable to the target audience (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004; Smith, Atkin, Martell, Allen, & Hembroff, 2006).

### 2.8 Bystander intervention

Social norms concepts are also included in bystander intervention models. The bystander approach for sexual violence is most associated with the work of Banyard (2011) and her colleagues at the University of New Hampshire and Carmody’s (2003) work on sexual ethics. Due to their work, an emphasis on educating and empowering the bystander to become an ethical point of intervention within the community has become a central facet in many education programmes (Burn, 2009). Bystander intervention programmes aim to engage both men and women as having a responsibility to intervene in situations, before, during or after sexual violence. This strategy challenges neoliberal understandings of rape and considers sexual violence as a community problem which all members have a responsibility to take action against (McMahon & Farmer, 2009). Integral to this approach are studies that show that men’s willingness to intervene and prevent sexual violence is based on their perception of other men’s willingness to intervene (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). Significantly, some men are
only interested in what other men think, not what they think women think (Katz, 2013; Schacht & Ewing, 2004). A bystander focus is considered to create less defensiveness, because people are approached as potential allies rather than potential victims or perpetrators (Burn, 2009).

Bystander programmes conceptualise sexual violence as a continuum where different acts are linked to each other on a spectrum of violence. For example, we know individuals who have strong hostility towards women are more likely to be sexually aggressive and we also know that individuals whose peers reinforce their negative attitudes are more likely to be sexually aggressive. Intervening at a stage on the continuum where individuals make derogatory or degrading comments about women, may help to change the norms of those engaging in negative behaviours (McMahon, Postmus, & Koenick, 2011). This model requires that bystanders to sexual violence become active agents of transformation, moving our culture toward ethical and respectful versions of sexual behaviour (Burn, 2009). In order for this strategy to be effective, individuals need to notice that something is happening, recognise the event as behaviour along the sexual violence continuum, take responsibility for providing help, know how to intervene and choose to intervene safely. The value of this approach is that it means each person can be engaged in preventing sexual violence by taking small and straightforward actions in less extreme situations (“Engaging Bystanders,” n.d.).

While research into bystander behaviour for sexual violence is still in its infancy, studies have suggested that men and women who participate in bystander programs show improvements in attitudes, knowledge and behaviour and feel more comfortable intervening in situations along the sexual violence continuum (McMahon & Banyard, 2012). One study also showed that students who were trained in an ethical bystander programme had significantly lower rape myth acceptance and also reported engaging in significantly more bystander behaviours than untrained students, which highlights the potential utility of this strategy (Coker et al., 2011). While bystander intervention has been criticised for promoting discrete interventions rather than broad social changes (“Why do we,” n.d.) and these strategies in and of themselves will not create non-violent men (or women), they could act as a powerful catalyst to creating a safe environment for men to be themselves and for women to be safe from violence (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008).
2.9 Ethical relating

Another approach which involves both women and men are programmes that focus on ethical relating and enhancing skills of negotiating consent. Discussions of consent are a key aspect of sexual violence prevention and one that sets rape prevention apart from gendered violence prevention more generally. This approach argues that separating rape prevention from sexuality education more broadly is limiting, as it disallows the recognition and exploration of the interconnected nature of pleasure and risk in people’s lives. As mentioned in Chapter One, discussions of sexuality are often heteronormative and place women in a position of protecting themselves and controlling or ‘gatekeeping’ the ‘un-ethical man’ deciding at what stage of a relationship to ‘let’ sex happen, while at the same time their own desires and pleasures are not heard, emphasising the missing ‘discourse of desire’ around women’s sexuality (Carmody, 2003, 2005, 2013; Carmody & Ovenden, 2013). From this position, discussions about sexual violence also need to include discussions of how best to negotiate sexual intimacy and pleasure (Allen & Cameron-Lewis, 2013). Carmody’s (2003, 2005, 2006, 2013) work on ethical erotic’s rejects universalised assumptions of masculinity and femininity and recognises that there are multiple and diverse ways to perform gender and sexuality which acknowledges that not all men link sex with violence and not all women are caring and non-violent.

Carmody argues that while feminists acknowledge that masculinities are affected by their intersection with race, class, sexuality and ability we know “little about the lived realities of men’s masculinities” (Carmody, 2013, p.2). Thus, the focus of prevention education for Carmody should be in clearly articulated discourses that acknowledge that there are multiple subjectivities available to men and women. Carmody (2003, 2006) argues that rape prevention education should be based on building and understanding the process of ethical sexual relations and ethical relations more generally, as the potential for ethical sexual relationships are available, and possible, in every encounter. This approach is based on a Foucauldian theory of power which acknowledges that the dominant gender order limits the possibility of egalitarian relationships between men and women, but it does not preclude the possibility of fluid power relations, and resistance, between individuals. This approach argues that we need to move away from conceptualisations of heterosexuality as inherently negative and encourage positive forms of sexuality as non-violent and egalitarian. Carmody and Ovenden (2013, p.3) suggest that “central to developing alternative models is the need to move away from a moral panic approach that fears and seeks to control the sexual lives of young women
and men.” This is congruent with other feminist arguments which claim that we need to create a counter discourse where heterosexuality is considered pleasurable for both men and women, rather than theorising heterosexuality just as a space of risk and inequity (Beasley, 2008).

Similarly, Friedman and Valenti (2008) focus on consent and argue that it is necessary for us to shift the framework of consent from requiring non-willing parties to say ‘no’ to encouraging both parties to freely, willingly and enthusiastically consent to sex through an on-going process of communication and negotiation. However, while it is indeed a necessary element of rape prevention that consent needs to be acknowledged as fundamental to positive sexual experiences, it is also important to acknowledge that consent takes place within a sphere of already gendered power relations where many people find it difficult to understand consent and are often ambivalent about their sexual relations (Gavey, 2005). Another critique of this approach is from Flood (2005, p.33) who argues:

Men do not sexually assault because they lack skills but because they feel they can, doing so offers certain benefits and their behaviour is socially sanctioned. Skills training can underestimate the ways in which dominant forms of masculinity may 'feel right' or 'make imaginative sense' to the men who inhabit them.

In a recent UN report on the men’s perpetration of sexual violence, the men in the study claimed they perpetrated sexual violence because they believed they were entitled to do so, it was entertaining, or it was a legitimate punishment towards women (Baker, 2013; Fulu et al., 2013). Similarly, research by Hird and Jackson (2001) show that some young people’s narratives about sex highlight that young men are aware that women are not consenting to sexual activity but normalise instances of sexual coercion. Teaching techniques of consent and refusal may play into the ‘miscommunication’ theory of sexual violence, which suggests that there is a gendered dichotomy of conversational techniques used by men and women, 12

12 As highlighted in the following quote:

Tim: Actually you are more likely to do what they say if they actually push you away then if they say ‘no let’s not’, because you think ‘if I just try a little more maybe I’ll get her into it.’

Joal: Yeah. If they push you off then you feel stupid. If they tell you ‘no’ then you just think ‘well, I can persuade them and get around it.’ (Hird & Jackson, 2001, p.35)
and this leads to inevitable situations of miscommunication whereby men and women misinterpret each other’s verbal and non-verbal cues which allows rape to happen (Flood, 2004; “Mythcommunication,” n.d.; O’Bryne, Rapley, & Hansen, 2008).

2.10 Gender transformation

Finally, the gender transformative approach to rape prevention focuses on changing aspects of gender socialisation and masculinity in order to promote alternative constructions of masculinity and male sexuality which foster non-violence and gender equity. Gender transformative approaches work to engage both women and men in interventions which involve an explicit orientation towards assessing and changing the norms and relations of gender. Baker (2013, p.2) writes:

   Engaging boys and men to prevent violence against women has been identified internationally as one of the top 20 ‘practice innovations’ in violence and injury prevention during the last 20 years. Violence prevention efforts among men and boys can make a difference.

A growing body of knowledge and experience on sexual violence prevention points to the importance of involving both women and men in building gender equality. In contrast to rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction strategies, gender transformative approaches acknowledge that while most men do not use violence against women, when violence does occur it is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men (Flood, 2011). In addition, as outlined in Chapter One, it is now widely understood that constructions of masculinity are integral to shaping men’s violence against women. These strategies focus on working with both men and women to deconstruct beliefs, values and discourses which support rigid gender roles and which normalise and support sexual violence and patriarchal power relations (Flood, 2005; Hall, 2004; Schewe & O’Donohue, 1993; Yost & Zurbrigggen, 2006).

2.11 Social marketing campaigns

Social marketing campaigns are routinely used as a prevention tool to educate targeted public audiences. Social marketing campaigns can be described as exercises in information control. They have two main goals: one, to increase the amount of information about a particular issue which may include redefining the issue as a public health problem in order to make it salient and attractive to the public; and two, to give the public direction for potential ways of changing their current undesirable (as defined by the campaign) behaviour, and in this way
they are the perfect mechanism for utilising disciplinary power (Potter & Stapleton, 2011; Potter, 2012). Social marketing evolved as a technique to influence social norms and health behaviours in the 1970s. Cheetham (2001) explains that early approaches to social marketing were based on simple adaptations of established commercial marketing techniques to promote social change. Social marketing now encompasses a wide variety of activities directed at both personal and social structural change (Apollonio & Malone, 2009). We can consider this approach to be the ‘businessification’ of social issues. Research acknowledges campaigns are most effective when they include a variety of media (posters, online elements etc.) and co-occur with other intervention strategies (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1994; Hall & Karpicke, 2011). This highlights that social marketing campaigns should not be viewed as a short term behavioural change interventions, but rather as interventions intended to gradually restructure the public’s cognition around various issues related to sexual violence (Cismaru, Lavack, & Markewich, 2009; Potter, Moynihan, Stapleton, & Banyard, 2009).

The concept of social marketing is rooted in the notion of exchange theory which posits that individuals can choose to exchange their resources for perceived benefits. The emphasis in social marketing is on voluntary exchange (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Lombardo & Léger, 2007). Social marketing planning is based on the ‘four p’s’ of marketing; product, price, promotion and place (Cheetham, 2001; Hertzog & Williams, 2007; Lombardo & Léger, 2007; Taylor & Henderson, 1992). Unlike commercial campaigns, the product to sell in social marketing may be behaviours, attitudes or ideas, not tangible items. A ‘core product’ is the benefit to the consumer of adopting the product (such as non-violent attitudes) and the ‘actual’ product is the specific behaviour that the campaign promotes to bring about those benefits (such as negotiating consent) (Coker et al., 2011; Potter, 2012). In order for social marketing to be effective, campaigns must also utilise the concept of ‘self-efficacy’ which is found to be the

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13 Product is the behaviour or action that the campaign wants the audience to undertake. Price is where audience members will perform a cost benefit analysis comparing the investment of money, time and energy required to apply the behaviour with the benefits of applying the behaviour (Taylor & Henderson, 1992). These costs may be real or perceived, and may also include the risk of disapproval or embarrassment for not performing the behaviour. Place refers to where the campaign is advertised. Ideally the place should reflect where the target audience spends their time, makes their health decisions and are ‘close’ to the behaviour. Finally, promotion refers to the message itself, its impact and how it is conveyed through distribution channels. Promotion should increase awareness about a particular issue and encourage appropriate behaviour towards it (Hertzog & Williams, 2007; Lombardo & Léger, 2007).
most important indicator of social behaviour change (Cismaru et al., 2009). Self-efficacy is the individual’s belief that they have the skills and ability to overcome the cost involved in adopting the recommended behaviour. Campaigns should therefore include specific advice to the audience about how to adopt the behaviour and make them feel confident to achieve the change in behaviour (Cismaru et al., 2009; Strecher, DeVellis, Becker, & Rosenstock, 1986). Self-efficacy has been found to be a consistent predictor in determining the short and long term success of social marketing campaigns (Strecher et al., 1986). Self-efficacy is a strong literal example of the ‘conduct of conduct’ and highlights how if done correctly, social marketing campaigns can utilise disciplinary power to conduct the behaviour of subjects in ways that lead to positive change.

The concept of self-efficacy leads to one of the major critiques of social marketing campaigns. The criticism is that they tend to promote individual based responsibility for health and social concerns, thus ignoring larger structural barriers to change. The conception of the individual who will prevail over social norms is a key facet of neoliberal philosophy and is strongly evident in this paradigm of behaviour change, and is contrary to feminist approaches to rape prevention. Moreover, social marketing emphasises rational and linear cost/benefit reasoning without due consideration to intervening principles in decision making, such as emotional and cultural norms, the effect of social/contextual norms, or in terms of sexual violence, the unequal dynamics of the relationship itself (Adams & Neville, 2012; Fisher, Goodwin, & Enquiry, 2008; Lombardo & Léger, 2007). Despite this, there is evidence that social marketing campaigns have been used successfully in HIV/AIDS prevention and preventing drunk driving (Cismaru et al., 2009; Kitzinger, 2006; Lombardo & Léger, 2007). Media campaigns have proven successful in increasing people’s knowledge about gendered violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms but because attitudes do not necessarily reflect behaviour, it is difficult to measure whether there are changes in levels of violence due to campaign interventions (Martín-Santana & Beerli-Palacio, 2013; World Health Organisation, 2009). In their discussion of the ‘Think Again’ poster campaign (a Canadian social marketing campaign aimed at gay men, asking them to rethink the risks of unprotected sex with a partner if you do not know their HIV status), Lombardo and Léger (2007) note that in respect to sexual practices, there is a need for prevention efforts to account for social and contextual factors in safer sex

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14 This is evidenced in public opinion polls on lowering the drink driving limit in New Zealand in 2013. Ten years previously, 47% of people backed the lowering the drink-driving limit and 50% did not agree. In 2013 after a decade of drink driving prevention and social norms campaigns, 69% of people backed lowering the limit with only 29% not in favour (One News, October 2013).
decision making, as well as to enhance the individual’s interest and skills in engaging in safer sex.

Studies also indicate that social marketing campaigns effectively promote attitudinal change in relation to gendered violence. New Zealand’s ‘It’s not ok’ campaign is a community-driven effort to reduce family violence. Its goal is to change attitudes and behaviour that tolerate any kind of family violence. It was launched in September 2007 with the simple message: ‘Family violence is not OK, but it is OK to ask for help’. In 2010 a new message ‘it is OK to help’ was added in response to consistent feedback that people want to help in family violence situations but are not sure what to do (Family Violence, 2011). Since the launch of the campaign, research has shown marked increases in respondent’s knowledge about family violence, with 1 in 3 people taking some form of action to prevent family violence due to the campaign (Family Violence, 2011). While social marketing is an effective strategy and can be successfully utilised to prevent sexual violence, it must be considered as one method used as part of a broader campaign to address the complex interplay of social, behavioural and environmental contributors to violence.

### 2.12 Conclusion

Sexual violence is a widespread issue, with a significant proportion of people being impacted directly, either as perpetrators or survivors, and all of us being impacted indirectly by the experiences of loved ones and the effects of rape culture more broadly. While sexual violence is rightly considered a complex issue with multi-faceted causes, we do know that inequalities in gender increases the risk of male violence towards women and therefore this should remain at the core of our analysis of rape prevention strategies. We now have a large amount of information that highlights risk factors for sexual violence at every level, both for perpetration and victimisation. This chapter has outlined some of the prevention theories and evidence that we have about which approaches are important in preventing rape and sexual violence. In the previous Chapter, I outlined the broad theoretical framework I am using to analyse the poster campaigns. This chapter has further defined the parameters for the analysis. Understanding the scope of the problem and the theories that may address this problem is important for analysing the effectiveness of the posters as many of the sexual violence prevention campaigns also draw from prevention theories such as those discussed in this thesis. In the

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15 The review document does not state specifically what kinds of actions have been taken to prevent family violence.
next chapter, I will provide a selection of rape prevention poster campaigns organised in themes of how they relate to the prevention theories outlined here.
3. Chapter Three: Reading Rape Prevention Images

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will begin my analysis of the poster campaigns I have selected for this thesis. The analysis is split over two chapters and it is helpful to think of these chapters as a ‘pair’. I have organised the campaigns into five different themes across the two chapters:

1. Rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction
2. Perpetrator-focused strategies
3. Bystander intervention strategies
4. Social norms
5. Ethical and gender transformative interventions.

These categories correspond to the prevention theories outlined in Chapter Two, and I have chosen where to place each campaign in a particular theme based on information that I have found in supporting documents about the images, as well as my own evaluation of what they represent. There are various approaches that can be taken to rape prevention, some more effective than others, both in resisting dominant discourses which underpin rape and rape culture and in creating alternative discourses which are ethical and non-violent. In these chapters I pay particular attention to the representation of sexuality, as I have outlined the importance of discourses of sexuality in creating a campaign that is ineffective or effective. The campaign themes move from ‘worst’ to ‘best’, or, ‘most problematic’ to ‘least problematic’ and therefore what I have judged least effective to most effective overall. Furthermore, within each theme the campaigns mirror this arrangement. That is, the images within each theme go from ‘worst’ to ‘best’.

This chapter includes campaigns that fit into the themes of rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction, as well as perpetrator-focused strategies. This chapter shows the examples of what I have evaluated to be the ‘worst’ campaigns or the least effective. In the first section of this chapter, rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction, I am discussing four campaigns. These campaigns target women as ‘potential victims’ and use fear tactics to encourage women to adopt recommended behaviours in order to ‘avoid’ or ‘reduce their risk’ of being raped. The first campaign is Call the Shots which was produced by the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board in 2011. This campaign involved poster images that were circulated online and an interactive website which is still active today. From there I discuss Cabwise or
Safer Travel at Night campaign created by Transport London and the Metropolitan Police (henceforth referred to as Cabwise). Cabwise was launched in 2002/3 and is the only campaign in this section which remains active and is on-going ("Safer Travel,” n.d.). The next campaign, Safe Night Out, is a United Kingdom campaign by the West Mercia Police which was produced and active in 2012. The campaign was supported by a webpage and a video of a survivor encouraging women not to drink to excess in order to avoid victimisation (Dolan, 2012). Finally, this section also includes an untitled campaign, also from the UK, created by the Association of Chief Police Officers, which was active in Manchester in 2009 but continues today in various districts around the UK.

The second section looks at campaigns and poster images that focus on the actions of perpetrators or potential perpetrators, shifting the focus from women to the actions of men. This section looks at four different campaigns including two images from the Safe Night Out campaign (Figure 8) and the campaign created by the Association of Chief Police Officers (Figure 9) which are discussed in section one in rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme. These campaigns have utilised strategies of rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction and perpetrator-focused interventions using two different poster images. I then discuss a West Midlands police campaign called No Excuses. This campaign from 2012 also included video footage of a survivor named ‘Louise’ who “decided to tell her story in an effort to reassure other victims about how seriously reports are taken, and the wide variety of support that is available” ("Police sex assault,” 2012, para.6). The other campaigns in this section include one created by the UK Home Office in 2011 which is unnamed and no longer active. The key question I raise in relation to this material is ‘to what extent do rape prevention campaigns resist, reinforce or create alternative discourses about sexual violence?’ As I have argued previously, rape prevention poster campaigns are a versatile and cost effective approach to doing rape prevention and I believe they can be utilised to great effect in the battle against sexual violence. However, in order for them to be effective they must open up alternative ethical positions for subjects to occupy, and I argue that this is most easily done through resisting, or reinventing discourses of male and female sexuality. In order to address my key question I will be analysing the posters using the theoretical framework I have set out in the preceding chapters.
3.2 Rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction

3.2.1 Call The Shots

In this section I will analyse a series of images and poster campaigns that target women in a prevention effort addressed in Chapter Two as rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction. As Vetten (2011) pinpoints, these interventions do not address rape causation but rather ask people, predominantly women, to take responsibility for avoiding sexual violence or resisting sexual violence once it is already occurring through various self-defence methods.16

The first poster campaign I will analyse was created by the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board as part of their Call The Shots campaign. The poster I am analysing was also featured on a website called ‘Controltonight.com’ which took users through an interactive experience of a series of alcohol related scenarios. One of these was a date rape scenario.17 Several other posters in the campaign concerned the dangers of heavy drinking including alcohol poisoning, drink driving, drunk sex and drunken arguments. I cannot show the poster as my request for copyright for the image was declined by the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, “out of sensitivity to those the original ad impacted” and “the sensitive nature of the ‘date rape’ ad and the passionate response from the public” (B. Gardner, personal communication, 5 September 2013). However, in lieu of being able to show the poster I will aim to describe the original poster image. The poster features a white woman’s legs splayed in a manner that suggests she is unconscious. She is positioned lying down on a tiled floor (possibly a bathroom). Her legs are cropped just before the groin and we see her underwear around her ankles. The text reads:

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16 In 2013 we saw the marketing of two types of ‘anti rape underwear’ which highlight this approach to rape prevention. The first was underwear which would give attackers an electric shock and later in the year, underwear which locks the user inside with cut proof adjustable straps (visible panty line free!) (“Controversial new anti-rape,” 2013). In 2014, an all-male group of students from North Carolina University created a nail polish which changes colour when in the presence of date rape ‘drugs’, “empowering women to discreetly ensure her safety by simply stirring her drink with her finger” (Valenti, 2014, para.1). These examples highlight the commodification of ‘victimisation preventing’ products for women, which capitalise on women’s fear of rape, which is reinforced and extended through the marketing of these products.

17 As part of the interactive experience you could enter your information and be taken through the website as if the situation was happening to you or your friend. This meant for this scenario you would be taken through the website as if you or a friend were experiencing date rape.
2. 14 am. She didn’t want to do it, but she couldn’t say no. When your friends drink, they can make bad decisions. Like going home with someone they don’t know very well. Decisions like that leave them vulnerable to dangers like date rape. Help your friends stay in control and stay safe.

(Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, n.d.)

The poster led to widespread public outcry and was eventually pulled from the website due to the victim-blaming messaging which claims women are to blame for date rape if they had been drinking and that rape is the logical outcome of women’s ‘bad decisions’ (Edwards, 2011; Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, n.d.). Rape survivors said that the image triggered them to relive their own attacks and the image portrayed survivors as helpless victims (Edwards, 2011). Not only does the poster and the accompanying website blame survivors for sexual violence it also blames survivors’ friends. The website cautions: “calling the shots start with you. What if you didn’t watch out for your friends during a night of drinking?” (Mastrine, 2011, call the shots section, para.1; Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, n.d.). I am not suggesting here that friends and others do not have a role in helping each other stay safe by looking out for one another. As discussed in Chapter Two, bystander intervention strategies which promote intervening to help others in precursors to dangerous or potentially dangerous situations are extremely effective in preventing sexual violence. Instead, I am arguing that adopting a kind of bystander-blaming framing, as we see here, which holds survivors’ friends responsible for sexual violence is ineffective, as it does not provide any strategies to help keep friends and others safe. Rather, it suggests that friends police the sexual decision making of women by not letting them ‘go home with someone they don’t know very well’ and that if you fail to do so you are to blame for your friend’s experience of abuse.

A spokesperson for the agency said that the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board were not surprised at all by the negative publicity, but the poster’s aim was to raise awareness, not to place blame on survivors (Stebner, 2011). The agency further defended the poster with a spokesperson saying that the posters were trying to bring attention to the problem of alcohol facilitated sexual violence. She said, “if we can prevent one person from taking that next drink, then we feel this campaign has been an enormous success” (Stebner, 2011, para.8). One defender of the poster, Jennifer Storm the executive director of the Victim/Witness Assistance Programme, an organisation which aims to ensure the legal rights of victims who engage with the criminal justice system, argued that the posters brought attention to the fact that alcohol is the number one drug used to facilitate rape and people “lose their capacity to make sound
decisions” and therefore it was “important to arm people with every tool and piece of knowledge we have” in order to prevent victimisation (Stebner, 2011, para.11).

However, while the creators purport the aim of both the poster and the website was to raise awareness and not to place blame, the posters explicitly reinforce victim-blaming as well as bystander-blaming discourses and in this way obscure the realities of sexual violence, such as the use of alcohol to surreptitiously and deliberately incapacitate potential victims. While the proponents claims that this poster helps to show the public that alcohol is used as a date rape drug (which indeed it is), I do not believe this information comes across to members of the general public, who may have limited knowledge of the realities of sexual violence and/or strong belief in rape myth and victim-blaming narratives. Rather, the poster merely acts to reinforce the widely held rape myth that women who are drunk are partly to blame for being raped (“Rape” 2005; Shackle, 2010). I argue that we see visually represented here what Howe discusses in her (2006) book *Sex, Violence and Crime: Foucault and the 'Man' Question*. Howe (2006, p.1) discusses “the 'man' question. So named because it pays attention to the discursive place occupied, or more usually vacated, by men in their accounts of their violence against women”. She argues that the use of ‘discursive manoeuvres’ (such as mother blaming discourses, un-naming men’s violence or the questionable use of statistics) work to erase the problem of men’s violence. In this campaign we see these discursive manoeuvres in action, as the perpetrator is not represented at all within the poster except as someone that the survivor ‘doesn’t know very well’, and thus the perpetrator is ‘vacated’ from the image. This discourse intensifies the myth of ‘stranger rape’, the idea that sexual violence is committed by someone not known to the survivor when the reality is that sexual violence is most likely to be committed by a survivors’ partner, ex-partner, colleague or friend (Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009).

Moving on now to analyse the text of the poster: ‘she didn’t want to do it, but’. This implies that she actively did ‘do it’ reinforcing the widely held rape myth which suggests that survivors actively participate in their own victimisation (Shugart, 1994; “Women 'to blame','” 2013). The use of ‘do it’ also draws on a popular euphemism for consensual sexual activity ‘doing it’, which further reinforces the survivors role as an active participant in sexual violence, rather than drawing from a legal and feminist definition of rape as a violation perpetrated against a person’s will. Additionally, both the image and the text reinforce ideas of feminine sexuality as passive and reactive to men’s inherent and insatiable sexuality. There are no discourses surrounding the campaign that disrupt heteronormative sexuality. Moreover, the text ‘but she couldn’t say no’ sends a false message about legal and ethical standards of consent, implying
that by not saying ‘no’ the survivor was compliant in the abuse being perpetrated. This is legally (as well as ethically) incorrect as legal definitions of rape in most jurisdictions in North America no longer require ‘utmost resistance’\(^\text{18}\) although some still use variations of this law such as “reasonable” or “earnest” resistance (Feinman, 2010, p.300). The poster reinforces outdated and un-ethical standards of consent and in turn the rape myth that by failing to clearly say ‘no’ survivors are partially responsible for sexual violence, a myth that one survey showed almost one third of men and women believe (“Women ‘to blame’,” 2013).

In so doing, the poster works to reinforce discourses of heteronormative heterosexuality outlined in Chapter One, where men are the active initiators of sexual activity and women are positioned as passive gate-keepers. The poster therefore reproduces mixed messages about consent and sexual violence, labelling it as date rape but simultaneously suggesting the survivor participated in the assault, and that both her and her friends could/should have taken actions to avoid this. This campaign fits squarely within a rape resistance or avoidance strategy which aims to prevent victimisation of particular women, rather than preventing the perpetration of rape against all women. It uses what in social marketing is called a ‘threat appeal’ which aims to produce fear or anxiety about the consequences depicted in the imagery (Witte & Allen, 2000). This is meant to inspire compliance with the recommended behaviours promoted in the image to avoid said consequences (Devos-Comby & Salovey, 2002). This rape resistance discourse fits extremely well within a neoliberal view of crime where social problems of violence are transformed to personal problems with personal solutions (Hall, 2004; Stringer, 2014). Cahill (2001) contends that it is in feminine bodies and gestures that we see the effect of discourses of power that hold women responsible for the sexual violence, and so, women are made responsible for avoiding rape and in turn, discourses of individual responsibility act as a type of disciplinary power in a way that is repressive and further entrenches relationships of subordination for women.

Luke (2009) conducted research into the way women reproduce these discourses of gendered responsibility associated with sexual violence, gender and power. One key practice that women use is the practice of victim-blaming, which contributes to a process of ‘othering’. ‘Othering’ is fundamental to reproducing and maintaining inequality. For example, women would identify drinking as a risk factor for sexual violence and attempt to distance themselves from ‘other’ women who were seen to ‘invite’ rape through their drinking. These mechanisms of ‘othering’ work to create an ‘us versus them’ dynamic between women’s qualities or actions

\(^{18}\) This required women to ‘resist to the utmost’ in order to prove that rape had occurred (Shwartz, 1983).
that are considered desirable or undesirable. These strategies work to provide women with a feeling of safety from sexual violence. That is, if I follow the rules of rape myth by not drinking too much, not dressing in a certain way and not socialising with people I do not know, then I am safe from sexual violence. This power has a disciplinary effect which teaches women to surveil their own behaviour, but also as highlighted in this poster, teaches friends to monitor the behaviours and sexual decision making of other women (Luke, 2009).

3.2.2 Cabwise/Safer Travel at Night

The second poster campaign in this section is Cabwise. This campaign is endorsed by the Mayor of London and is supported by Transport for London. It features a series of posters which target women’s uses of illegal minicabs set out below in Figures 1 through 5. The Cabwise campaign was launched in 2009 and has a dual focus, including poster images which try to regulate women’s use of unlicensed minicabs and posters which encourage women to modify their drinking behaviour and suggest that women’s drinking is a risk factor for sexual violence (one of the drinking related images from Cabwise can be seen in Appendix A) (“Eight sex attacks,” 2009). I have chosen to only discuss a selection of the images from the overall campaign and they are poster images which focus on women’s use of unlicensed minicabs. These are images from the second generation of the campaign which has been running since 2011. Local police statistics show that eight women a month are sexually violated by unlicensed minicab drivers in London. This is around 90-120 each year. The Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, told news outlets that a large number of young women still use illegal and unbooked minicabs which are a “threat to [their] personal safety” urging women “don’t take the risk” (“Eight sex attacks,” 2009, para.4).

According to Transport for London statistics, since the Cabwise campaign was launched the number of women using illegal minicabs dropped and the number of reported sexual assaults also dropped significantly (Transport for London, n.d.). This claim about the drop in reported sexual assaults is interesting as my experience in developing prevention initiatives is that any effective prevention strategy would have a detailed plan for dealing with the increased number of sexual violence disclosures. Given that reporting rates are already very low, it is expected that talking about sexual violence and developing individual’s understanding of what it means, generally leads to disclosure and help seeking and this is definitely my experience of delivering primary prevention messages. To see a marked decrease in reporting should not be seen as a positive outcome of a campaign, at least this early on, but I would argue a potentially detrimental effect of this type of victim-blaming campaign, as it may have prevented women who did take unlicensed minicabs and were assaulted, from coming forward.
The *Cabwise* campaign first gained publicity in 2009 when London taxi driver John Worboy was found guilty of drugging and raping a series of female passengers in the back of his cab. Worboy would pick up women in West London (who had already been drinking) and offer them champagne, claiming that he had won money at the casino. He would claim to live in the same area as the women and offer them discounted taxi fares, telling them he was concerned they would get picked up by an unlicensed cab. However, the drinks he gave them were laced with sedatives and his “victims were unable to prevent him sexually assaulting them” (“Cab driver guilty,” 2009, para.14). The Independent Police Complaints Commission ran an inquiry into the case after 14 women made complaints to police who failed to notice a pattern (“Cab driver John,” 2009). The campaign intensified after an unlicensed minicab driver raped a female passenger in 2013. The perpetrator picked up the woman and her male companion and then, claiming he was lost, suggested the man get out to ask for directions. He then locked the doors, kidnapped the woman and raped her. The news article reads “the victim had trusted that he would get her to her destination safely. However this sexual predator subjected her to this attack despite her pleas for him to stop” (Robson, 2013, para.13).

Disturbingly, this woman’s story appears to be paralleled in at least two of the images. Figure 1 below, features an extremely graphic depiction of a blonde white woman, her face out the window of a taxi screaming and crying. The main text reads ‘stop, no. Stop, please. No, please. Please stop taking unbooked minicabs’ and the sub text ‘whether you approach the driver or they approach you, there’s no record of the journey and you’re putting yourself in danger’. Figure 2, a black poster with yellow writing (taxi colours) reads ‘the door’s locked. Your knickers are around your ankles. Now imagine you’re in an unbooked minicab’ with the sub text: ‘unbooked minicabs picked up off the street are dangerous’. These two posters appear to directly parallel the experience of the woman who was abducted (but interestingly none warn of the potential danger of licensed taxi drivers). This is deeply problematic for the survivor of that particular experience, but also for survivors more generally. Research suggests that survivors find images that represent rape and/or images that represent women as extremely vulnerable and powerless as triggering and upsetting (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988). Furthermore, research has shown that individuals who are subjected to the repeated exposure of violent material consider it less violent and degrading towards women, enjoy it more and consider rape survivors to be less affected by violence (Denmark & Paludi, 2008). So, these images act as an extension of the kinds of imagery that many people are already exposed to in television, film, advertising and other media which trivialises sexual violence and downplays its effects.
A further critique of these images, and the image in the previous campaign, is that they portray the ‘ideal victim’ as white and middle class. This helps to maintain and reinforce discourses of dominant femininity. The images suggest that only some women are worth protecting, and they are the ones targeted with rape prevention campaigns. These notions of female vulnerability and sexual inaccessibility readily collude with white-hetero femininity, which is structured in a hierarchy above conceptions of black women, working class women, single women, so called ‘promiscuous women’ and ‘bad mothers’ (to name a few) (Hall, 2004).  

As discussed by Hall (2004, p.13):

Within a historically racist culture such as our own, the ideal figures of victim and rapist are often racially coded. Women of colour have repeatedly made the point that not all women are considered equally

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19 We can see further evidence of these ideas in the website ‘Miss the Mess’, an abstinence education programme from Ohio, where students can read a story about Rochelle (who has a reputation for being a ‘slut’) who is raped by Jason, and judge whether they think a rape actually occurred. (The correct answer is it did not, because Rochelle is a ‘slut’ therefore her story of rape is not credible.) This example shows us how the ‘can’t rape a slut’ narrative works in action, where not all women are constructed as ‘violable’ (“Abstinence-Only Ed” n.d.; Relationships Under Construction, 2014)
violable. The potential woman-victim addressed by women’s safety pedagogy is most often white and middle class. Inversely, the negative ideal of the rapist is most often played by a stereotypical man of colour.

Poster campaigns like *Cabwise* and the others in this theme, highlight Brown’s (1995) argument that:

Protection codes are also markers and vehicles of such divisions among women, distinguishing those women constructed as violable and hence protectable from those women who are their violation, logically unviolable because marked sexually available, marked as sexuality. Protection codes are thus key technologies in regulating privileged women as well as in intensifying the vulnerability and degradation of those on the unprotected side of the constructed divide between light and dark, wives and prostitutes, good girls and bad ones. (p. 170)

Protection codes therefore work to regulate privileged women and intensify the vulnerability and degradation of those women who are not deemed worthy of protection (Duschinsky, 2013).

Not only do these representations of the ‘ideal victim’ work to reinforce rape myth and obscure the realities of sexual violence, they also work to reinforce hegemonic constructions of sexuality. These images reinscribe understandings of feminine sexuality as passive and vulnerable which in turn helps to reinscribe masculine sexuality as the opposite-dominant and aggressive. Given that we know violence against women is more likely in contexts where manhood is culturally defined in strong opposition to femininity and where masculinity is linked to dominance, toughness or male honour, rather than prevent rape these images contribute to its on-going perpetuation (Hong, 2000). Similarly, we can see the representation of heteronormative male sexuality in the poster campaign in the image of the rapist as ‘other’. Figures 3 and 4 represent the discourse of rapists as ‘strangers’ or as ‘monsters’. The perpetrator in this campaign is referred to both as ‘stranger’ and represented visually in Figure 4, albeit only partially in a reflection in a rear view mirror. This is significant as it is a departure from the ‘disappearing man’ theme as described by Howe (2006), but it does however reinforce the myth of the rapist as ‘monster’ and as mentioned by Brown (1995)-the rapist as a stereotypical man of colour.
Hatty (2000) argues that the monster figure in representations of sexual violence is the male who misdirects his sexuality. The violent ‘monster’ is also a ‘stranger’ and can be considered a figure of excess who serves to distract our culture from the realities of sexual violence and the activities of ordinary men, who commit the majority of rapes. This ‘monster’/‘stranger’ helps us to displace the responsibility of challenging rape culture and the actions of men in our lives by creating a scape goat (Hatty, 2000). So, instead of having useful discussions about rape culture, or the responsibility of social institutions (such as justice systems, or welfare systems which are supposed to act to ensure the safety of women and communities more generally) we instead focus on the rapist as ‘monster’/‘stranger’ as something unpredictable but it also reflects the discourse of masculine sexuality as insatiable and dominating. These campaigns that I have analysed so far as part of the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme align well with Castel’s (1991) conception of the new ‘space of risk’ where the appropriate site for social intervention moves from caring for the dangerous person or person in danger, to educating populations ‘at risk’.

This new ‘space of risk’ is part of the broader ideology of neoliberalism which focuses prevention efforts away from perpetrators/perpetration and towards victims/victimisation. Castel (1991, cited in Hall, 2004 p.4) argues that this space of risk does not address “subjects but rather a combination of factors that are liable to produce risk”. Thus a woman’s body...
becomes a risk factor among others and Hall (2004) argues women become addressed by prevention discourses:

Not exactly as less than a subject; rather, it is that her subjectivity momentarily collapses into her sexual anatomy. In other words, rape prevention, as a practice of risk assessment, encourages the metonymic treatment of women as “rape space.” (p.2)

We see this most strikingly in the Cabwise campaign in Figure 5 which features a woman’s almost blanked out and obscured face with the text ‘to find out what an illegal minicab could cost you, ask a rape victim’.

![Figure 5. Poster image of a woman’s obscured face. From Transport for London. Retrieved from: http://www.coloribus.com/adsarchive/outdoor/safer-travel-at-night-knickers-15348605. Reprinted with permission.](image)

cost you, ask a rape victim’. Here we see the visual representation of Hall’s (2004) assertion, with women quite literally being presented as nameless faceless ‘rape space’. Furthermore, this image emphasises Cahill’s (2001) theory of rape as being charged with particular bodily and political meanings and thus rape is a threat to a woman’s status as a subject, as in this image she begins to fade away.

3.2.3 Safe Night Out

In another poster campaign which fits this theme, Safe Night Out (Figure 6) created by the West Mercia police, police were forced to apologise after campaigners argued the posters implied survivors were to blame if they had been drinking. Detective Superintended Ivan Powell said “if the campaign has caused distress, that was not our aim and I will apologise for that. This was not about blaming victims but putting information out to help” (Dolan, 2012,
para.11). The police said the campaign’s aim was about putting out information showing “potential victims how to avoid becoming vulnerable” (Elgot, 2012, para.2). The picture shown below in Figure 6 shows a smiling woman in a club above another photo of the same woman barefoot and seemingly unconscious laying on the ground with the text: ‘don’t let your night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret. Don’t leave yourself more vulnerable to regretful sex or even rape. Drink sensibly and get home safely’ (Dolan, 2012; Elgot, 2012). The posters were put up around pubs to coincide with a period in July where local police statistics showed alcohol facilitated assaults peak in this area (Dolan, 2012). This poster reinforces the rape myth which suggests that women are often raped by strangers in a public place and that rape always involves physical violence. In reality, as outlined in Chapter Two, the majority of rapes are perpetrated by people known to the survivor through verbal coercion.

![Figure 6. Poster image of woman in night club above image of the same woman unconscious on the ground. From West Mercia Police. Retrieved from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2183138/Safe-Night-Out-Fury-police-posters-suggest-drunk-women-rape.html. Reprinted with permission.](image)

Statistics show that in England and Wales around 90% of survivors knew their perpetrators (Ministry of Justice et al., 2013; “Rape crisis,” n.d.). Furthermore, the text implies that women cannot tell the difference between regretful sex and sexual violence which contributes to pervasive misconceptions about ‘real rape’ scenarios and the ‘vindictive shrew’ narrative
which posits that women frequently lie about rape (Jordan, 2011). As described by Luke (2009), women who participate in party and drinking culture are already subject to society’s
gendered and negative judgements about their sexuality, intelligence and ability for self-care
and the care of others. Using technologies of ‘othering’ as described earlier, not only help
women to distance themselves from the dangers and stigma associated with party culture but
it also helps to maintain hierarchies of femininity. Pietsch (2009) argues that historically, true
womanhood was founded on ideas of female vulnerability, sexual inaccessibility and
weakness. Within this conception of femininity, there is a proper way ‘to do’ femininity which
regulates how women should dress, where they should go, how they should act and who they
should interact with, in order to avoid sexual violence. The discourses represented in this
previous campaign highlight this construction of proper femininity by representing women as
sexual gate-keepers who need to manage sexual activity and ensure their own safety against
sexual violence (Hollway, 1984).

3.2.4 Association of Chief Police Officers

A similar campaign produced by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) aimed to raise
awareness of what women can do to keep themselves safe. The poster in Figure 7 tells women
to ‘let your hair down not your guard’ in order to not make themselves “easy prey” for rapists
(Brownsell, 2009, para.2). The poster, which features a close up shot of a blonde white
woman’s mascara and tear streaked face, was put up around pubs and clubs in Manchester
and was accompanied by radio and TV ads over the Christmas period in 2009. Police claim
there had been a rise in the number of reported alcohol facilitated rape cases over the
Christmas period (“Police warn women,” 2009). While the campaign claims to target alcohol
facilitated sexual violence the only reference to alcohol in the image is in small sub text which
states that alcohol ‘features in two thirds of all rapes’. Again this does not explicitly explain the
relationship between alcohol and sexual violence to the public, but rather reads as though
alcohol is a causative factor in creating violence. These police initiated campaigns are
interesting given that reporting rates to the police for sexual violence are extremely low, with
only 15% being reported to police in England and Wales (Ministry of Justice et al., 2013). Thus,
police only see a small selection of sexual violence incidents which gives them a very narrow
representation of the reality of rape. Because of the ‘type’ of incident that police see, they are
therefore interested in targeting a very specific pattern of sexual violence which fits a ‘real

20 In my experience as a crisis worker I dealt with countless police officers and health professionals who
routinely told me that women do not have the capacity to distinguish between regretful sex (or what
they claim is ‘bad decision making’) and sexual violence.
rape’ scenario. That is, involving a stranger, the use of force and rapes which happen outside of the survivor’s home (Estrich, 1987). This is reflected in this campaign, as well as the previous Safe Night Out campaign by the West Mercia Police.

Along with the poster images the police also released a list of steps to protect ‘potential victims’ (women) on a night out. These tips, which are inherently victim-blaming, again highlight how these discourses, along with rape itself, work to control the bodies and behaviours of women. The tips included:

- Plan your route – especially at night – and let someone know where you are going and when you are due to arrive;
- Avoid isolated bus stops or train stations and sit near the driver or close to other passengers when using public transport at night;
- Keep to busy well-lit areas and don’t take short cuts. Keep away from bushes and buildings;
- If you go out in a group, look after one another. Don’t let people go home on their own;
- Where possible, don’t walk alone after dark;
- Keep valuables out of sight;
- Always walk facing oncoming traffic;
- Have your keys ready when you are getting close to your car or home;
- Never accept lifts from strangers;
- Carry a charged mobile phone and keep a taxi phone number handy;
- When calling a taxi, ask for the driver’s name and check this when they arrive;
- If you think you are being followed, cross the road and head towards a busier place where you can ask for help. (“Let your hair,” 2009, para.36)

These tips distinguish one of the key differences in the way women and men are treated in discourses on violent crime. As Cochrane, (2013) argues:
Men may be at greater risk of violent crime than women, but there is no culture of blaming them for being attacked, asking them to observe unspoken or official curfews, curb their drinking for this reason, or think about whether their clothing or behaviour might be considered a provocation. There is no pressure on them to perceive their bodies, at all times, as a potential crime scene, which it is their duty to protect. (pp.427-428)

In addition, this kind of pressure to treat one’s body as a potential crime scene does not apply to all women in the same way and this campaign also reflects the image of the ‘ideal victim’ as a privileged white woman. For example, the above tips actually address particular types of women with privileged bodies. Women with disabilities rely on public transport and cannot feasibly avoid isolated bus or train stations if this is their method of travel, and women who work night shifts or second jobs cannot avoid walking at night time.

![Figure 7. Close up of a white woman’s face with mascara running down her left cheek. From Association of Chief Police Officers. Retrieved from: http://www.whitehavennews.co.uk/let_your_hair_down_at_christmas___not_your_guard. Reprinted with permission.](image)

However, as well as the victim-blaming discourses surrounding the campaign, police officers also supported the campaign in news articles stating “even when you’re drunk and you’re raped it’s not your fault” and “nobody is entitled to rape you” (“Let your hair,” 2009, para.11).
They also acknowledged that many women do not report due to shame and fear of disbelief (“Let your hair,” 2009). So, the intention of the campaign is confused as police are saying both that women need to guard themselves against sexual violence and should take steps to do so, addressing women as potential victims with the responsibility to take measures to avoid or resist rape, but also that women are not to blame for rape as sexual violence is not the survivor’s fault. These discourses are identified by Bern’s (2001) in her book, *Framing the Victim: Domestic Violence, Media and Social Problems*, where she argues that in discussions of gender based violence women are simultaneously told they are not responsible for abuse but should take responsibility for avoiding it. We see this clearly reinforced in the image and media surrounding the ACPO campaign and in particular by the lengthy set of protection ‘tips’ given by the police to women. Further, while the news articles have at least some supportive commentary for survivors, the imagery merely reinforces that women are responsible for avoiding rape, that you must be ‘on guard’ at all times and that abuse results from a women’s failure to do so. These rape avoidance messages reinforce neoliberal discourses of crime which tell women that rape is a problem for individual women to avoid rather than a social problem with social and collective solutions (Stringer, 2014; Vetten, 2011). These internalised technologies of gender fit alongside other macro structures of gender, power and inequality which tell women they cannot realistically expect any social structure or institution to act towards ensuring their safety.

Gotell (2008) argues that these discourses of responsibilisation and risk management inform the idea of the ‘ideal victim’ as the rape preventing subject and in turn construct the ‘risky woman’ figure who is framed as avoiding personal responsibility for sexual safety. She argues that the figure of the ‘risky woman’ works from “persistent race and class-based ideologies, reconstructing vulnerability as responsibility” (Gotell, 2008, p.867). These divisions help perpetuate women’s oppression by leading them to oppress one another, as women participate in victim-blaming discourses which help to maintain discourses of individual responsibility and rape myth which limit the actions of all women (Luke, 2009; Vetten, 2011).21

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21 We see this in work like the widely criticised *The Morning After: Sex, Fear and Feminism* written by Roiphe (1994). In this book she argued that the ‘crisis of rape’ was actually more a way of framing discussions of sexual politics than a matter of statistics or facts. In an online extract from the book she writes:

> When Martin Amis spoke at Princeton, he included a controversial joke: ‘As far as I’m concerned, you can change your mind before, even during, but just not after sex’. The reason this joke is funny, and the reason it’s also too serious to be funny,
These campaigns highlight the ‘worst of the worst’ of the campaigns I have selected for this thesis. These images are ineffective in preventing sexual violence as they work to reinforce discourses of victim-blaming, as well as further entrenching ideas of femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality which underpin the on-going perpetuation of rape culture. The way the campaigns portray rape, survivors and perpetrators as racially and class coded, work to extend the vulnerability of those who are not privileged. They are a prime example of the way that disciplinary power can be taken up and used to ‘conduct the conduct’ of subjects in ways that are repressive. These campaigns encourage women and men to think of women’s bodies as ‘spaces of risk’, as ‘potential crime scenes’ and suggest that women modify their behaviour in order not to be victimised, while simultaneously failing to discipline the bodies or behaviour of men at all. Overall, there are no subject positions created through these poster campaigns that allow for the possibility of ethical or respectful relating.

3.3 Perpetrator-focused strategies

3.3.2 Safe Night Out, Association of Chief Police Officers and No Excuses

This section will analyse posters and campaigns that fit into a theme of perpetrator-focused rape prevention strategies. These campaigns target perpetrators and aim to change their behaviour by focusing on the consequences for perpetrators, which are articulated primarily as prison time (which is not surprising given that all but one are created by police departments). These campaigns fit within the strategy described in Chapter Two as ‘changing men’ (interventions which aim to engage men as the targets) rather than ‘men changing’ (interventions which highlight the importance of men being active in anti-rape work) (Flood, 2004, 2011). Figure 8 is from the Safe Night Out campaign and Figure 9 is from the Association of Chief Police Officers campaign (images from both of these campaigns have been discussed in the previous section under the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme). Perpetrator-focused strategies such as the campaigns I will discuss in this theme, align with research such as that done by Malamuth (1981) which found that 35% of young men said they would rape a woman if they knew they would not be caught.

is that in the current atmosphere you can change your mind afterward. Regret can signify rape. A night that was a blur, a night you wish hadn’t happened, can be rape. Since ‘verbal coercion’ and ‘manipulation’ are ambiguous, it’s easy to decide afterwards that he manipulated you. You can realise it weeks or even years later. (Roiphe, 1993, para.47)
More recently, a study has shown that 48% of men acknowledged that there was some likelihood that they could sexually abuse a woman and 19% of those said it was likely or very likely they would if they knew there would be no consequence (Janke, Moldoveanu, Rich, & Utley, 2010). A further study showed that 8% of men self-reported committing acts that meet the legal definition of rape or attempted rape. Of these men, 84% said that what they did was definitely not rape (Warshaw, 1994). These findings suggest that there is absolutely a need to let perpetrators know they will be held accountable for their actions, that what they are doing is not normal and is a criminal act as this helps to disrupt discourses of male sexuality as inherently aggressive and predatory. However, presenting perpetrators and potential perpetrators (who these posters are targeting) with the ‘cost’ of their violent behaviour as prison time is likely to be ineffective given the reality of rape convictions. In England and Wales it is estimated that for every 100,000 sexual assaults only 1000 perpetrators are convicted (Morris, 2013; “Rape crisis,” n.d.).

Furthermore, while many men share some socialisation experiences and understandings of what it means to be a man, there are also significant differences in the way sexual violence impacts men in terms of race, class and culture which need to be addressed in prevention material (Berkowitz, 2004). For example, writing on indigenous Aboriginal communities Cripps (2007) argues that typical ‘Western’ models of intervention, such as criminal justice responses, separate perpetrators from families. While this may be a short term or immediate solution, many indigenous families do not consider this a viable long term option given that forced child removal policies were a feature of indigenous people’s lives for a period of time under colonisation (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012). Therefore, poster campaigns such as the ones in this section make invisible structures of oppression, which mean that not all men have the same privileges, and in particular, non-white men and working class men will be treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than white men.22

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22For example, in New Zealand Māori are over represented at every stage of the criminal justice process. Māori people make up 13% of the population and 50% of the prison population. This is six times higher than one would expect given the relative rate of non-Māori in prison (Department of Corrections, 2008). Research shows that the over representation of Māori in the prison population is the result of justice system bias and amplification whereby systematic factors that operate at different steps of the criminal justice system, make it more likely for Māori individuals to be “apprehended, arrested, charged, convicted or imprisoned” (Department of Corrections, 2008, p.5). The result is that Māori “accumulate” within the system in greater numbers than non-Māori, and are also dealt with more severely than non-Māori (Department of Corrections, 2008, p.5).
As mentioned, the campaign images featured here are the counterparts to Figures 6 and 7 respectively, from the *Safe Night Out* and *Association of Chief Police Officers* campaigns. As discussed in the previous section both the campaigns were released during a period where alcohol related sexual violence increases according to police statistics. Figure 8 pictures a group of smiling people in a bar, three men and a woman raising their glasses to each other and below, a white man from the group with his head in hands, distraught, in a prison cell. The image sets up a ‘before and after’ type scene and the text reads:

Don’t let a night full of promise turn into a morning full of regret. If you rape a woman you will face the consequences. You will be arrested, could lose your job and be placed on the sex offenders register.

Figure 9 from the campaign run by the *Association of Chief Police Officers* pictures a young man in a prison cell, his head in his hands. The text reads: ‘rape. Short word-long sentence. No consent, no sex’. If we look at a visually similar image by the West Midlands Police from their *No Excuses* campaign in Figure 10, we see a young white man in a prison cell with his head in his hands obscuring his face. The text reads: ‘eight years in prison for rape is a very long hangover’. The aim stated by the creators of all the campaigns is to highlight how alcohol is a factor in the perpetration of sexual violence, but also to highlight that perpetrators use alcohol to facilitate sexual violence by targeting drunk women (“Let your hair,” 2009; “New poster campaign,” n.d.).

These images are positive in that they outline that there are legal and ethical standards of consent that require both you and your sexual partner to agree to sexual activity and that perpetrators can be held accountable if they transgress these norms. This is a marked improvement from all of the images in the previous campaigns which at no point suggest that it is perpetrators who need to change their behaviour, or that rape is a criminal offence. This helps to create alternative subject positions where male sexuality is positioned as having the capacity to be expressed with care and respect. Another positive aspect of these images is that we do not see Howe’s (2006) ‘disappearing man’ phenomenon, nor do we see the figure of rapist as ‘racial other’, ‘monster’ or ‘stranger’. Instead, we are presented with young white men who perpetrate in the context of high alcohol use. In Figure 8 we see most clearly that this perpetrator is not a ‘monster’, but rather an average ‘every day’ guy who has friends and a social life, but also commits acts of violence, a representation much closer to the realities of sexual violence perpetration.
However, while there are merits to these campaigns and they are a marked improvement on the images in the first section, one issue with the campaign images is that while they aim to target alcohol facilitated sexual violence; they do not adequately address the role of alcohol in perpetration. Alcohol and sexual violence have a strong correlation. It is estimated that 50% to 75% of all rapes committed have alcohol as a factor, as they are either committed by perpetrators who have been drinking and/or committed against a survivor who has been drinking (Russell, 2008; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009). The use of alcohol to commit sexual violence is often premeditated and planned. Drug assisted sexual violence can take two forms: proactive, surreptitious or forcible administration of alcohol or drugs by the perpetrator with the aim of incapacitating or disinhibiting a person in order to facilitate sexual violence against them; or what is termed ‘opportunistic’ drug assisted sexual violence, where a perpetrator picks out a person who is intoxicated (by their own actions) in order to facilitate sexual violence against them (Clark & Quadara, 2010; Russell, 2008).

Alcohol is deliberately used to get survivors intoxicated but also to boost perpetrator confidence in committing the crime, reduce perpetrators’ culpability and minimise their

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23 The meaning of ‘opportunistic’ offending is similar for child sexual abuse where these perpetrators take advantage of opportunities to offend against vulnerable children. For example, children with intellectual or physical disabilities. This is in contrast to perpetrators who ‘groom’ children, where perpetrators invest significant time into establishing a relationship with a child in order to perpetrate against them (Edelson, 2009).
accountability (Clark & Quadara, 2010; Meyer, 2010). The use of alcohol to reduce inhibitions is socially sanctioned and there is a common cultural discourse that accepting drinks or being intoxicated is inviting or declaring interest in sexual activity. Of course, alcohol use is not a risk in and of itself, both women and men can drink heavily alone and sexual violence would not occur, however alcohol often co-occurs with other risk factors associated with sexual violence. That is, alcohol contributes to perpetrator aggression, reduction of perpetrator inhibition, reduced ability to ‘read’ someone’s verbal and non-verbal cues and a lesser understanding of consequence and risk (Clark & Quadara, 2010). As a survivor, alcohol can lead to cognitive impairment, physical impairment and/or memory loss (Russell, 2008; Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, 2009).

The news article which relates to Figure 9 (the Association of Chief Police Officers campaign which was discussed earlier) highlights that perpetrators often target drunk women and that alcohol is often used by perpetrators to excuse their behaviour. This is not clearly represented in Figure 9 (“Let your hair,” 2009). As a general member of the public you do not receive any additional information about the correlation between alcohol and sexual violence. Rather, Figure 8 portrays a young man drinking and then feeling ‘regretful’ because his actions mean he may lose his job and go on the sex offenders register, and Figure 9 has no mention of alcohol, except a small icon which looks like a beer glass. What is represented then, is three young men whose drinking has led them to rape someone and they are now facing the (unlikely) consequence of a ‘long sentence’. This sets up a causative relationship between alcohol use and sexual violence where there is no evidence to suggest this exists as logically, not every person who drinks is a rapist (Lowry, 2009).

These representations are concerning for a number of reasons. They do nothing to resist discourses of male sexuality as aggressive and violent, or women’s sexuality as passive and submissive. Instead these campaigns extend discourses of male sexuality as aggressive and female sexuality as always needing to be ‘on guard’. Research also shows people are less likely to label an experience as rape if the perpetrator was drunk, so these images could have a potentially negative impact on people who are sexually victimised by drunk perpetrators (Hammock & Richardson, 1997). Perpetrators are more likely to be excused for their actions if they have been drinking and they are aware of these discourses which excuse perpetrators and blame survivors, which is in part why they target drunk women who are often blamed because they had been drinking (Clark & Quadara, 2010). Implying alcohol is a type of regretful mistake lends weight to the idea that sexual violence, particularly in the context of alcohol, is not a deliberate choice, whereas evidence shows that deliberate incapacitation through
alcohol or targeting incapacitated people, is a key strategy that perpetrators use both in order to commit sexual violence and to get away with it (Clark & Quadara, 2010; Russell, 2008).

![Eight years in prison for rape is a very long hangover](image)


### 3.3.3 UK Home Office

The next campaign in this section was created and run by the UK Home Office. It was promoted in pubs, men’s bathrooms and ‘lad’s magazines’. The aim of the posters was to educate men that they need to obtain consent before sexual activity and, similar to the images above, represent the potential legal consequences of committing rape. Figure 11 features the legs and torso of a white woman wearing underwear with a no entry sign over the crotch with text that reads:

- Have sex with someone who hasn’t said yes to it and the next place you enter could be prison. If you have sex without consent you could end up going to prison for rape. If you don’t get a yes don’t have sex.

The image and text establishes a link between the ‘no entry’ symbol covering the woman’s crotch and entering prison. The companion poster, Figure 12, features a middle aged white male, arms folded, lying on the top bunk in a prison cell. We see him staring directly out of the poster towards us with text that reads ‘if you don’t get a yes before sex, who will be your next sleeping partner?’ Here too, there are some worthwhile aspects of the way these images approach rape prevention, which build on the campaigns analysed previously. I appreciate the emphasis of this campaign on obtaining affirmative consent for sex, as this has potential to be a much more effective approach then expecting women to say ‘no’ once something they do not have control over is already happening.
These images move towards (although do not achieve) an ethical relating framework which was discussed in Chapter Two, by aiming to encourage positive forms of heteronormative sexuality that are non-violent and by emphasising that there are multiple subject positions available to men that are ethical and respectful. These images also work to push back against discourses of female sexuality which position women as always disinterested in sexual activity, by framing women as having the capacity to ‘say yes’ to sex. However, the representation of women in Figure 11 is extremely problematic and aligns with broader representations of women in advertising where women are disembodied and objectified. Kilbourne (2012) argues that the representation of women as objects is usually the first step towards justifying violence against women. Furthermore, this image reinforces the notion of particular types of women predominantly, white, middle class, and able bodied as ‘logically violable’, as discussed in the previous section. Anecdotally, whenever I have presented my research, every group has noted that this image looks eroticised and this is particularly problematic given that it was publicised in men’s magazines and bars. Because we are only seeing parts of the woman’s body, the focus of the image in this campaign becomes the woman’s sexual anatomy.

Here we can again see Hall’s (2004, p.2) argument that in rape prevention discourses women are addressed as ‘rape space’ where “her subjectivity momentarily collapses into her sexual anatomy”, a recurring motif in the way women are represented in rape prevention discourse and I argue, a recurring motif in rape prevention images. Here rape is constructed as ‘entry’ rather than as a violation which can take many forms, not just penetration, which is implied in the image. Thus, the image again reinforces the same heteronormative discourses of men and women’s sexuality, where women are placed as lacking in sexual desire, as gate-keepers of sexual activity and where penetrative intercourse is compulsory. As outlined in my approach to sexual violence in Chapter One, rape is not just a violation of the body but a violation of the self and as Cahill (2001) argues a threat to the bodily integrity of a woman and consequently her status as a subject.

Again while the focus on consent in these images is useful in that it establishes a clear definition of sexual violence, it is also premised on the notion that people can identify ‘normal’ heterosex from sexually coercive behaviour. Indeed, coercing someone until they ‘say yes’ is a

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24 In a study by Middlesex University, 20 men and women were given quotes from men’s magazines and from convicted rapists and asked to identify which source it came from. They guessed right 50% of the time, highlighting the high levels of misogyny and sexist remarks about women in men’s magazines (Swash, 2011).
primary strategy of perpetrators in committing sexual violence. Gavey's (1992) research shows how one way sexual coercion occurs is through the framing of heterosexual activities as prescribed and intercourse as compulsory (the coital imperative). Some of the women in her study described ‘letting sex happen’ or being compliant with sexual activity because they did not consider consent and non-consent to be distinct choices.


This highlights one of the key criticisms of social marketing discussed in Chapter Two, which is that it emphasises rational and linear cost/benefit reasoning without acknowledging the effect of social/contextual norms, or in terms of sexual violence, the unequal dynamics of the relationship itself (Adams & Neville, 2012; Fisher et al., 2008; Lombardo & Léger, 2007). Figure 12 also focuses on obtaining consent and also represents the consequences of rape as jail time. For me, the underlying message in this poster is that not only will you end up being in a jail cell with a man, that man may rape you. Apart from being an un-ethical way to dissuade people from raping others, it also invokes a homophobic response in men which is not an effective way to present rape prevention messages, as some men already assume that learning about gender and violence against women will make them seem less masculine or that they will be labelled homosexual (Janke et al., 2010). Addressing men in prevention is a complex affair. While I think these campaigns make a valiant effort to shift the prevention frame away
from women, one of the challenges of approaching men in this way is that many men are
defensive about prevention education particularly when it addresses them as potential
perpetrators.

Moreover, many men are disinterested in rape prevention as they do not believe it is relevant
to them. Constructing perpetrators as the ‘other’ helps men to avoid seeing their responsibility
in perpetrating or being complicit with rape culture, or their collective accountability to act
against violence towards women (Janke et al., 2010). In a way, these kinds of rape prevention
messages actually work to the detriment of the goal of structural change. Further, I think there
is merit in emphasising the cost of sexual violence to perpetrators in ways that are more
expansive (and hopefully more effective) than the (unlikely) potential of jail time or other legal
ramifications. In Will to Change: Men, Masculinity and Love hooks (2003, p.73), writes:

Men who win on patriarchal terms end up losing in terms of their
substantive quality of life. They choose patriarchal manhood over loving
connection, first foregoing self-love and then the love they could give and
receive that would connect them to others.

Here we can see an alternative framework through which we may approach men with the
consequences of committing sexual violence in a way which also promotes what is to be
gained from respectful and ethical relating. It also aligns with Carmody’s (2003, 2005, 2006)
body of work outlined in Chapter Two, in which she argues that by articulating discourses that
acknowledge that there are multiple subjectivities available to men and women this would
encourage men and women to develop ethical gendered relations.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This chapter presents some of the worst and least effective examples of rape prevention
campaigns I analyse in this thesis. I argue that rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk
reduction campaigns highlight the most ineffective and also the most damaging way to
approach rape prevention. These images reinforce hegemonic constructions of masculinity and
femininity as well as the dichotomy of men’s sexuality as active and women’s as passive. This
helps to emphasise discourses of rape myth which are founded on concepts of
heteronormative sexuality, so that instead of preventing rape they allow it to continue. These
images represent an example of the way disciplinary power is utilised in ways that are
repressive and can act to limit the possible actions of women. Rape resistance, rape avoidance
and risk reduction campaigns are very powerful because they reinforce discourses of sexuality

which have already been ‘made true’ in our society. The perpetrator-focused strategies show an improvement in their approach to rape prevention, as they shift focus away from women and work to emphasise the importance and the meaning of consent. However, these images work to reinforce ideas of heteronormative sexuality, positioning men as pursuers of sex and women as gate-keepers. While the focus on jail time as a consequence for perpetration is understandable given the creators of the campaigns, it is problematic in its narrow representation and does not effectively conduct the behaviour of men or create alternative subject positions for men or women. In the next Chapter I continue with my analysis of poster campaigns, moving on to images that I have judged to be more effective.
4. Chapter Four: Reading Rape Prevention Images

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three I analysed six campaigns which highlighted some of the least effective approaches to rape prevention out of all the campaigns in this thesis. In this companion chapter, I will analyse seven campaigns and 31 images which I consider to be more effective than those in Chapter Three. I have chosen to split the chapters to make clear the distinction between the campaigns in Chapter Three and the campaigns in this chapter. Like the previous chapter, the campaigns are organised in themes and the themes move from ‘worst’ to ‘best’, or ‘most problematic’ to ‘least problematic’. Similarly, within each theme the campaigns mirror this arrangement. That is, the images within each theme go from ‘worst’ to ‘best’. This chapter includes campaigns organised into the following themes: perpetrator-focused strategies; bystander intervention strategies; social norms; ethical relating and gender transformation. I will be using the same theoretical approach and use of discourse analysis to evaluate the campaigns as I used in Chapter Three. In particular I will pay attention to the representations of discourses of sexuality within the campaigns as, as I have argued previously, sexuality is the most effective way through which we can use disciplinary power to conduct the behaviour of subjects. This chapter begins with the final campaign in the perpetrator-focused section, a Canadian example called Don’t Be That Guy and here I discuss images from both its first and second generation. This campaign was launched in 2010 and is on-going (“Rape Prevention,” n.d.).

The next section looks at campaigns that draw on bystander intervention strategies and includes a campaign called Make Your Move Missoula launched in 2012 which operates primarily through social media. The other campaign is a New Zealand example which was based on the Make Your Move images and is called Are You That Someone? Let’s Stop Sexual Violence. This was created by the Ministry for Social Development in 2014. This campaign is on-going and includes an interactive social media element. Within the social norms theme, there is one campaign by the Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network in the United States. This campaign was launched in 2005 and during the campaign over 100,000 posters were delivered to several hundred college campuses in the US (Violence Against Women News, n.d.). Finally, the last theme includes three campaigns which align with a gender transformative and ethical relating approach. The first is one of the most widely discussed rape
prevention campaigns called *My Strength is Not for Hurting*, which was created by John Stoltenberg and the American organisation Men Can Stop Rape. This campaign began in 2011 and is the longest running out of all the campaigns discussed in this thesis. It was replaced after a decade by the *Where do You Stand?* bystander intervention campaign (“Men Can Stop,” n.d.). The second campaign is a New Zealand example created in 2010 by Family Panning which is modelled on the *My Strength* images and is called *It’s About Mana*. This campaign was multi-faceted and included facilitation materials for teachers, tips for parents about talking to their sons about sexual relationships and interactive social media elements (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2010). The third and last campaign to be discussed is *We Can Stop It*, a 2014 Scottish campaign which was created, and is supported by, a host of national social services, including the police force.

### 4.2 Perpetrator-focused strategies

#### 4.2.1 Don’t Be That Guy

The *Don’t Be That Guy* campaign, created by Sexual Assault Voices of Edmonton, is in its second generation. The images I will analyse come from both the first and second generation, Figures 13-15 are from generation one and Figures 16 and 17 are from generation two. The posters from generation one (Figures 13, 14 and 15), focus on capacity to consent, that is, whether a person is capable of consenting rather than whether they are willing to, particular to alcohol use and sexual consent. Posters which read: ‘just because you helped her home, doesn’t mean you can help yourself-don’t be that guy’; ‘just because she isn’t saying no, doesn’t mean she’s saying yes-don’t be that guy’ and ‘just because she’s drunk, doesn’t mean she wants to fuck-don’t be that guy’, went up in bars as part of an effort to decrease the rising rates of police reported sexual assault in the area. Six months later the police department attributed a 10% drop in reported sexual assault statistics to the campaign (Matas, 2012). Without further information about how these statistics were gathered it is hard to know whether this represents an actual decrease in sexual assaults or a decrease in reporting. As discussed previously with an effective prevention campaign you would expect to see an initial surge in reported rapes, given that the reporting rates are currently so low. In Canada the police reporting rate is only 6% (“Sexual Assault,” n.d.; “Toronto Police Service,” n.d.).

The second generation of posters (Figures 16 and 17) focus both on situations where someone is unable to consent (women’s capacity to consent due to alcohol use) and people being unwilling to consent, emphasising the importance of achieving affirmative consent in all sexual
encounters. These images from the Don’t Be That Guy campaign emphasise that individuals who are intoxicated or comatose due to alcohol are unable to consent, and highlight that this is both a legal and ethical consideration in the context of sexual activity. This campaign highlights an important shift from targeting potential victims to potential perpetrators. I commend that these posters focus on increasing men’s understanding of consent and also that they focus on potential perpetrators by showing that being ‘that guy’, who has sex with an intoxicated woman, is shaming. These images represent an important move away from targeting women as potential victims to changing the way we think about women who drink and what that means, an intentional aim of the campaign by SAVE (“Our Campaigns,” n.d.). These images provide a counter discourse to popular rape culture myths that represent drunk women as ‘asking for it’ (“What Rape Culture?,” n.d.).

However, while this is a very promising campaign there is definitely room for improvement. The key message of the campaign is to target perpetrators and their actions, which is reinforced in the tagline: ‘sex without consent=sexual assault-don’t be that guy’. Later, in the second generation of the campaign there is a greater emphasis on capacity to consent and the inability of intoxicated persons to consent with the tagline: ‘sex with someone unable to consent=sexual assault-don’t be that guy’. Visually however, the focus of the images is still on women either intoxicated or unconscious. Apart from Figure 13 (which is only text) women are the visual focal point of each image, with the potential perpetrator absent or at the periphery,
face obscured. Even in Figure 17 the woman is the central figure, framed by two men on either side.

![Poster image of an unconscious woman, face down on the couch, empty alcohol bottles in foreground.](http://www.savedmonton.com/download-posters.html)

**Figure 15.** Poster image of an unconscious woman, face down on the couch, empty alcohol bottles in foreground. From *Sexual Assault Voices of Edmonton*, Retrieved from: [http://www.savedmonton.com/download-posters.html](http://www.savedmonton.com/download-posters.html). Reprinted with permission.

Similar portrayals of men and women are often reflected in advertising where:

Women are typically shown as passive, submissive, defenceless, unintelligent, shy, dreamy, gentle, likely to be manipulated and helpless. In contrast men have often been portrayed as constructive, powerful, dominant, autonomous and achieving. (Keller, Wilkinson, & Otjen, 2010, p.58)

These images act as a reinforcement of the representations of men and women in advertising, representations which are often associated with sexual harassment and violence against women (Keller et al., 2010; Kilbourne, 2012). Furthermore, these representations align with representations of hegemonic masculinity and male sexuality as powerful, aggressive and uncaring (Carlson, 2008). Because gender is relational, masculinity can only exist in relation to, and as opposed to, femininity and female sexuality which is presented in these images as vulnerable, weak and passive (Boman, 2003). As has been discussed throughout this thesis, these constructions of gender are problematic as rape proclivity is strongly associated with hyper masculinity (Hong, 2000).
Nevertheless, it is significant that this campaign (as with others in this theme) shows the perpetrator in the images. As discussed previously, this works against the construction of what Howe (2006) describes as the ‘disappearing man’ phenomena and instead works to create a counter discourse to ideas of perpetrators as ‘monsters’ or ‘strangers’. However, even though this campaign makes a conscious effort to challenge the myths about perpetrators as ‘strangers’ or ‘monsters’, instead showing perpetrators to be ordinary men, Finestone’s (2008) study looked at participants’ views of anti-rape poster campaigns and programmes and found that men in her group did not see themselves as targeted by rape prevention interventions as the targets were rapists, who obviously would not be them. She describes the views of one of her male participant’s:

Travis talks positively about how [men’s anti-rape interventions] can play a role in preventing sexual assault on campus by involving other men who sexually assault women. He refers to these [interventions] as if they are meant to target a social other, rather than him. He has no need to participate in such an [intervention], only a rapist does. (Finestone, 2008, p.75)

Similar to the way women use strategies of ‘othering’ to distance themselves from women who ‘put themselves at risk’ of sexual violence, men use similar tactics to ‘other’ men who are presented as perpetrators by assuming that men who are similar to them are good, know that sexual violence is wrong, do not perpetrate rape and therefore do not need to engage with rape prevention material (Finestone, 2008). However, these beliefs typified by ‘Travis’ do not make sense given the high rates of sexual violence perpetration and in light of evidence discussed previously which suggests that men whose actions meet the definitions of rape do not describe it as such (Malamuth, 1981). Thus, men who may in fact be perpetrators may not think they need to engage in rape prevention initiatives because they do not believe their behaviour is problematic. Therefore, it is essential that we approach men in ways that highlight their shared responsibility to act against sexual violence rather than alienating them as potential perpetrators.

Piccigallo, Lilley and Miller (2012) also argue that the sexual violence prevention programmes that are most effective are those that target men as potential allies not as potential perpetrators. Research such as that by Lisak and Miller (2002) shows that even though most men have not committed sexual violence even those that do, do not consider themselves to be rapists and are more likely to reject prevention efforts than approach them. Research into
gendered violence campaigns shows that educational messages can be met with boomerang effects, particularly when individuals believe they do not have the internal resources or environmental support to carry out the recommended behaviour (Keller et al., 2010). Thus, messages that do not include an efficacy message (in this case, that message would be something like ‘if you need help changing your behaviour call [stopping violence agency]’) are more likely to trigger a defensive reaction by those who are perpetrators or potential perpetrators. The more defensive a person is, the less likely they are to make attitudinal or behavioural changes (Keller et al., 2010). Milner (2004) argues that interventions that target men as potential rapists are more likely to increase men’s feelings of deceit and denial, which may lead to further dishonesty about the type and extent of their behaviour, and a rejection of their responsibility for sexual violence. Similarly, focus group research by Finestone (2008) found that poster campaigns that targeted men as if they were perpetrators made the men in her study feel devalued, as they felt these messages proposed that men do not know better than to rape women and need to be told not to do so.

Furthermore, while the campaign usefully tries to highlight alcohol facilitated sexual violence, as discussed in Chapter Three, the interplay between alcohol and sexual violence is complicated and is not something we can assume that the general public understand. This is shown in one study of college students by Aronowitz, Lambert and Davidoff (2012) which
found that 41% of those surveyed believed if a woman was drunk when raped she was responsible. However, these complex dynamics are not clear within the visual imagery of the posters (particularly in the second generation images Figures 16 and 17) where we are still focused on the drinking behaviour of women and their incapacity to consent. While the images allude to the fact that perpetrators target intoxicated and incapacitated women this is not made explicit. I believe a useful progression or adaption in this campaign would be to highlight these deliberate behaviours used by perpetrators and the relationship between drinking and alcohol, in a way that does not increase women’s fear that drinking puts them ‘at risk’. If the aim of the campaign is to focus on the actions of perpetrators and to highlight these actions as shameful, why not ‘63% of perpetrators think it is ok to get someone drunk in order to overcome their resistance to sex, don’t be THAT guy’.

Figure 18. Poster image of a smiling woman looking out of the frame, holding up a cocktail in a bar, surrounded by others. From Sexual Assault Voices of Edmonton. Retrieved from: http://www.savedmonton.com/download-posters.html. Reprinted with permission.

The final image I am showing from the Don’t Be That Guy campaign highlights the rights of women to drink and be safe from sexual violence. This image (Figure 18), which is visually different to the others, features a smiling young woman, looking directly out of the poster, holding up a drink in the centre of a crowd and reads: ‘just because she’s drinking doesn’t mean she wants sex’. This image is the only one in the series that features a woman presented visually in an assertive position where she is not being abused. The text here is also slightly
altered from the first generation image, Figure 13, which reads: ‘just because she’s drunk, doesn’t mean she wants to fuck’. In 2013 a Men’s Rights group produced parody posters (shown in Figure 19) which were put up around the University of Alberta and read: ‘women who drink are not responsible for their actions, especially when sex is involved. Double standards, don’t be that girl’ and ‘just because you regret a one night stand, doesn’t mean it wasn’t consensual. Lying about sexual assault is a crime-don’t be that girl’. Lise Gotell, an academic in the Women and Gender Studies department at the University of Alberta who helped to create the campaign, described the posters as “deeply offensive” and argued they draw on commonly held myths that women lie about rape, and that regretful sex cause women to make false reports of sexual assault (“Parody on anti-rape,” 2013, para.4).

Gottel argued that:

What these posters are going to do, when people see them, is play into this myth that there’s a huge problem with false allegations, which we know empirically is wrong. They may in fact discourage people from reporting, because the research also shows that women are very likely to minimise their experiences of sexual assault. (“Parody on anti-rape,” 2013, para.8)

While I agree that these posters are extremely damaging, particularly to survivors as they act as a reinforcement that survivors are to blame, I think they are very interesting in highlighting just how important the campaigns by SAVE are in challenging common cultural themes around
women who drink and their sexual availability. The parody posters show how powerful the original poster was in creating a counter discourse, so powerful that this group put energy into creating a poster that would ‘push back’ against the knowledge portrayed in the SAVE campaigns, which open up alternative subject positions for women to occupy.

### 4.3 Bystander intervention strategies

#### 4.3.1 Make Your Move Missoula

The following series of posters were created by a group called the Missoula Intervention Action Project, which is a collaboration of agencies working toward eliminating sexual violence (“Make Your Move,” n.d.). As described in Chapter Two, bystander intervention strategies have been proven to be effective ways of preventing sexual violence. Research on another bystander campaign showed that students exposed to the campaign listed significantly more behaviours that can be used to intervene in sexual violence than a control group (Burn, 2009; Potter et al., 2009). These posters are a type of bystander intervention campaign and they combine both a challenge to dominant rape myths (bold text) and an example of a bystander intervention strategy (smaller text). For example Figure 20 reads: ‘I could tell she was asking for it...to stop, so I stepped in and told my buddy that’s no way to treat a lady’. Figures 21 through 24 read: ‘she was on her own so I made my move...and told the guys hassling her to back off. They were really crossing the line’; ‘it was 2am and I offered her a ride thinking you never know...if the guy who’d been after my friend all night would try something. No way was I taking off without her’ and ‘a girl that wasted is way easy to hook up with...so I made sure her friends got her out of there. She was in no shape to be going home with some guy’.

In previous campaigns that focus on men as perpetrators, I critiqued instances where perpetrators are shown to be predominantly non-white men (rapist as the ‘racial other’) and victims as predominantly white women (the ‘ideal victim’), as these representations reinforce racially coded rape myths. This campaign has a different focus, that is, it is aimed at men and women as potential allies in preventing rape and therefore it is necessary to show a wide range of people in order to appeal to a wide and diverse audience. Unfortunately, the images in this campaign show very little diversity featuring mostly white men and one woman of colour. A study by Potter et al (2008), indicated that people are more likely to engage with poster images that are familiar to them and reflect their own social contexts. Thus, this lack of diversity may mean that these images are not relatable for people who are not part of the dominant culture. In addition to this, as has been mentioned previously, strong belief in rape
myth is linked to an increase in self-reported sexual aggression by men and increased self-blame and negative and long term impacts for survivors (Hong, 2000).

In light of this, I think these posters have a lot of potential in terms of challenging rape myth and providing an efficacy message at the same time, which gives the viewer a clear and practical example of a way to intervene in a situation that could lead to sexual violence. However, I question the effectiveness of trying to subvert rape myth in this way. Research by Reiner, Miller and Rotello (2008) found that a person spends most of their time looking at the picture in a campaign and then moves to reading the large text.

![Figure 20. Poster image of a white man standing and looking out of the frame, cropped at waist. From Make Your Move Missoula. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?ref=ts. Reprinted with permission.](image1)

![Figure 21. Poster image of a white man, arms crossed and cropped at waist. From Make Your Move Missoula. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?ref=ts. Reprinted with permission.](image2)

My primary concern with these images is whether people stop to read the small print and understand the full message, or whether individuals only look at the image and read the rape myth and the images therefore reinforce dominant cultural discourses around victim-blaming. A further critique is put forward by Skinner (2012) who argues that bystander intervention campaigns that approach men as potential allies merely work to reinforce discourses of masculine gallantry and heroism. Skinner suggests that while these campaigns remove rape from men’s ‘acceptable behaviour’ it reinforces men as dominant decision makers and women as in need of protection. We can see this reflected in one of the posters that features a man as the bystander and reads: ‘it was 2am and I offered her a ride thinking you never know...if the guy who’d been after my friend all night would try something. No way was I taking off without her’. There is ambiguity here about what is unsafe or potentially unsafe about this situation.
For this image in particular, I think it suggests policing the sexual decision making of women as people who need protecting, rather than intervening to stop sexual violence. It is also interesting to note that in each of the images that feature men, they act on their own to intervene whereas the women act in groups. So in this campaign, Skinner’s (2012) concerns regarding gallantry have some merit.

![Figure 22](https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?ref=ts) Reprinted with permission.

![Figure 23](https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?ref=ts) Reprinted with permission.

While I agree with the current paradigm that sees a shift towards positioning men as responsible for not raping, or as allies in preventing sexual violence, my concern is that the role that women play in endorsing rape myth and victim-blame in rape culture is often overlooked. It is definitely something that is not taken into account in the majority of the poster campaigns here, apart from Make Your Move Missoula which features women as capable and active resisters of rape culture. In order for anti-rape feminists to make a substantial difference to rape culture and eliminate rape, I believe we must engage both men and women to examine their own sexist racist and classist ways of operating. For me, this campaign’s strength is in the way that it acknowledges the roles that both men and women play in supporting rape culture and also in preventing it, in a way that does not wholly (although it does to an extent), reinforce women as weak and men as strong, but rather emphasises sexual violence as a collective issue with collective responsibility.

We see this clearly in the posters above. Figure 24, with an image of a young woman positioned similarly to the man in Figure 21 (unfortunately, her body language noticeably less assertive with her gaze out the side of the poster frame), the text reads: ‘he was acting all
sweet, offering her a ride…but it just didn’t feel right. So my friends and I stepped in and got her out of there’. Figure 25 features a young woman staring straight out of the frame with the text: ‘some dude was hanging all over her, so we took off…and got her to leave with us. She was drunk and we didn’t trust him’. Overall, these posters are commendable because they give people the language, as well as the ideas, about how to act on feelings that situations are potentially unsafe or dangerous. I believe using these ideas but readjusting the physical layout and text of the poster to emphasise bystanding would be of substantive benefit.

![Figure 24. Poster image of a non-white woman, arms folded, gazing to the left. Cropped at hips. From Make Your Move Missoula. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?fref=ts. Reprinted with permission.](image)

![Figure 25. Poster image of a white woman, facing forwards, cropped at the waist. From Make Your Move Missoula. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MakeYourMoveMissoula?fref=ts. Reprinted with permission.](image)

4.3.2 Are You That Someone?-Let’s Stop Sexual Violence

Are You That Someone?-Let’s Stop Sexual Violence is a New Zealand made campaign created by the Ministry of Social Development under the lead of the Minister for Sexual Violence Services Paula Bennett. News media reported that the quarter of a million dollar campaign was created by Bennett with help from New Zealand teens (“Sexual violence campaign,” 2014). The short six week campaign was launched in July 2014 and its focus was on “teaching youth the true meaning of sexual consent and that sexual violence can also include groping and grabbing as well as rape” (“Sexual violence campaign,” 2014, para.2). This campaign was released in the wake of the so called ‘Roast Busters Scandal’, where a group of young Auckland men were targeting intoxicated and underage girls and gang raping them. The young men posted videos online and had a Facebook page where they publicly admitted to their activities. Police claimed to have been monitoring the page for two years but no formal complaints had been made. It was later uncovered that two young women had in fact made formal complaints in 2011. The
incident caused widespread national and international outrage and eventually sparked an Independent Police Inquiry into the handling of the case. Controversy around the case is ongoing after police have announced no charges will be laid (Dastgheib, 2014; Dennett, 2014; Fairfax Media, 2013; “IPCA releases report,” n.d.; “New Zealand ‘Roast Busters’,” n.d.; “Pair speak,” 2013; “Two ‘Roast Busters’,,” n.d.). When launching the campaign Bennett said:

The alleged activities of the ‘Roast Busters’ group has highlighted confusion around what’s appropriate and what crosses the line into sexual violence, and how to respond. ("Are you that," 2014, para.6)

The campaign is said to be modelled on the above (Make Your Move Missoula) campaign and hoped to encourage young people (aged 16-21) to call out their peers’ inappropriate behaviour by “seeing the signs, stepping in and intervening safely” (Murray, personal communication, May 13, 2014; “Sexual violence campaign,” 2014). The campaign images in Figures 26 to 29 feature four different scenarios where sexual violence is happening and there are bystanders who could potentially intervene. Unlike the Make Your Move Missoula campaign, these images do not use the rape myth to highlight the potentially unsafe scenario, instead opting to represent visually the types of scenarios that the campaign is encouraging young people to intervene in. Each image is accompanied by a visual image of a cell phone displaying a text message encouraging ‘someone’ to intervene: ‘someone should check she’s OK with that’; ‘someone should tell him to back off’; ‘someone should tell him he’s being a
dick’ and ‘someone should stop them-she’s too wasted’, followed by the tag line: ‘are you that someone?-let’s stop sexual violence’.

In some ways, I think there is merit to this approach as in Figures 26-29 the campaign images are problematising scenarios that are common place and often considered normal. Violence against women is often both normalised and sexualised onscreen, in advertising, and in some of the campaign images we have seen previously (most notably the image described in the Call the Shots campaign and in Figure 11 from the UK Home Office anti-rape campaign). To have images that clearly show women experiencing these situations as uncomfortable and scary, and bystanders as visibly concerned, disrupts the representation of sexual violence as erotic and the common rape myth that rape is enjoyed by women (Denmark & Paludi, 2008; Easteal, 2009; Hess & Swift, 2013; Meer, 1998). Again, as I have mentioned in the section discussing the Cabwise campaign, portraying images of women enjoying rape or sexual violence can lead to the reinforcement of rape myth in both men and women, as research has shown that individuals who are subjected to the repeated exposure of violent material consider it less violent and degrading towards women, enjoy it more and consider rape survivors to be less affected by violence (Denmark & Paludi, 2008; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988).

By explicitly labelling these incidents as sexual violence and asking people to step in, these images give a clearer intervention point I think, than the method used in the Make Your Move Missoula campaign. However, when I discussed the Call the Shots campaign in the first section of the chapter I talked about the implications for survivors when representing sexual violence scenarios. In particular, I think Figure 29 has the potential to be very upsetting for survivors, as it depicts quite an obvious representation of powerlessness, while others look on and witness a rape happening and do nothing. Similar to the Make Your Move Missoula campaign, the majority of the potential bystanders in the images are white people. As well as this, the images are problematic in that all the perpetrators featured are non-white men, reinforcing concepts of perpetrators as the racial ‘other’. The effect of this is that the images portray perpetrators as non-white and position white people as those that can intervene or provide support in these situations. In the New Zealand context, this is particularly concerning given research shows that Māori are consistently underrepresented in the New Zealand media and when they are represented the reports are often negative (Gregory et al., 2011). Again, as well as the racial implications, these images reinforce discourses of male and female sexuality in a binary of male active/female passive and in this way fail to govern the actions of subjects in ways that are ethical or non-violent.
As has been discussed previously, teaching bystander intervention strategies does work in preventing sexual violence and so the campaign is based on a theoretical approach that can be effective. However, the most problematic aspect of this campaign for me, is that it does not actually show anyone intervening, it just shows people thinking that ‘someone’ should. As outlined in Chapter Two, in order for bystander intervention to be effective individuals need to notice that something is happening, recognise the event as a behaviour that is on the sexual violence continuum, take responsibility for providing help, know how to intervene and choose to intervene safely. Two of the main reasons that people do not intervene is that they do not feel they know how and they think that someone else will (Latané & Darley, 1970). While the Make Your Move Missoula images provide a practical example of what a person can do the Are You That Someone images do not. They merely give suggestions of what ‘someone’ ‘should’ do. Furthermore, the suggestions they provide are questionable as to whether they constitute safe interventions. Given that these images take place in the context of alcohol use, telling someone he is a ‘dick’ or to ‘back off’ may be a recipe for aggression. Overall, while bystander intervention approaches can be an effective rape prevention strategy, it relies on the representation of diverse individuals’ as critics of rape culture and presenting an actual intervention in order to model to others ways to safely interrupt the perpetration of sexual violence. While both of these campaigns make a valiant effort in utilising bystander intervention approaches, they would benefit from adoptions to the visual images used in the
posters in order to more effectively govern the behaviour and actions of subjects in ways that resist rape culture.

4.4 Social norms

4.4.1 Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network

This section looks at two posters created by the Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) in the United States, which fit into a prevention intervention that utilises social norms theory. As outlined in Chapter Two, according to social norms theory, individuals often falsely believe that most people engage in unhealthy behaviours or hold unhealthy attitudes, a misperception that may motivate people to increase their own unhealthy behaviour (Cox et al., 2010). These two images, featured in Figures 30 and 31, use statistics to highlight the percentage of men who have ethical attitudes towards sexual violence and sexual activity. The text of the posters is foregrounded in both of the images. Figure 31 features large blue and red text which reads: ‘74% of men would intervene to prevent a sexual assault’ and asks the male viewer to reflect on their own actions ‘what would you do?’ It also provides the viewer with an efficacy message: ‘if you or someone you know needs help you’re not alone. You could save a friend from being a victim of sexual assault-or committing a crime’ and information for a help line. This efficacy message gives the viewer encouragement and the information to seek help and/or make steps to change their behaviour. Figure 31 reads: ‘83% of men respect their partner’s wishes about sexual activity’ with the subtext: ‘make sure you both want the same thing-If you or someone you know needs help you’re not alone’.

This type of social norms intervention is valuable as it still acknowledges men as the perpetrators of sexual violence but frames the intervention in a way that recognises and encourages men as active bystanders and predominantly ethical sexual partners. Research by Heppner, Hillenbrand-Gunn, Mauch and Park (2010) indicates that by promoting accurate social norms information, misperceptions can change. In their study, they found that male students tend to view their peers’ beliefs about coercive behaviour, rape supportive behaviour and sexist attitudes more negatively than their peers report. Other research shows that men often feel uncomfortable with the ways they are taught to be men, this gender role “conflict” is experienced by many men and has persistent negative psychological consequences (Berkowitz, 2002, p.167). Berkowitz (2002) argues that rape prevention intervention should help men to explore how they are taught to be men and ask them to consider their own potential for violence and how they may enable the violent behaviour of other men.
Therefore, interventions such as those highlighted in the images above that provide clear ‘facts’ about what men think, and challenge men’s misperceptions about rape supportive attitudes and their underlying conflicts about what it means to be a man, are extremely valuable in undermining discourses that are fundamental to sexual violence. These messages can help to shift the ‘social norms’ of given communities as well as providing information about where to go for help.

Figure 30. Poster image with a brown background, with red superhero figure made up of smaller superheroes. From Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network. Retrieved from: https://rainn.org//news-room/multimedia/print-materials. Reprinted with permission.


So, while the messaging in this campaign is effective, unfortunately the images in these particular images are fairly generic. Figure 30 includes a man in a cape made up of smaller images of men in capes, linking to the idea of intervening and ‘saving someone’ from being a victim or a perpetrator. This image reinforces ideas of hegemonic masculinity as heroic and protective. As well as this, from my experience of delivering programmes which promote intervening by stepping in or seeking support, it is more useful to talk about these actions as not heroic, but rather, as everyday actions that everyone can do. I think one of the reasons people do not intervene is because they assume these things needs to be heroic gestures and that make intervening seem more difficult than it is. Figure 31 features the partial figures of a white heterosexual couple taken from the back. It creates a link between the statistic on the poster and the couple in the image, reiterating white heterosexual couples as those with ethical views rather than representing diverse images of people who hold those views.
However, when considering the text only, this poster challenges the binary of sexuality as men-active/women-passive by emphasising respect and the mutuality of sexual decision making. Furthermore, taken without the image this text lends itself to non-heterosexual encounters as well which is why it is a shame that they have chosen this image, as it undermines what could be a bold example of resisting dominant discourses of sexuality as heteronormative. Nevertheless, I think what these posters do highlight is the potential for a very versatile approach that can be utilised to appeal to specific, local communities by using relevant statistics.

4.5 Gender transformation and ethical relating

4.5.1 My Strength Is Not For Hurting

In December 2005 the Coalition against Sexual Assault launched the *My Strength is Not for Hurting* campaign, funded by the California Department of Health services and other social services. This social marketing campaign was aimed at high school aged students. The *My Strength* campaign had its primary focus as preventing sexual violence against young women, but it also included posters targeted at same sex sexual violence scenarios. This decision to include same sex scenarios was strategic, and Elizabeth Owen, a spokesperson for the campaign stated that the campaign’s aims were “to create an environment in which discussing homophobia and masculinity is encouraged with the goals of changing behaviours” (Grant, 2005, para.3).25

The campaign was created and overseen by activist John Stoltenberg and after being trialled in public schools was sold over the internet to other organisations in the United States and overseas (the posters have also been translated into Spanish). I have selected four of the posters from the campaign and some additional examples can be seen in Appendix B. I have placed these images in the ‘gender transformative’ theme as the intention of the campaign is to highlight ‘counter stories’. The ‘counter stories’ aimed to engage men as allies against

25 As well as the state wide marketing campaign and website, they also piloted ‘Men of Strength Clubs’ in six secondary schools. MOST clubs were established and facilitated by rape crisis centres that were trained by the Men Can Stop Rape organisation and the clubs aimed to challenge dominant constructions of masculinity, reconceptualise masculinity as something ethical and not harmful and mobilise men as allies against sexual violence using bystander intervention strategies. Participants in the MOST clubs showed improvements (at least in the short term) in recognising sexist and abusive attitudes and behaviour and taking steps to intervene, by telling the person to stop their harmful behaviour or going to get help (Kim & White, 2008).
violence towards women by rechanneling their ‘strength’ into ethical sexual relationships with women, by modelling communication and egalitarian strategies for sexual consent (Murphy, 2009). The My Strength posters have been analysed in Murphy’s (2009) article ‘Can “Men” Stop Rape? Visualizing Gender in the “My Strength is Not for Hurting” Rape Prevention Campaign’. In it, Murphy argues that the posters are an excellent example of what Berger (2003) describes as “men act and women appear” (p.127).

The posters shown in Figures 32-35, all show the men in the images consistently looking actively out of the frame while the women all gaze to the side or at the men. In all of the images here, the men take up the majority of the frame with women positioned to the side, leaning into the male figure, or wrapping their arms around them. Women are portrayed as lesser and dependant objects in relation to the fore fronted men. This is again reinforced by the text of each poster: ‘My Strength is not for hurting...so when she changed her mind I stopped’; ‘My Strength is not for hurting...so when I paid for our date she didn’t owe me’; ‘My Strength is not for hurting, so when she said no, I said ok’. Murphy (2009) argues that the use of ‘I’ in these images facilitates the male viewer’s recognition with the ethical subject in the poster. The woman is spoken about by the man in the third person and in this way men become the story tellers of their own, but also women’s, sexual experiences. The text also highlights the dominant constructions of male and female sexuality as described in Chapter One, where men are seen as active initiators of sexual activities and women are positioned as
‘gate-keepers’ of sex where their role is to decide at what part of a relationship they ‘let’ men fulfil their need for sex (Muise, 2011).

This is reflected in the text of the posters where we see women “don’t want to, say no and change their mind” in regards to sexual activity, reinforcing women as fickle and lacking in desire (Fine, 1988; Murphy, 2009, p.120). However, while I appreciate that the My Strength posters are problematic in the way they fortify hegemonic masculinity and dominant heteronormative discourses of sexuality, they at least go some way to making visible that rape has an impact on the person that is perpetrated against, that rape ‘hurts’. This in and of itself highlights that constructions of male sexuality as aggressive are not normative but are hurtful. Also, Murphy (2009) does note that in two of the fifteen available posters at the time of his writing, there was one image of a couple reaching mutual affirmative consent, and one image where a man does not wish to have sex, without the woman first saying no. It is important to remember here that this campaign began in the 1990s where rape prevention theory was still in its infancy. The organisation refers to this in a blog post called ‘Saying goodbye to My Strength is Not for Hurting’ where they wrote “how we understand and shape consent is beginning to change. Almost all the ‘My Strength’ messaging springs from the phrase, ‘No means no,’ a popular anti-date rape slogan” (Men Can Stop Rape, 2011, para.2).

However, because the campaign is based on the old ‘no means no’ messaging the majority of the images reinforce the dichotomy of active male and passive female sexuality which helps to underpin rape culture. This was partly intentional as the makers of the campaign wanted to make sure the campaign was “situated at an ideal point along a continuum from complicity to challenge” (Murphy, 2009, p.116). This is problematic, as in her analysis of men’s anti rape websites Marchese (2008), found that the sites construct two types of masculinity and masculine sexuality which she classifies as ‘real men don’t rape’ and ‘androgyny advocacy’. The ‘real men don’t rape’ discourse constructs those who refuse rape as ‘real men’ and those who do rape as ‘bad men’, attempting to reclaim masculinity as something that stands against sexual violence by simultaneously reinforcing dominant ideas of masculinity (strength and real men). She argues, as I do, that this helps to maintain rigid gender roles which reinforce rape.

26 This is particularly interesting given that John Stoltenberg (1989) wrote Refusing to be a Man: Essays on Social Justice and later a practical guide for men called The End Of Manhood: Parables on Sex and Self-Hood (2000), in which he argued “that manhood and masculinity cannot be reimagined but needs to be eliminated” (Stoltenberg, 2000, p.xvii). I wonder if this campaign highlights the organisational constraints I discussed in the introduction, where sometimes it is necessary to compromise in order for anti-rape activities to take place.
Skinner (2012) believes that this framing reinforces men’s decision making power and positions women as weak and incapable of decision making. Similarly, Murphy (2009, p.120) further critiques the way in which within the campaign message:

Men’s power or ability to rape [is never] fully renounced. Rape is always presented as a path not chosen not an unthinkable possibility renounced owing to its devastating consequences for both survivor and perpetrator.

Thus, presenting rape as a choice one can and should not make, as it ‘hurts’ another person is a very important discourse and I believe the framing of rape as a choice that one could choose to not make, provides a challenge to an extremely pervasive rape myth discourse which frames rape as a ‘miscommunication’.

The popularity of the miscommunication discourse is often accredited to Tannen’s (2001) best seller You Just Don’t Understand: Women and Men in Conversation. First published in 1990, the premise of Tannen’s work is that there is a dichotomy in the conversation style of men and women that makes miscommunication inevitable. According to this theory, rape is not an active choice of perpetrators to put one’s needs above another person, but an accident whereby men and women both fail to read each other’s verbal and non-verbal cues. This work has been actively criticised with research such as that by O’Bryne, Rapley and Hansen (2008) which shows that individuals have explicit awareness of how non-verbal and verbal sexual refusals are performed, why they are effective and recognise their own ability to perform them. This theory of miscommunication fits easily within discourses that blame survivors and
excuse perpetrators. According to sexual miscommunication theory, a woman’s experience of sexual violence arises from her failure to clearly communicate her unwillingness in sexual activity which men may interpret as willingness to engage. A study by Burkett and Hamilton (2012) shows that individuals consider this situation ‘inevitable’. That is, it is talked about as fact that men cannot be responsible for trying to understand women’s communication which is considered vague and indecisive.

4.5.2 It’s About Mana

The usefulness of the My Strength campaign is highlighted I think, in the It’s About Mana campaign created by Family Planning in New Zealand. The It’s About Mana campaign utilises the principles of the My Strength work as well as Carmody’s work on ethical relating (“It’s About Mana,” n.d.). The images are made to be unique to New Zealand and work from a strengths based perspective: “promoting to young people how to behave in relationships” (“It’s About Mana,” n.d., para.3).

Strengths based practice aims to implement strategies of what to do rather than what not to do, by drawing on the skills that many men and women already have and is an effective and evidence based practice (Rapp & Goscha, 2006; Rapp, Goscha, & Carlson, 2010; Rapp, Pettus, & Goscha, 2006). ‘Mana’ a Māori word which in English can be understood as authority, control, prestige or honour, was used by the creators to try and encapsulate the purpose of the campaign and the critical thinking they aimed to encourage in young men (“The meaning,” n.d.). The posters, shown below in Figures 36 to 38, use a diversity of images and have


drastically different positioning than those in the *My Strength* campaign, as well as including a diverse range of women and men.


Figures 36 and 37 show that sexual relationships can be a mutual negotiation and on-going conversation, challenging heteronormative discourses of sexuality surrounding men and women and sexual violence. Similarly, Figure 37 which reads: ‘anyone can say I love you but do your actions fit the words?’, works from Carmody's (2003, 2005) principles of the ethics of care of the self and of others, emphasising that sexual relationships are about practising love towards one another, reinforced by the fact that we are not told in the text or the images who these ideas are directed at and thus it can apply to both men and women. Finally, although Figure 38 reinforces problematic discourses of sexuality of male sexuality as active, female sexuality as passive, men as desiring and women as the lack of desire, it does go some way to addressing the role of communication in sexual relationships. It suggests that women do not need to ‘just say no’ in order to show their unwillingness to participate in sexual activity, rather it highlights that men are capable of reading non-verbal resistance as refusal (“Mythcommunication,” n.d.). This is in line with research by O’Byrne, Rapley and Hansen (2006) which highlights that contrary to the miscommunication model, young men in their focus groups were capable of understanding verbal cues, such as abruptness, shortness of conversation, as well as non-verbal refusals, as ways women clearly communicate their unwillingness to engage in sex.
4.5.1 We Can Stop It

The *We Can Stop It* United Kingdom campaign was launched in 2012 in an anti-rape effort that targets young men. Supported by police, public health services, local councils and sexual violence support agencies throughout the Warkshire and West Mercia area in the United Kingdom, the campaign’s focus is on raising men’s awareness of recent changes to Scottish consent law. In Scotland, the law has redefined what consent means. Consent is defined as free agreement and it is now law that consent can be withdrawn at any time (“Sexual Offences,” 2009). In addition to this, male to male sexual violence is legally classed as rape for the first time. The campaign was marketed during the Christmas period based on reporting which suggests there is an increase in rape during the winter months (“ACPOS launches,” n.d.).

The poster images feature a series of what was described by news media as a “a line-up of macho blokes” (Mathieson, 2012, para.1). The images depict a rugby player, a joiner, a graphic designer, a personal trainer and a student. The men make a series of statements about their attitudes to sex which cover various scenarios, including capacity to consent (Figures 39 and 40) and willingness to consent (Figures 41, 42 and 43). The campaign is intended to be a positive and proactive way of promoting discussion about consent and “asks you [men] to take responsibility for your knowledge and pride in your attitude” (“Scottish Police Forces,” 2009, about the campaign section, para.1).

![Figure 39. Poster image of a white man in a checked shirt, standing front on. He is cropped at the waist. From *We Can Stop It*. Retrieved from: http://www.wecanstopit.co.uk/default.aspx. Reprinted with permission.](image)

![Figure 40. Poster image of a white man in a rugby uniform, holding a rugby ball. He is standing front on and is cropped at the waist. From *We Can Stop It*. Retrieved from: http://www.wecanstopit.co.uk/default.aspx. Reprinted with permission.](image)

The tagline reads: ‘rape, are you the kind of guy who knows what that means? We believe that together we can stop rape, do you?’ (“Scottish Police Forces,” 2009). The coordinator of Rape Crisis Scotland supported the campaign saying “the biggest hurdle we face is changing people’s attitudes towards rape. The campaign speaks directly to men and offers something very positive—that rape is preventable and men can play a positive role in making this happen”
As mentioned in regards to Make Your Move Missoula and Are You That Someone?, it is important in campaigns that approach men (or men and women) as allies in preventing sexual violence that there is a diverse range of people represented, rather than predominantly white people. This is not because I am suggesting that non-white people need to be targeted by such campaigns more than white people, but rather diverse representations help to position non-white people, as well as white people, as agents of critique and resisters of rape and rape culture.

Like the My Strength campaign, this campaign also walks the line of complicity to challenge in regards to masculinity. On the one hand, the campaign appeals to masculine identity (are you the kind of guy?) exemplified the most I think, in the image of Greg the rugby player, but also to a lesser extent in the other images, which are complicit with constructions of hegemonic masculinity. This is significant as individuals with the highest rape proclivity are those who over conform to masculine identities, so there is definitely a risk that these images may intensify men’s adherence to manhood which helps to uphold sexist binaries (Flood, 2003). Nevertheless, this campaign I think helps to make visible new ways of ‘doing’ male sexuality which are non-violent (Berkowitz, 2002). While it is not a strong or direct challenge to hegemonic masculinity, I think it works well to expand the ways that men can ‘do’ masculinity in regards to sexual activity and relationships. The campaign highlights the important and significant shift from targeting women as potential victims, instead targeting men as potential allies and advocates for anti-rape activities. The tag line questions ‘do you?’ and ‘are you?’ I believe are an important element of this campaign. Not only do they ask men to reflect on their own attitudes towards consent and sexual activity, a desirable answer is already put forward by other men.
This is significant as research by Barker (2006) has shown that an important component in young men’s willingness to understand factors associated with gender equitable attitudes was an ability for self-reflection and their views being supported and reinforced by another person. The use of men is important given that the performance of manhood is often in front of, and granted by, other men (Kimmel, 1987). Thus, males seek approval of other men by identifying with them but also, as Flood (2003) argues, by competing with them. This is partly why men are more likely to listen to ideas about gender equality from men rather than women (Katz, 2013). In light of this, it may be more effective for men to be shown as taking responsibility for showing the achievability and pleasures of non-violent relationships. A further valuable part of this campaign for me is that it does not feature women which removes the complication of portraying men and women in the images. It also reinforces visually the key ideas behind the gender transformative approach to rape prevention, that men are responsible for stopping rape as most sexual violence is perpetrated by men against women and other men.

This campaign emphasises the need for affirmative non-coerced consent in all situations and respecting a person’s right to not engage in sexual activity. The importance of promoting affirmative consent in every context cannot be understated, especially in light of well publicised cases involving Julian Assange\(^\text{27}\) and Steubenville College.\(^\text{28}\) It is unfortunate that this campaign still highlights tired heteronormative discourses of sexuality where women are presented as not interested or not capable of consenting to sexual activity. Considering that this campaign is aiming to reflect a change to consent law which is now a more affirmative model of consent, it would be good to see that reflected in the images rather than presenting women as gate-keepers to sexual activity, as this serves to reinforce discourses of hegemonic masculinity rather than undermine it. However, one respect in which these images depart

\(^{27}\) WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange is fighting extradition to Sweden to face rape charges after two women reported that he had raped them, one woman alleges that he raped her while she was sleeping (“Julian Assange rape,” 2012).

\(^{28}\) In August 2012 a young woman pressed charges against two football players at Steubenville College after she was repeatedly raped and sexual assaulted while unconscious at a series of parties. Onlookers had filmed the girl being raped, being carried by her arms and legs by the young men to various parties as well as being urinated on. One of the perpetrators tweeted: ‘song of the night is definitely rape me by Nirvana’, and texts were sent referring to ‘rape’ and ‘the dead girl’. However, the case drew widespread and international attention due to the strong victim-blaming that surrounded the actions of the young woman, who was represented as destroying the football careers of two young men with her allegations (“The Steubenville Rape,” n.d.).
from normative discourses of sexuality is by highlighting that being anti-rape is a deliberate stance taken by men. This helps to disrupt the concept of the male sex drive that suggests men have a natural and overwhelming need for sex that is ‘uncontrollable’. Overall, the We Can Stop It campaign is an interesting example of the ways that campaigns can be modelled on principles of masculinity based on self-reflection and gender equality (Flood, 2005).

Nevertheless, while these posters are positive and a promising prevention tool on the one hand, like the My Strength campaign the basis of the campaign is premised on the idea that rape happens because of perpetrators’ lack of awareness of what non-violent behaviour is, and that by improving the communication of potential perpetrators this will reduce rape. While I believe it is totally necessary to encourage consent and negotiation and provide people with skills that open up the sexual script in order to frame sexual activity as something mutual and egalitarian, pleasurable and non-violent. This approach can overlook the extent to which perpetrators do not care that their partner is not consenting or even find the idea of forced sexual activity desirable or arousing (Flood, 2005). We see evidence of this in research by Hakvag (2009) on young people’s experience of sexual relationships which found that young men who self-reported sexually coercive behaviour defined it as ‘playful’ and ‘beneficial’ and believed that it would enhance their relationships.

This campaign again reinforces that rape is about miscommunication and lack of understanding regarding the law. However, in a study by Lisak and Miller (2002, pp.78), in
sample of 1,882 men, 76 (4%) individuals self-reported an estimated 439 rapes and attempted rapes. The authors note that:

A majority of the undetected rapists in this sample were repeat perpetrators. Almost two thirds of them raped more than once, and a majority also committed other acts of interpersonal violence, such as battery, child physical abuse, and child sexual abuse.

Therefore these occurrences of sexual violence are not caused by misunderstandings. This study indicates that perpetrators deliberately overcome resistance and force unwilling participants into sexual activity through physical force or threat of force, or by targeting intoxicated persons. While research by Beres and Farvid (2010) found that individuals are likely to explain sexual violence situations as if they are miscommunications, this is not the case.

4.6 Conclusion

Rape prevention poster campaigns are an established form of anti-rape intervention which have been being used for a number of years. As we gain more knowledge about what works in rape prevention, we have more information to work from as to what makes campaigns ineffective or effective. The campaigns in this chapter highlight some of the promising initiatives in this field and emphasise that rape prevention campaigns can be effective in challenging discourses which underpin rape culture and also in creating alternative discourses which open up new subject positions for men and women. The campaigns in this chapter highlight the best and most promising approaches to rape prevention. They emphasise that

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29 Participants were asked to respond to the following questions “Have you ever been in a situation where you tried, but for various reasons did not succeed, in having sexual intercourse with an adult by using or threatening to use physical force (twisting their arm, holding them down, etc.) if they did not cooperate? Have you ever had sexual intercourse with someone, even though they did not want to, because they were too intoxicated (on alcohol or drugs) to resist your sexual advances (e.g. removing their clothes)? Have you ever had sexual intercourse with an adult when they didn’t want to because you used or threatened to use physical force (twisting their arm; holding them down, etc.) if they didn’t cooperate? Have you ever had oral sex with an adult when they didn’t want to because you used or threatened to use physical force (twisting their arm; holding them down, etc.) if they didn’t cooperate?” (Lisak & Miller, 2002, p.76). Thus, it is also significant to note that this study does not include actions that meet the definition of non-physical coercion, which is the main method by which sexual violence occurs.
while these campaigns both resist and reinforce dominant discourses of sexuality and gender, some resist these discourses more strongly than others and some create alternative discourses. The campaigns in this chapter highlight powerful examples of how anti-rape feminists can use social marketing campaigns as a strategy which can conduct the behaviour of subjects in ways that are respectful, ethical and non-violent. In the final chapter, I will look at the themes apparent across all the campaigns in this thesis and discuss how they differ and connect, what they tell us about rape and how to prevent it.
5. Chapter Five: Presenting the Themes

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I bring together the core themes from my analysis and discuss the connections and differences between the campaigns discussed in Chapters Three and Four. I will address the key themes relating to discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth that were present across the poster campaigns and answer the following questions that are central to this thesis: ‘to what extent do rape prevention posters resist and/or reinforce discourses which help to create and perpetuate sexual violence? To what extent do they create alternative discourses?’ And finally ‘what discourses should we utilise to create an effective campaign?’ In the preceding chapters I laid the groundwork for answering these questions by outlining my theoretical approach to analysing the poster campaigns. The theoretical approach I have used is twofold. I utilise a discursive analysis of the representations of sexuality, gender and rape myth in the poster campaigns as well as drawing from rape prevention theory and judging how well the poster campaigns align with effective theoretical approaches to rape prevention. In line with my central findings, I contend that it is possible to utilise governmentality and disciplinary power to create ethical subjects with respectful behaviour and that a key tool to achieve this is how poster campaigns represent discourses of sexuality. I argue that the least effective poster campaigns are those that are more likely to reinforce and extend heteronormative discourses of sexuality and in turn, extend binary constructions of gender which perpetuate rape and rape culture.

The most effective poster campaigns resist dominant constructions of sexuality, disrupt hegemonic depictions of gender and reflect the realities of sexual violence. However, consistent with Foucault’s theory of power as a force which cannot be wholly resisted, but rather is in a constant state of flux and negotiation, I argue that even campaigns that I have judged as effective, both resist and reinforce dominant discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth. What follows in this chapter is an analysis of the ways discourses of sexuality, gender and rape myth are presented across all the poster campaigns in this thesis. In so doing, I hope to draw attention to the differences and similarities of the representations of these discourses and lend weight to my central arguments. The first section will address discourses of sexuality, the second section will discuss discourses of gender and the third section will discuss discourses of rape myth across the poster campaigns. Within each section I will first
discuss the campaigns in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction and perpetrator-focused themes. I will then outline the discourses across the more effective poster campaigns which included the bystander intervention, social norms, gender transformation and ethical relating themes. Rape prevention poster campaigns are widely used and this analysis has highlighted some very promising attempts at rape prevention campaigns. I believe some of these campaigns have the potential to harness disciplinary power in ways that open up alternative subject positions for both men and women and allow them to behave in ways that are assertive, responsible, respectful and ethical. Rape prevention education is still a relatively new field and there is evidence that some groups are making progress in the creation of rape prevention poster campaigns. Because rape prevention is an emerging field it is important that we remain critical of the approaches that are taken to attempt to prevent sexual violence, so that we can continue to refine and develop strategies that are effective.

5.2 Sexuality

5.2.1 Rape resistance, rape avoidance, risk reduction and perpetrator-focused strategies

In this section of the chapter I outline some of the broad themes of sex and sexuality that were represented across all the poster campaigns in these themes, comparing and contrasting the way male and female sexuality is represented both in the images but also in the text of the poster images, and the supporting media surrounding the campaigns. In Chapter Three I analysed a selection of poster campaigns which I judged to be the least effective examples of rape prevention campaigns from the selection in this thesis, including those from the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme and perpetrator-focused themes. This theme included the campaigns: Cabwise from Transport for London; Call the Shots from the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board; Safe Night Out from the West Mercia Police and an unnamed campaign from the Association of Chief Police Officers. The perpetrator-focused theme included images from the Safe Night Out and Association of Chief Police Officers campaigns, a campaign from the UK Home Office and the Don’t Be That Guy campaign from SAVE. I will highlight that less effective poster campaigns, particularly those in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme, wholly reinforce discourses of sexuality which position female sexuality as submissive, vulnerable and weak. Less effective poster campaigns also highlight discourses of male sexuality as dominant, aggressive and unethical.
As outlined in Chapter Two and throughout, feminist theories of patriarchy and gendered oppression suggest that male power is reinforced through discourses of sexuality that frame men as naturally dominant and women as naturally submissive. Hegemonic discourses of sexuality prioritise ideas of male pleasure and minimise, or as we have seen completely erase, women’s interest in sex or sexual activity, instead framing female sexuality as inherently disinterested and merely reactive to male desire. In effect, these discourses work to set up a double standard where women’s sexuality (and arguably women in general) is considered subordinate to men. These representations of women as sexually chaste help to reinscribe a virgin/whore dichotomy where white hetero-women are represented as sexually unavailable and ‘other’ women as perpetually sexually available and hence, logically unviolable. In opposition to the construction of female sexuality as submissive, the rape resistance, risk rape avoidance and risk reduction theme constructs male sexuality as predatory, dominant and uncontrollable.

Male sexuality is represented in two ways across this theme; visually represented as the rapist as ‘monster’ or ‘stranger’, or made invisible through what Howe (2006) describes as the ‘disappearing man’ phenomena. This figure of the rapist as ‘monster’ or ‘stranger’ represents an exaggeration of discourses of male sexuality as dominating and un-caring. This is problematic because it positions sexual violence as inevitable, that is, if male sexuality is naturally insatiable and violent than the only solution is for women to be responsible for preventing their potential victimisation. The second construction of male sexuality we see in this theme is its absence. In the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme we see examples in all of the campaigns of the way that men’s sexual violence is ‘disappeared’ in that those who are responsible are not visually represented or mentioned in the text. In the perpetrator-focused theme we see a slightly different configuration of male and female sexuality. To a lesser extent the campaigns in the perpetrator-focused theme also reflect negative constructions of sexuality. However, they include some notable exceptions in the ways they emphasise the importance of getting consent for sexual activity, which is partly why I have rated them as more effective.

While the campaigns still construct male sexuality as un-caring, harmful and un-ethical they also represent the potential consequences for enacting male sexuality in this way. That is, to behave in line with normative constructions of male sexuality puts men as risk of potential jail time. Therefore, while the poster campaigns highlight very narrow consequences for committing sexual violence and I argue, consequences that ignore the repercussions of rape on survivors, these campaigns still highlight that male sexuality when enacted violently is wrong.
Furthermore, in particular, the UK Home Office and Don’t Be That Guy campaigns emphasise the important of getting consent for sexual activity with the tag lines ‘have sex with someone who hasn’t said yes to it and the next place you enter could be prison’ and ‘sex without consent=sexual assault’. This helps to portray male sexuality as capable of restraint and ethical behaviour. Finally, these campaigns also depart from the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme in that they represent perpetrators as ordinary men who make choices to be sexually violent, rather than perpetrators as ‘monster’s or ‘strangers’ who are deviant. These representations take away from the opportunity of rape prevention campaigns to construct sex and sexuality as a space with the potential for mutually respectful and ethical behaviour, where women have the capacity to desire to be sexual and men have the capacity to act lovingly and respectfully towards others in regards to sexual activity. Because these posters reinscribe dominant discourses of sexuality and these posters can be considered extremely powerful in creating subjects that are the opposite of what rape prevention is aiming to create, that is un-ethical and violent. Thus reinforcing dominant ideas of sex and sexuality that frame sex as inherently risky, help to perpetuate rape culture and actual acts of sexual violence.

5.2.2 Social norms, bystander intervention and gender transformative and ethical relating strategies

So, the poster campaigns I judged to be least effective both resisted and reproduced discourses of heteronormative sexuality. While more effective posters resist dominant discourses of sexuality or create alternative discourses of sexuality, these discourses of sexuality can never be entirely resisted. Therefore, while I have judged the posters in Chapter Four to be more effective, these campaigns still both resist and reproduce norms of sexuality that underpin the perpetuation of rape culture and actual acts of rape. In Chapter Four I analysed poster campaigns which were part of the bystander intervention, social norms, gender transformation and ethical relating themes. These included the following campaigns: Make Your Move Missoula from an organisation of the same name; Are You That Someone? Let’s Stop Sexual Violence by the New Zealand Ministry for Social Development; a social norms campaign by the United States Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network; My Strength is Not for Hurting by Men Can Stop Rape; It’s About Mana from Family Planning New Zealand and We Can Stop It from Scottish public health services and local police forces.

I argue that these effective poster campaigns are more likely to resist and create alternative constructions of sexuality rather than reproduce and extend them. In the bystander intervention campaigns, we see the way more effective campaigns resist discourses of male
sexuality as inherently violent and/or un-ethical by positioning instances of aggressive male sexuality as problematic. The imagery in these campaigns reinforces that the situations represented in the campaign images, are problematic and require somebody to intervene or help a person who is in potential danger. In this way, the campaigns in the bystander intervention themes disrupt concepts of male sexuality as naturally dominant and violent, by suggesting that these situations are problematic and require intervention. Yet, women’s sexuality is still represented as vulnerable and at risk of victimisation or needing to be ‘policed’ by bystanders. So here, we see directly the conflict between reinforcing existing discourses of sexuality and resisting and creating alternative representations of sexuality simultaneously. The social norms campaign by RAINN also provides an example of this. Figure 31 uses imagery that reinforces heteronormative discourses of sexuality even though the text of the poster is I suspect, deliberately ambiguous: ‘83% of men respect their partner’s wishes about sexual activity’. This text could be read as emphasising non-dominant discourses of sexuality by focusing on mutuality and respect for the wishes of others or, as Skinner (2012) argues, it could be read as a representation of male sexuality as gentlemanly or chivalrous.

Similarly, in the gender transformative and ethical relating theme normative constructions of male sexuality are problematised, by positioning male sexuality as having the capacity to be caring, respectful and communicative. Nevertheless, the poster campaigns still represent male sexuality as active, with men always being those who initiate sexual activity and men as those who are always interested in engaging in sexual activity. Across all three campaigns in this theme, the representation of women as gate-keepers for sexual activity was apparent. Additionally women’s sexuality was also represented as the ‘lack’ of desire and women are positioned as uninterested and unwilling to engage in sexual activity and this is true across all the campaigns in this theme. Apart from one image in the It’s About Mana campaign, which reads ‘we’ll decide’ there are no images of women’s sexuality as active or women as having the capacity to make mutual decisions about sexual activity. This is a key finding in relation to this material, that is, I contend that in order to make campaigns more effective not only do we need to create alternative subject positions for men which conduct their behaviour in ways that are non-violent, respectful and caring, we also need to make an effort to conduct the behaviour of women in ways that are assertive, active and capable of sexual decision making. We need to represent women as having a right to engage in, or refuse, sexual activity (without reinforcing the virgin/whore dichotomy), as this resists notions of female sexuality as always submissive or ‘lacking’ in desire. If we believe that sex and sexuality is about equal decision making, then it is necessary for both of these subject positions to be fostered.
The more effective campaigns also attempt to create alternative discourses of sexuality. The campaigns in the gender transformative and ethical relating theme create a counter narrative to the popular ‘miscommunication theory’ outlined in Chapter Four which surrounds sex and sexuality, in particular in instances of coercion. This theory posits that sexual violence occurs because men and women have different ways of communicating and therefore are primed to miscommunicate and read each other’s signals incorrectly. These campaigns highlight that sexual activity involves conscious verbal decision making and that there are consequences for choosing to behave violently and disrespectfully towards another. These posters reinforce that sexual violence ‘hurts’ another person and in this way these campaigns emphasise that it is not normal or natural for male sexuality to be violent and aggressive. Additionally, they all work to resist dominant discourses of male sexuality as aggressive and women’s sexuality as passive and vulnerable, instead representing male sexuality as ethical, respectful and communicative.

In this way the campaigns highlight the reality of sexual activity as consensual with decision making which involves both partners. The campaigns in this theme work to help conduct the behaviour of men in ways that are respectful by framing men as having the capacity and willingness to express their sexuality in ways that are respectful and caring.

Throughout this thesis I contend that in order for rape prevention poster campaigns to be the most effective it is necessary for them to resist damaging discourses of sexuality or create alternative representations of sexuality. This follows Foucault’s argument that discourses of sexuality are immensely powerful and have as their primary objective the control of populations and bodies. I argue that because of this, in order to most effectively harness the disciplinary power of these campaigns it is most useful to do this through discourses of sexuality. Many of the poster campaigns in this thesis move towards creating alternative discourses of male sexuality which frame male sexuality and masculinity as respectful and non-violent. This is indeed useful as conducting the possible actions of men should be a focus of rape prevention, as men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators of sexual violence against women and other men. However, I argue that it is similarly important for rape prevention to challenge discourses of women’s sexuality and constructions of femininity which position them as passive and vulnerable, instead emphasising women’s capacity to be interested in, and able to, negotiate ethical sex. I believe that in order to create the possibility of sexual activity as mutual and respectful, it is important to also conduct the behaviour of women and create subject positions which allow them to behave in ways which promote non-violence.
5.3 Gender

5.3.1 Rape resistance, rape avoidance, risk reduction and perpetrator-focused strategies

As well as both reinforcing and resisting problematic constructions of sexuality, campaigns in both themes also engage in differing ways with constructions of masculinity and femininity. As discussed in Chapter One and throughout, representations of sexuality are key methods for resisting and reinforcing ideas about gender as so much of our gender is tied up with the way we express our sexuality. As noted by Kimmel, Michael, Harris, Messner and Gertner (1998):

The foundation on which men construct sexuality is gender. It is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct sexuality and it is through our sexuality that we confirm the construction of our gender.

(p.67)

Similar to the above discussions of sexuality, more effective campaigns are more likely to resist and create alternative discourses of gender than less effective campaigns, although no campaign included in this thesis entirely resists hegemonic constructions of gender. That is, so much of gender is tied up with the way people ‘do’ their sexuality. The rape prevention poster campaigns in this thesis highlight the way discourses of sexuality transmit understandings of gender. In these poster campaigns, I argue that the primary way that messages about gender are reinforced in these images is through the representation of discourses of sex and sexuality. In the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme and in the perpetrator-focused theme, in line with the representations of male sexuality as insatiable, ‘natural’ and dominating we also see the reinforcement of the configuration of masculinity as controlling, un-caring and violent. This is problematic because as has been previously mentioned sexual violence is more likely in contexts where hegemonic masculinity is defined with toughness, aggressiveness and domination (Hong, 2000).

Therefore, these campaigns do not usefully contribute to rape prevention by expanding ideas of masculinity and femininity and/or promote greater gender flexibility which is a protective factor for sexual violence (Baker, 2013). By failing to promote alternative representations of gender the campaigns across these two themes fail to conduct the behaviour of male subjects in ways that are respectful, instead they further create subject positions which promote violence. In order for campaigns to be effective they need to harness disciplinary power to govern subjects in ways that are ethical, respectful and caring. Particular to representations of
masculinity it is necessary to expand and indeed transform our ideals of masculinity and promote the ways the masculine can (and is already) positive and affirming of meaningful non-violent connection. Similarly, the poster campaigns in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction and perpetrator-focused themes reinforce dominant constructions of femininity as vulnerable and weak. These campaign images work to bolster a hierarchy of femininity which position some types of femininity, predominantly white, above other types of femininity. These understandings of femininity are translated through discourses of sexuality which position white women as the ‘ideal victims’ of sexual violence. Indeed, all the victims (bar one) portrayed in the images in these campaigns are able bodied, young, conventionally attractive white women.

These representations of the ‘ideal victim’ are the visual representation of what Hall (2004) describes as the construction of women as ‘rape space’. She argues that women are treated as ‘rape space’ within rape prevention discourse where her “subjectivity momentarily collapses into her anatomy” (Hall, 2004, p.2). I argue that it is not only within prevention discourses but also within prevention poster campaigns that we this representation of women as ‘rape space’. These discourses and represent powerful way of utilising disciplinary power to conduct the behaviour of women in ways that are repressive and limit their possible realms of actions. By framing women as responsible for sexual violence and as perpetually ‘at risk’, these poster campaigns capitalise on women’s (often legitimate) fears of rape and urge them to police their own behaviour and the behaviour of other women, in order to avoid or resist rape. In so doing, these campaigns work to further entrench relationships of domination which subordinate women.

5.3.2 Social norms, bystander intervention and gender transformative and ethical relating strategies

Effective poster campaigns strive towards resisting dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity or create alternative representations of gender. The campaigns in the bystander intervention, social norms, gender transformation and ethical relating themes were more likely to resist or create alternative representations of gender. However, many of the campaign images also bolster and extend discourses of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. For example, the bystander intervention campaigns and Figure 31 in the social norms campaign by RAINN (which encourages men to intervene in instances of sexual assault), work to position masculinity as respectful and non-violent by showing men as willing to, and actually, intervening in situations which seem dangerous in order to keep others safe. However, as discussed previously, these representations could also be read as an extension of discourses of
male chivalry which positions men as the ‘natural’ protectors of women who are simultaneously and inversely positioned as potential victims who lack the capacity to take care of themselves, or the capacity to intervene in situations of sexual violence that involve other men or women. This is represented most clearly in the RAINN image, Figure 30, with the image of the male ‘hero’.

Nevertheless, there are instances of women being positioned as capable and competent resisters of rape and rape culture in this theme which are not apparent in other campaigns. The *Make Your Move Missoula* campaign is the only campaign in this thesis which positions femininity as capable and assertive, by showing women intervening in sexually harmful situations. In this way this campaign helps to open up new subject potions for women and conduct their behaviour in ways that resist rape, but in a way that counteracts the positioning of women as ‘rape space’, which is the only other way that women are targeted as being able to resist rape in these campaigns. This is significant as these are the only campaigns which represent women’s role in perpetuating rape culture not as potential victims, but as those with responsibility to resist sexual violence through taking meaningful and assertive action.

Campaigns in the gender transformation and ethical relating theme include examples of images that I have considered to have the most promise, in terms of the way they resist discourses that help perpetuate rape, instead creating alternative discourses of gender.

All three of the campaigns in this theme attempt to undermine dominant constructions of masculinity by positioning men as capable and willing to behave with care, treat others with respect and think about the consequences of the way they act. However, simultaneously across all three campaigns the images reinforce heteronormative discourses of masculinity which position men as active and women as passive. The campaigns also reinscribe discourses of hegemonic masculinity through constructing men who do not rape as ‘real men’ or ‘macho blokes’. In this way the campaigns limit alternative representations of masculinity, by being compliant with dominant representations.

### 5.4 Rape myth

#### 5.4.1 Rape resistance, rape avoidance, risk reduction and perpetrator-focused strategies

In this section I will address the extent to which the campaigns resisted or reinforced common myths around rape and sexual violence. Discourses of rape myth are foundational to the on-going perpetuation of sexual violence and thus I argue that more effective campaigns will
undermine or disrupt rape myth. The least effective poster campaigns which aligned with the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction themes as well as the perpetrator-focused strategies, predominantly reinforce rather than resist dominant rape myths. Some of the key ways they reinforce rape myth is in discourses that reinforce the concept of rapists as ‘strangers’, ‘monsters’ and racial ‘others’. In this way these campaigns work to obscure the realities of sexual violence which were outlined in Chapter Two, which show that perpetrators are most likely to be someone known to the survivor. If the rapist is not represented as ‘monster’, ‘stranger’ or ‘racial other’ we see visually represented Howe’s (2006) theory of the ‘disappearing man’. This occurs in the Cabwise, Safe Night Out, Association of Chief Police Officers and the UK Home Office campaigns. Howe’s (2006) work, looks at the discursive place vacated by male perpetrators in discourses of gendered violence and we see this represented in the rape prevention poster campaigns when the perpetrator of sexual violence is made invisible in the poster images. That is, selected images from all these campaigns do not include the figure of a perpetrator and many also do not refer to a perpetrator at all. The effect of this is that not only does the focus of the poster campaign become the actions of women, but also that by extending and invigorating rape myth the campaigns fail to conduct the behaviour of those who are most likely to be perpetrators.

In addition to this, the poster campaigns in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction and perpetrator focused theme, all claim to target the link between alcohol and sexual violence. In theory this is extremely relevant as, as has been discussed alcohol is a co-existing factor in around 75% of sexual violence incidents. However, the images across all of these campaigns do little to highlight the way alcohol is used to facilitate sexual violence. Instead, instead both visually and textually the poster campaigns merely reinforce a dominant rape myth about women who drink as putting themselves ‘at risk’ of rape, or that perpetrators who have been drinking are not responsible for their actions. This ties into a wider discourse of rape myth that suggests women are to blame if they are raped after they have been drinking and perpetrators should be excused. This representation of sexual violence as caused by a perpetrator’s drinking obscures the reality of rape as a deliberate choice taken by some men to commit violence against another person, and the dynamics of sexual violence which show that often, perpetrators deliberately seek out intoxicated people in order to perpetrate against them.

There are some components in the perpetrator-focused strategies that are useful compared to the campaigns in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme. Significantly, two of the campaigns the first by the UK Home Office and the second by SAVE (the Don’t Be
That Guy campaign) emphasise the importance of consent for sexual activity and highlight that sex and sexual violence are distinct categories which are distinguished by the negotiation of consent. Don’t Be That Guy goes even further than just highlighting this distinction and instead emphasises that extreme intoxication is a situation where people cannot give consent and in so doing, forcibly disrupts dominant ideas about women who drink as sexually available. We see just how powerful this counter discourse is in the poster by men’s rights group in Figure 9. These images in Figure 9 which read ‘women who drink are not responsible for their actions, especially when sex is involved. Double standards, don’t be that girl’ and ‘just because you regret a one night stand, doesn’t mean it wasn’t consensual. Lying about sexual assault is a crime-don’t be that girl’, points to how widely circulating and powerful the discourse around women’s drinking. Thus, these campaigns help to expand the possible behaviour of women, by resisting rape myths that hold women responsible for their victimisation.

The perpetrator-focused campaigns also show promise in the ways they resist the rape myth of perpetrator as ‘stranger’ or ‘monster’ and ‘racial other’. Instead, the perpetrators (across all three perpetrator-focused campaigns) are visually represented as predominantly young white men putting perpetrators both figuratively and literally in the picture. The exception to this is the UK Home Office ‘underwear’ poster. This poster, similar to those in the rape resistance, rape avoidance and risk reduction theme, invisibilises the perpetrator in the image instead focusing on women as ‘rape space’. The perpetrator-focused campaigns are useful in that they move towards representing the consequences of perpetrating on those who choose to perpetrate, by highlighting the repercussions of being convicted in the criminal justice system. However, I argue that by representing prison time as the only consequence of sexual violence for perpetrators, rather than taking a broader focus of the way sexual violence impacts both the perpetrator and the survivor, these campaigns fail to utilise disciplinary power in ways that would conduct the behaviour of perpetrators.

Despite having some promising elements, overall the campaigns in the perpetrator theme do little to present men as capable of behaving in ways that are ethical and respectful, instead reinforcing men’s sexual behaviour as dominating and aggressive with a lack of regard for others. I suggest that in order for this perpetrator-focused approach to be effective, it is necessary that these strategies highlight all the ways in which men suffer from their choice to commit violence, as said by hooks:
As long as men are brainwashed to equate violent domination and abuse of women with privilege, they will have no understanding of the damage done to themselves or to others, and no motivation to change. (2003, p.27)

In order to effectively conduct the behaviour of men, rape prevention poster campaigns need to highlight the capacity of men to act in ways that are non-violent and also illuminate the realities of sexual violence as damaging to both perpetrator and the person victimised, in order to create alternative subject positions for men to occupy.

5.4.2 Social norms, bystander intervention and gender transformative and ethical relating strategies

More effective poster campaigns disrupt and resist rape myths by better revealing the realities of sexual violence through the images and texts of the posters. For example, the *Don’t Be That Guy* campaign represents a more effective example of the perpetrator-focused strategy than the other campaigns of this theme (*Safe Night Out, Association of Chief Police officers* and the *UK Home Office*), because it strongly resists rape myths that suggest women who drink are sexually available and or culpable for sexual violence. Similarly, the campaigns in the bystander intervention theme resist ideas of rape myth that suggest women want to be raped or are responsible for rape, instead highlighting that violence is not normal and that all people have a stake in preventing it from happening. Furthermore, both campaigns in the bystander intervention theme reflect situations that are closer to the way that many instances of sexual violence occur, that is by someone known and in the context of alcohol use. Likewise the *My Strength*, *We Can Stop It* and *It’s About Mana* campaigns, all move towards reflecting more accurate pictures of the way that sexual violence is perpetrated by someone known and in a relationship to the survivor, as well as through the use of coercion or facilitated by alcohol rather than force. This is in strong contrast to the poster campaigns that I have judged as the least effective.

However, as discussed previously I have critiqued the representation of people in both the *Make Your Move Missoula* and the *Are You that Someone?* campaign. My main concern is that these images present mostly white men as the key opponents of rape culture, missing a valuable opportunity to show a diverse range of people acting as critics of sexual violence. This is also true of the *We Can Stop It* campaign which shows only one non-white man across all of the images, positioning white men as those who are able to make respectful and non-violent choices, helping to reinforce rape myths of rapist as the racial ‘other’. This trope is further visible in the *Are You That Someone?* campaign which, as mentioned earlier, represents all the
perpetrators in the images as non-white and the majority of bystanders who could potentially act ethically, as white. Finally, while these more effective campaigns reflect situations that more closely align with the realities of sexual violence, none of the campaigns actually reflect the realities of sexual violence for those who are the statistically most at risk. That is, no campaigns in this thesis are targeted towards preventing rape against those who are the most vulnerable and the statistically most likely to be sexually victimised (such as people with disabilities or non-white transgendered women).

5.5 Conclusion

The campaigns I have analysed represent a broad range of ways of preventing rape and resisting rape culture. However, there are some clear themes in the way sexuality, gender and sexual violence are represented, both in the imagery and in the accompanying text of the poster campaigns. They all engage with discourses of gender, sexuality and representations of sexual violence in various ways and I argue that less effective posters are more likely to draw on, and extend, discourses of heteronormative sexuality, constructions of hegemonic masculinity and femininity and rape myth. In contrast, I have shown that more effective posters are more likely to resist these discourses or attempt to reimagine them. However, consistent with a Foucauldian perspective of power, I have found that even poster campaigns which are more effective still never completely resist these discourses which perpetuate sexual violence. Nevertheless, in order for rape prevention poster campaigns to become a useful site for feminist anti-rape activism whereby we co-opt practises of disciplinary power to create respectful and ethical subject positions, it is necessary that rape prevention poster campaigns always work to push back against discourses that underpin rape and rape culture and work to create alternative discourses which encourage ethical relating.
6. Conclusion

Sexual violence is a complex problem which will require a multifaceted solution. No one poster campaign, education programme or other intervention will solve this systematic and structural issue. However, this thesis has shown the utility of rape prevention poster campaigns as one tool which can be taken up by anti-rape feminists in order to create social change. This thesis sets out three questions: ‘to what extent do rape prevention posters resist and/or reinforce discourses which help to create and perpetuate sexual violence? To what extent do they create alternative discourses?’ And finally ‘what discourses should we utilise to create an effective campaign?’ Through my analysis of the poster campaigns in this thesis, I come to argue that feminist anti-rape activists should co-opt disciplinary power and use it in a way that works to reshape the possible action of subjects in ways that are ethical and non-violent. The other key finding of this thesis is that the most powerful way to influence the behaviour of subjects’ and populations is through discourses of sexuality. I argued that in order for sexual violence prevention poster campaigns to be effective, they must resist or create alternative discourses of sexuality, as sexuality is crucial to the way we can use disciplinary power to ‘conduct the conduct’ of subjects.

My discursive analysis of rape prevention campaigns highlighted that less effective poster campaigns were more likely to reinforce heteronormative discourses of sexuality, by positioning male sexuality and female sexuality in an active/passive binary. These campaigns rendered discourses of male sexuality as dominating, insatiable and aggressive and female sexuality as passive, submissive and ‘lacking’. Less effective poster campaigns were also more likely to reinforce discourses of hegemonic masculinity and femininity, and bolster common rape myths. These campaigns often worked from a notion of the ‘ideal victim’ as a white, middle class woman and a conception of perpetrators as ‘strangers’, ‘monsters’ or racial ‘others’. Because of this, less effective poster campaigns harness disciplinary power in ways that are repressive, predominantly for women, by conducting their behaviour in ways that limit their freedom. Furthermore, these campaigns fail to imagine or open up alternative subject positions for men and women to occupy, that are based on respect, equality and care.

In contrast, more effective poster campaigns are more likely to resist heteronormative constructs of sexuality, or create alternative discourses which highlighted the capacity for male sexuality to be expressed with respect and care. However, consistent with a Foucauldian view of power, even effective poster campaigns both resist and reinforce dominant discourses of
sexuality, where male sexuality was often positioned as active and female sexuality (in all but one image) was constructed as fraught with risk of victimisation. In these images, women are most often presented as unwilling or incapable of engaging in mutual and egalitarian sexual activity. Nevertheless, more effective poster campaigns also pushed back against hegemonic constructions of masculinity and femininity by positioning both men and women as active and capable resisters of rape and rape culture. These campaigns also highlighted the realities of how sexual violence is perpetrated by people known to the survivor, through verbal coercion or via alcohol facilitated assaults. These more effective poster campaigns are an example of how anti-rape feminists can utilise disciplinary power to conduct the behaviour of subjects in more egalitarian ways and the poster campaigns in this thesis highlight a number of different ways to go about opening up alternative subject positions for men and women to occupy.

However, we should not be limited by the examples that are presented here. The challenge for anti-rape feminists is to think broadly about the kind of discourses we can utilise in order to conduct the behaviour of subjects. As described by Baker (2013, p.1):

> The outcome for violence prevention is often described as ‘non-violence’.
> This is convenient but weak – it simply says what is absent, and
> unintentionally focuses the mind back onto violence. It doesn’t identify the
> action we want people to take. True prevention moves beyond simply
> stopping violence into promoting alternative healthy behaviour. This
> requires positive and specific words to describe what we want people to
do.

Thus, it is important that we focus on the discourses which promote respect, mutuality and care if we want to promote healthy behaviours. One alternative framework which I believe should be explored as a useful strategy for rape prevention, is hooks’ (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003) work on love. For the final section of this thesis, I will briefly address why I believe this framework is worth considering for rape prevention.

### 6.1 Love

Love has long been an area of feminist interest and analysis. Love, particularly romantic love, has been widely criticised by feminists who have argued that romantic love reproduces patriarchal power, by masking the violent and oppressive dynamics which can be part of romantic and sexual relationships (Friedman & Valenti, 2008). Because love does not exist in a vacuum it stands to reason it is influenced by wider structures of sexuality and gender
While love may not be inherently oppressive, the wider context in which it is constituted means that its can work to reinforce unequal relationships of power (Grossi, 2013; Moran & Lee, 2014; Rule-Groenewald, 2013). However, love has also been theorised by feminists as an area of resistance, transformation and subversion (Grossi, 2013). For the final section of this thesis, I am going to suggest an alternative framework for a theory of sexual violence prevention based on bell hooks’ (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003) work on love. I argue that utilising discourses of love could be an effective rape prevention strategy as discourses of love are often intertwined with, and used as a justification for, domestic and sexual violence. hooks (2000) contends that this is because love has no universal definition, and therefore it means people are often taught that abuse is an expression of love and that love and abuse can co-exist simultaneously. We can see this in research such as that done by Firmin (2013), where participants in her study believed being beaten by a partner was an expression of love, rather than an act of violence or power and control. The young women in her study often stated that ‘love hurts’ and all the couples studied agreed that violence was often a part of their sexual relationships, but they also noted that what was violence and what was consensual sexual activity was unclear to them.

In light of this, hooks (2001a) contends that if we strengthen our understandings and practices of love, we can make clearer the distinction between love and abuse. This is consistent with violence prevention theory which suggests that we need to focus on what we want to achieve rather than focusing on what we do not want. As said by Baker (2013, p.1):

The outcome for violence prevention is often described as ‘non-violence’. This is convenient but weak – it simply says what is absent, and unintentionally focuses the mind back onto violence. It doesn’t identify the action we want people to take. True prevention moves beyond simply stopping violence into promoting alternative healthy behaviour. This requires positive and specific words to describe what we want people to do.

hooks argues that if we had a shared understanding of what it means to love then it would be easier to love in our relationships, both romantic and otherwise. hooks’ (2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003) contends that we speak of love as something that is instinctive, she writes:
As said by Foucault there is no aspect of sexuality not studied or demonstrated. Yet schools for love do not exist, everyone assumes that we will know how to love instinctively. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, we still accept that family is the primary school for love. (hooks, 2001a, p.xxvii)

hooks’ work asks anti-violence theorists to engage with ways to encourage subjects to act with love towards one another and thus I believe that utilising love as a discourse for sexual violence prevention gives anti-rape feminists a clear way to conduct the behaviour of subjects in ways that are caring, respectful and loving. In a time when the United Nations has described sexual and domestic violence as a ‘global pandemic’, the importance of developing effective and diverse rape prevention strategies cannot be understated ("UN sounds alarm," 2014). hooks’ (2000) urges us that what we cannot imagine cannot come to be, so it is crucial that anti-rape feminists continue the important work of imagining and creating a society based on love, care and equality.
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8. Appendices

Appendix A

Figure 44. Poster image of a white woman slumped and seemingly unconscious outside on a set of steps. She is sitting next to a bottle of wine and her handbag. From Transport for London. Retrieved from: http://www.welovenorthcoteroad.com/feature.asp?id=72. Reprinted with permission.
Appendix B

Figure 45. Poster image of a white man and a white woman foreheads touching, cropped at the shoulder. Image of a red traffic light and then an image of a white man looking out of the frame and a white woman, with her head against his chest. From Men Can Stop Rape. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MyStrength. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 46. Poster image of a man with a woman sitting on his lap, their heads touching. The man stares out of the frame and the woman gazes to the right of the frame. Men Can Stop Rape. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MyStrength. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 47. Poster image of a man and a woman standing next to one another. The man looks out of the frame and the woman gazes to the right of the frame. From Men Can Stop Rape. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MyStrength. Reprinted with permission.
Figure 48. Poster image of a man staring out of the frame with a woman leaning over his shoulder from behind him. She is gazing down at him. From Men Can Stop Rape. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MyStrength. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 49. Poster image of a white man and a white woman standing facing one another. He is staring out of the frame and she is looking at him. From Men Can Stop Rape. Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/MyStrength. Reprinted with permission.