internalized victim-blaming narratives. This silence then adds to the circle of protection around aggressors.

Culturally, Rape Myths allow a false sense of security to permeate our society, allowing us to see rape as something that is uncommon and something that victims' behaviours have led to (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre, n.d.). This perpetuates the false belief that "rooting out the perpetrators" will end sexual violence on campus (Hong 2017). When we see the perpetrator as "bad apple", a "sick" person, or an isolated problem, we disavow the violent culture that allows these behaviours and attitudes to flourish (Rojas Durazo 2011/12). Furthermore, when rapists are constructed as "the other", we tend not to interrogate our own accountability in shaping rape culture (Rich, Utley, Janke and Moldoveanu 2010; Trusolino 2017). On campus, rape culture is often paired with hypersexualization where men commonly use the language of "kill counts" to brag about hook-ups and where women are labelled as "sluts" for crossing the "sexual hook-up count" (Horsman, and Cormack 2016, 10). Even more dangerous is that the labelling of women as "sluts" allows these women to then become targets for sexual assault and harassment because aggressors can say that "she wanted it" (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre, n.d.). It is precisely this culture that tolerates and supports sexual violence that many survivors find most harmful and traumatic in the way that it continues to impact survivors long after their experience of sexual assault (Clark and Pino 2016). Research suggests that a campus culture that permits sexual harassment and teasing is associated with an increased risk for sexual violence (DeGue et al. 2013). Students should be taught and encouraged to speak out against these harmful cultural norms (Kleinsasser, Jouriles, McDonald, and Rosenfield 2015; Senn 2011).

One of the most pernicious rape myths in our society is the widespread belief that women commonly lie about sexual assault and target "innocent men".

One of the most pernicious and important myths to address in detail is the belief that women commonly lie about sexual assault and target "innocent men" (Weiser 2017, 46; Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre n.d.). Especially with the appointment of Betsy DeVos in the U.S. there has been a widespread sentiment that innocent men are being "unfairly persecuted" (Weiser 2017, 46). These myths are so pervasive that even large numbers of law enforcement and legal professionals believe that women commonly lie about assault (Weiser 2017, 47; Johnson 2012, 614). It is absolutely necessary to address this myth openly and frankly when addressing sexual violence on campus (Weiser 2017). Another specific myth which must be discussed in detail is the myth that consent is always present in relationships. Studies have shown that people are much more likely to blame the victim when he or she has a relationship with the perpetrator (Bennett, Banyard, and Edwards 2017). Another myth that must be addressed is the idea that "sexual communication, negotiation, and equality are unnecessary or

impossible in the face of strong passion…" (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016, 460). This myth widely disseminated throughout popular entertainment culture and must be discussed in detail and replaced with more healthy models of negotiating consent. Students must be taught how to make interventions into the cultural sphere, addressing rape culture directly (Gerrits and Baily 2015; Senn 2011; Christensen 2013).

A Focus on Aggressors

Most sexual violence education campaigns and programs avoid any in-depth discussion of aggressors altogether (Hong 2017). This approach is problematic for many reasons. Bystander Intervention training programs will never be successful if participants cannot get past the disbelief that comes when someone you know and like is accused of sexual violence. Students must be taught that aggressors are often not "creepy strangers" in order to counter-act the disbelief that comes when a "nice guy" is accused of sexual assault (Whiteside-Lantz 2003; Linder 2017; Trusolino 2017). As Hong (2017) argues, the traditional approach to sexual violence prevention education positions aggressors as, "unusual others who have deficits in moral judgement, character, or family upbringing" (33). Students should be taught that many perpetrators of sexual violence (at least 50%) are married or in relationships at the time of the assault, have children, and are considered responsible members of the community (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre n.d.). This must be discussed in order to counteract the myth that aggressors of sexual violence are mentally ill or sexually starved (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre n.d.). On campus, the particular myth that aggressors are (often dark-skinned) others from off-campus must be countered in order to address the reality that "boys" from "good families" also commit sexual assault (Trusolino 2017, 85).

Moreover, aggressors are not a small and isolated group on campus. Research demonstrates that one third of college men have perpetrated sexual assault and that nine percent of these men are reoffenders (Abbey and McAuslan 2004; quoted in Government of Nova Scotia 2017). Research by Malamuth on male "attraction to sexual aggression" found that between 16-20% of men would "commit rape" if they were certain they could get away with it, and a further 36-44% would "force a woman to have sex" if they were certain they would not get caught (Malamuth 1989 cited in Kimmel 2009, 224). Exclusively male social settings including athletic teams, fraternities, and single-sex dormitories are all positively associated with higher rates of reported sexual violence (Fogel 2017; Moynihan et al. 2011; Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, and Alvi 2001). In particular, research has shown that student athletes are more than five times more likely to report perpetrating sexual violence than non-athletes (Finn 1995; Teten Tharp et al. 2012). In a review of media report sexual assaults on Canadian university campuses over the past ten years, Curtis Fogel (2017) found that 23% involved male athletes as alleged perpetrators (140). Studies demonstrate that aggressors of campus sexual violence are often known to the victim as classmates, friends, boyfriends, or ex-boyfriends, in that order (Martell Consulting Ltd. 2014b, 8).

Students should be taught about aggressors from an evidence based perspective (Gerrits and Runyon 2015) that stresses the predatory nature of sexual violence (St. Mary's President's Council 2013). In reality, aggressors are people who are motivated to commit sexual violence and then look for opportunities where they have the upper-hand or advantage in order to carry out their wishes (Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait and Alvi 2001). It is especially important to point out that most assaults are premeditated and involve some planning, coercion, force or threats (EVA BC n.d.). For male aggressors, research has shown that acceptance of violence, hypermasculinity, traditional gender roles, social norms supportive of sexual violence, male sexual entitlement, excessive alcohol use and weak laws or policies increase the risk of perpetration (Basile et al. 2016). Other risk factors include bullying behaviour in middle school (Basile et al. 2016). Having friends who perpetrate sexual violence is also shown to increase one's risk for perpetrating sexual violence (Teten Tharp et al. 2012). Visiting strip clubs, viewing violent pornography, paying for sex, and being unconcerned with condom use were also positively associated with perpetration of sexual violence (Teten Tharp et al. 2012). College men who view sex as the "goal" of a date were more likely to perpetrate sexual violence (Teten Tharp et al. 2012). Furthermore, "general aggressiveness" and acceptance of violence as "normative and instrumental", as well as anger, hostility and suspicion towards women were also associated with high levels of perpetration (Teten Tharp et al. 2012; DeGue et al. 2013; Curtis 1997).

When sexual violence happens in intimate relationships, research shows that aggressors frequently display other violent or abusive behaviours such as, minimizing conflicts through avoidance, using controlling behaviours, using emotional withdrawal as punishment, and using physical or verbal coercion and violence in solving relationship problems (Teten Tharp et al. 2012; Curtis 1997). In general, men who perpetrate sexual violence show a range of violent behaviours towards both partners and non-partners demonstrating an "adversarial approach to interactions with women" (Teten Tharp et al. 2012, 139). Community organizations with years of experience holding aggressors accountable report that common perspectives held by aggressors in relationships include denial, minimization of harm or of their role in the violence, and victim blaming (Creative Interventions 2012). Others point to aggressors use of "secrecy" and silence, as well as attacking the credibility of the victim (Krakauer 2015). It is important that students are taught to respond to these perpetrator diversion tactics.

23% of media reported sexual assaults on Canadian Campuses over the past 10 years have involved male athletes as the alleged perpetrators.

In the cases where aggressors are strangers, research has shown that they will often make some sort of "initial contact" with the victim, offering to carry her groceries, give her a drive, or to walk her home (Whiteside-Lantz 2003). Similarly, these aggressors body language often

involves "body posturing" such as blocking a doorway or pathway, physically startling someone, or standing over them in intimidating manner (Curtis 1997). For aggressors who abuse a position of trust or authority, narcissistic personality traits are often predictive of sexually violent behaviour (Testa 2002). Indeed, the #MeToo movement's spread into academia has shown that there are a number of serial perpetrators who use their positions as well-regarded academics in order to coerce and harass (often young) women into sexually violent relationships.

Repeat perpetrators are responsible for up to 90% of campus sexual assaults.

It is important to pay attention to patterns of repeat perpetration. Some scholars have argued that repeat perpetrators commit the majority of campus sexual assaults, up to 90% (Martell Consulting Ltd. 2014b; Daigle, Fisher and Cullen 2008). Research tells us that male college students who have perpetrated more than one assault are more likely to hold hostile attitudes towards women (Abbey and McAuslan 2004). Research also shows that repeat perpetrators deliberately target those that they see as vulnerable (EVA BC n.d.). Furthermore, these repeat perpetrators often use alcohol to intoxicate those that they are targeting (Martell Consulting Ltd. 2014b). Despite the prevalence of repeat perpetration, few sexual violence prevention programs address this issue (METRAC 2014). Students must be taught to identify patterns of behaviour that could indicate a propensity for sexual violence (Mitchell and Freitag 2011).

In terms of targeting victims, research has shown that a peer-culture that objectifies women, fosters competition in obtaining sex, and attaches "sexual conquests" to reputation creates an environment that permits this targeting. Furthermore, those who were viewed with degradation, as 'less likable", and as unintelligent were consistently rated as "legitimate targets" of sexual assault (Murnen 2000, cited in Jozkowski and Wiersma-Mosely 2017, 95). The targeting of individuals who make less sympathetic victims is bolstered by the "bros before hos" attitude creating a codes of silence, attitudes of entitlement, and expectations of impunity (Kimmel 2009). As Kimmel (2009) argues, "Boys and men learn to be silent in the face of other men's violence" (61). We must teach students to link the culture of "slut shaming", bullying and isolation, to the predatory targeting of victims. They should be able to understand how these cultures perpetuate vulnerability. Another issue that should be addressed directly in training programs is the common response of those accused of sexual violence of an honest but mistaken belief about consent. Study after study have debunked this as a myth demonstrating that in most cases the perpetrator knows or suspects that the victim has not or cannot consent but proceeds anyway (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski and Peterson 2016). Indeed, a high percentage of sexual assaults involve threats or physical force, meaning that rape is not a result of miscommunication around consent (Potter 2016). Aggressors have a "self-interested capacity for misunderstanding" (Kitzinger and Frith 1999). They may believe that their victim is

currently unwilling but will eventually become aroused and enjoy it, a common theme in mainstream pornography. They might believe in the myth of "token resistance" (Beres 2010). They may not care about their victims' feelings or desires at all or they may intend to hurt or humiliate their victim (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski and Peterson 2016). Students should be taught to see through the myth of miscommunication. Trainings must also include information on where to access treatment for behaviour change for those who have crossed boundaries or caused harm (EVA BC 2016, 32). This includes discussion of "protective factors", or factors that lower the risk of perpetrating sexual violence. These factors include: emotional health, empathy, fear of "loss of face", and community connectedness (Teten Tharp et al. 2012).

Linking Sexual Violence and Alcohol

Many Bystander Intervention training programs have problematic approaches to discussing alcohol and sexual violence. They either focus too much on women's decisions to drink and how much, perpetuating a culture of victim blaming, or they avoid discussing alcohol at all. While we should never imply that women who drink are in some way responsible for the assault against their person, we should encourage honest and open discussions about the relationship between alcohol and sexual violence in a way that focuses on perpetrator behaviour (Government of Nova Scotia 2017; Martell Consulting Services Ltd. 2014b). There are clear, evidence-based links between alcohol and the perpetration of sexual violence. 50% of sexual assaults among university and college students involve alcohol (EVA BC n.d.). In fact, alcohol is the most common "date rape" drug. At the same time, "drug-facilitated sexual assault" has increased in prevalence in Canada over the past fifteen years (Quinlan, Clarke, and Miller 2016, 41). Aggressors may purposefully use alcohol to intoxicate victims making them unable to fight off their advances (Government of Nova Scotia 2017; University of Ottawa 2015; Testa 2002). Others who are motivated to perpetrate sexual violence will use parties and bars as an opportunity to seek out women who are too intoxicated to resist (Graham et al. 2014; Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016). Indeed, the sexual assault of people who "intoxicated to the point of incapacitation" is widespread on college campuses (Cantor et al. 2015 cited in Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016). Other times alcohol or drunkenness is used to excuse perpetrator behaviour (Martell Consulting Services 2014b; METRAC 2014; Potter 2016; Horsman and Cormack 2016; Johnson and Colpitts 2013; Kimmel 2009). This happens even though drunkenness is not a legitimate defence for committing any other crime in the Canadian criminal justice system. Still others use the "permissive environment" of bars in order to push past the limits and boundaries of consent in their sexual advances (Quinlan 2017b, 5). In 40% of cases of sexual assault the perpetrator was drinking (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre n.d., 258). Nova Scotia has the third highest rate of heavy drinking following the Yukon and North West Territories making this discussion especially pertinent (Martell Consulting Services Ltd. 2014a). A Students Nova Scotia (2014a) report on campus drinking writes that, "The prevailing attitude towards drinking was characterized as, "*You are not experiencing university correctly if*

you are not partying" (Martell Consulting Services Ltd. 2014a, 11). In developing a uniquely Nova Scotian approach to challenging campus sexual violence, discussions about the ways that alcohol contributes to this problem must be central.

In developing a uniquely Nova Scotian approach to challenging campus sexual violence, discussions about the multiple ways that alcohol contributes to this problem must be central.

There are many studies linking alcohol consumption to perpetration of sexual violence. For example, excessive and frequent alcohol use has consistently been shown to increase the risk that a man will perpetrate sexual violence (Teten Tharp et al. 2012; Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait, and Alvi 2001). In a study of acquaintance rape (the most common form of sexual assault on college campuses) Koss (1988) found that 75 percent of men who reported perpetrating this type of sexual violence also reported taking drugs or consuming alcohol "just prior to the rape" (cited in Curtis 1997). Research also demonstrates that drinking alcohol makes men more likely to objectify women, and at the same time reduce their focus on her thoughts, feelings and desires (Gervais, DeLillo, and McChargue 2014 cited in Government of Nova Scotia 2017). Furthermore, heavier drinking by the perpetrator has been demonstrated to increase the physical severity of the sexual assault (Parkhill, Abbey, & Jacques-Tiura 2009 cited in Gervais, DeLillo, and McChargue 2014). Women assaulted by a man who had been drinking are five times more likely to report a physical injury obtained during the assault (Testa 2002, 1248). Moreover, heavy drinking has been shown to increase the level of sexual aggression enacted by men in laboratory studies (DeGue et al. 2013; Testa 2002; Tuliao and McChargue 2014). On the other hand Graham et al. (2014) observed sexually aggressive advances in over 100 large bars and nightclubs and found that, "The level of invasiveness was related to the targets' levels of intoxication but not the initiators' level of intoxication…" (cited in Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2106, 461). Testa (2002) states that "college men who reported rape or attempted rape […] were more likely to meet the diagnosis for alcohol abuse or dependence (53%) compared with men from the same population who reported only nonviolent sexual intercourse (25%)" (1241). How often a male perpetrator personally used alcohol to become intoxicated also predicted their use of alcohol as a "strategy to obtain sex" (Testa 2002). Furthermore, Testa (2002) reports that experimental research has demonstrated a pharmacological effect of alcohol in reducing the capacity of the intoxicated person to "attend to multiple cues and to look beyond the most salient aspects of the situation" as well as "difficulty perceiving and interpreting less salient and ambiguous inhibitory cues, such as the woman's sexual intentions or her resistance to sexual advances" (1251). Furhtermore, intoxicated men are more likely to "perceive sexual intent in women" than sober men (Abbey,

Zawacki, & Buck 2005; Farris, Treat, & Vicken 2010; cited in Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016). This means that even non-predatory men may ignore the cues and body language that go into the negotiation of consent when intoxicated. Studies also reported a "greater persistence in sexual advances and perceived initiation of intercourse as more likely" in men who were drinking compared to sober men (Testa 2002, 1253).

From the perspective of the survivor, drinking alcohol before or during the assault is likely to increase a survivor's internalized self-blame and may make the survivor less likely to report the assault or to seek help (Whiteside-Lantz 2003; Holland and Cortina 2017). A common rape myth is that women who feel confused after a night of heavy drinking will make a false claim of rape. Indeed, even security staff that Martell Consulting Services Ltd. interviewed in their report on campus sexual violence for Students NS, drew on victim blaming myths by saying things like, "young women use alcohol to not take responsibility for their actions" (Martell Consulting Services 2014b). Statistician Holly Johnson (2012) reports that police in Canada sometimes rely upon this same myth in order to classify cases as "unfounded" (628). However, Weiser (2017) argues that, "...no research to date that suggests circumstances involving alcohol consumption are associated with false reporting" (55). To debunk this myth, students should be made aware of this fact and at the same time presented with all of the research discussed above linking alcohol consumption with perpetration of sexual violence. All of this discussed in detail should be used to counter the broader, overarching myth that women's binge drinking is the problem rather than men's sexual violence (Armstrong and Mahone 2017). A survivor activist contributing to Clark and Pino's (2016) *We Believe You* anthology wrote, "Somebody posted on a girl's [residence room] door, 'It's not rape if it's a freshman.' That very much characterizes my experience: 'You were young and naïve and you drank too much; how could this poor boy not take advantage of that?" (114). The myth that drinking alcohol in general is indicative of sexual consent or intention (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016) must also be addressed in detail during Bystander Intervention training. Furthermore, when the survivor is male, the myth that his ability to "get an erection" means that he is able to consent even when intoxicated (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016) must also be debunked. Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski and Peterson (2016) argue that the cultural myth that "drunk sex is harmless" must be our starting point in addressing these myths.

Other researchers have examined the ways that groups of men can act in concert to create the conditions for "party rape" by using lots of alcohol and low level coercion, persuasion, manipulation of situations so that women cannot leave, or low levels of force by blocking doorways or making it difficult for a woman to stand up (Armstrong, Sweeney, and Hamilton 2006 cited in Government of Nova Scotia 2017). As Kimmel (2008) writes, in this campus culture, "Getting drunk, and getting her drunk, is seen as foreplay – whatever happens after that has already been declared consensual" (219). One study of over 264 college men across 22 universities found that 90 percent of the respondents reported acting sexually aggressive in party settings,

leading the researchers to see this behaviour as "normative" in the college party scene (Thompson and Cracco 2008 cited in Rich, Utley, Janke, and Moldoveanu 2010, 269). Several other reports and studies noted that all-male peer groups who host parties are able to use their position as hosts to create the conditions for alcohol-facilitated sexual violence (Teten Tharp et al. 2013). Holland and Cortina (2017) argue that, "Taking advantage of women who are drunk is accepted, and even expected, in some male peer groups…" (61). In their report on campus sexual violence for Students NS, Martell Consulting Services Ltd. (2014b) writes that, "In some university towns, some off- and on-campus student housing environments have cultures similar to fraternity cultures" (ii). The student leaders they spoke with for this report spoke of "the perfect storm" referring to the amalgamation of the culture of heavy drinking with the culture of hyper-sexualization and the objectification of women (Martell Consulting Services Ltd. 2014b). The St. Mary's University President's Council (2013) report similarly states that, "Students indicated that there is significant pressure to drink and to be sexually active" (44). They also heard from some students that, "…peers expect and encourage each other to be sexually active and it can be hard to fit in if one chooses not to be" (St. Mary's University President's Council 2013, 70). A student focus group on campus safety at St. FX similarly heard that, "drinking and drug culture" were a "contributor to the problem of violence against women" especially because of the accompanying, "normalized hook-up culture (where attaining consent is not prioritized)" (MacDonald, Mtetwa, and Ndomo 2013, 20). As Horsman and Cormack (2016) write, the hookup culture on university campuses in Canada is one where men who refuse to participate eagerly and competitively have their masculinity called into question and women who are "manipulated into sex" become an "object of derision" who are widely seen as having failed a "test" (9-10). All of this demonstrates how groups of men, and the broader cultures on campus, including the culture of security staff and administrators, contributes to an environment where alcohol and sexual violence converge.

At the same time, programming around alcohol use should not focus on danger and bad behaviour alone. Students often find belonging and meaning in drinking culture (Armstrong, Sweeney and Hamilton 2006). Indeed, "Partying, including alcohol consumption, is a dominant form of socialization among college students and is recognized as such by individuals who do and do not participate in partying (Armstrong, Sweeney and Hamilton 2006 cited in Jozkowski and Wiersma-Mosely 2017, 90). By only focusing on the negative parts of this culture, programming loses touch with students' experiences. As Armstrong, Sweeney and Hamilton (2006) argue, "Finding fault with the party scene potentially threatens meaningful identities and lifestyles" (492).

Developing Communities of Accountability

Traditional Bystander Training Programs tend to focus on interrupting one-time, individual situations. However, approaches to Bystander Intervention that focus solely on the individual are unlikely to be effective (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014). It is important to

expand this to include taking steps as Bystanders to build communities of accountability (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012). There are several reasons why this important. First, sexual violence not only affects the individual survivor but when it is pervasive it affects the entire community. Often times even a single act of sexual violence reverberates out from the immediate survivor to the persons supporting the survivor to bystanders and witnesses and so on. Furthermore, because so many survivors stay silent about their experiences, addressing sexual violence at the community level is one way to reach those survivors indirectly. Part of Bystander Intervention training should therefore be to encourage a shift in public opinion from viewing sexual violence as the problem of the individual survivor to the problem of the entire community (New York State Department of Health n.d.; Creative Interventions 2012; Haaken 2017; Christensen 2013; Mitchell and Frietag 2011). This cultural shift will not be successful if it is not led by upper campus administration. Instead of putting all of the focus on responding one by one to individual survivors, campus administrators should carefully create messaging and programming that reaches out to all survivors on campus, whether they choose to report their assault or not. Bystander Intervention training is one way of effecting this shift. As Gerrits and Runyon (2015) argue, "Our research suggests that anti-sexual assault education can be a way of establishing community and creating spaces where people can unlearn rape culture and develop skills to help others unlearn harmful beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours" (19). The social support developed in a multi-session training program would indeed go a long way in creating a feeling of support for participants who later intervene into situations of sexual violence (Tabachnick 2009, 28). Research has demonstrated that a sense of community belonging alone is often a factor positively associated with intention to intervene as a pro-social bystander (Armstrong and Mahone 2017; Banyard 2008; Bennett, Banyard, and Garnhart 2014).

Instead of putting all of the focus on responding to survivors one by one, campus administrators should carefully craft messaging and programming that reaches out to all survivors on campus, whether they choose to report/disclose their assault or not.

Student survivors are more likely to disclose experiences of sexual violence to friends, roommates and other peers than they are to formal supports or the police (Sable et al. 2006; Felson and Pare 2005; EVA BC 2016; Fisher, Daigle & Cullen 2010; Stermac, Horowitz, and Bance 2017). Survivors are also more likely to view support from friends that they have a personal and emotional connection with as something that is beneficial than they are to view help from an anonymous phone line or a councillor (Holland and Cortina 2017). Furthermore, the first response that a survivor receives will often impact their

likelihood of both reporting the assault and accessing help (Ahrens, Campbell, Ternier-Thames, Wasco & Sefl 2007; Starzynski, Ullman, Filipas & Townsend, 2005; Ullman, 1996; Holland and Cortina 2017; Stermac, Horowitz, and Bance 2017). Creating communities where people have the skills and sensitivity to respond to survivors will foster the kind of community care ethic that will support survivor healing (Creative Interventions 2012). Indeed, university and college campuses are the ideal places to create, "model[s] of a more caring and respectful society" (St. Mary's President's Council 2013, 7). Part of creating a "safe" community for both bystanders and survivors means "changing community contexts" and "peer norms" (U.S. Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women 2014, 3). This also means directly challenging the culture of "Maritime civility in Nova Scotia" where complaining is seen as "rocking the boat" (Task Force on Misogyny, Sexism and Homophobia in Dalhousie University Faculty of Dentistry 2015, 39). This attitude was also reflected in discussion groups at St.FX University in 2014 where students mentioned the desire to "fit in" as a major factor making them reluctant to complain or intervene into sexual violence (Ndomo and Barnes 2014, 11). This is an especially important factor to address on small and close knit campuses. Moreover, ending sexual violence means that we must move beyond changing law and policy alone. As SAFER's national study on Student Anti-Rape Activists states, "Students in our study identified a disconnect between policy and practice – too often having a good policy was not enough, as the conditions of students' lives and campus culture remained unchanged" (SAFER 2013, 30). Therefore we must introduce ways for bystanders to effect precisely this kind of cultural change.

Shifting culture and encouraging support for survivors are two of the main elements of communities of accountability. Another is to encourage accountability in and of itself. The California Coalition Against Sexual Assault (2015) recommends Bystander Trainings that include, "methods of encouraging peer support for victims and the imposition of sanctions on offenders" (59). It is important that we move beyond sanctions that are imposed by the law and Student Codes of Conduct, to ways of encouraging accountability or sanctioning aggressors even when the survivor does not wish to put forward an official report. These

What Does Community Accountability Look Like?

- A sports team taking time to organize an in-depth, weekend long retreat to learn about and discuss sexual violence after rumours surface about a team member.

- Members of a residence noticing the drunken sexual harassment frequently carried out by one resident and organizing an intervention to ask that person to either stop drinking or stop attending residence parties.

types of intervention, called "community-based interventions" break down the culture of isolation and silence that permeates the issue of sexual violence and encourages community members to "gather together to create grounded, thoughtful community responses" (Creative Interventions 2012). This could mean a sports team taking time to organize an in-depth, weekend long retreat to learn about and discuss sexual violence after rumours surface about a team member. It could also mean members of a residence noticing the drunken sexual harassment frequently carried out by one resident and organizing an intervention to ask that person to either stop drinking or stop attending residence parties. Another example is "community restraining orders" where members of the LGBTQ community will come together to insure that someone who has perpetrated domestic or sexual violence will not show up at the same parties as the person or people they had violated, especially when the survivor(s) are uncomfortable going to the police because of sexual orientation or gender presentation (Chen, Dulani, and Piepzna-Samarasinha n.d.). Even something as simple as creating a shift in culture similar to the Mothers Against Drunk Driving slogan, "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" where friends will not let friends victimize or target others would be effective (Tabachnick 2009, 5). These are just a few examples of the tools that we can offer students to organize and push for accountability. These relatively small actions can "break the sense of isolation, shame and fear" for survivors and can send a message to the aggressor that "people are watching and standing solidly with the survivor" (Creative Interventions 2012, 1-37). Another major benefit of these types of social interventions is that they encourage students to take an active responsibility for their own communities and to organize and improve those communities through social action, fostering democratic citizenship (Whiteside-Lantz 2003). Furthermore, as a pedagogical strategy, these types of interventions encourage student creativity and foster student agency through "collective and self-determined action" (Rojas Durazo 2011/12, 79).

Male peer groups must be taught to hold each other accountable not only for acts of sexual aggression, harassment, or violence, but also for the ways that they assist each other in silencing survivors and creating vulnerable people through slut shaming.

The community accountability tools described above, as well as the shifting in cultural norms detailed in previous paragraphs are especially important to encourage in male dominated communities such as fraternities, male residences, and sports teams. This is true both because of the higher rates of sexual violence perpetrated by men in male-dominant communities, but also because there is research that shows that men are less likely to intervene into sexual violence when the aggressor is somebody that they know (Bennett, Banyard, and Edwards 2017, 682-683). Furthermore, the encouragement and support of other men is a major factor that facilitates sexually violent

behaviour from men (Schwartz, DeKeseredy, Tait and Alvi 2001, 625). Another important reason to reach out to male-dominant communities specifically is that survivors often fear, legitimately, harassment from the aggressor's friends if they report or even disclose the assault to others (Potter 2016, 826). Therefore male peer groups must be taught to hold each other accountable not only for acts of sexual aggression, harassment or violence, but also for the ways that they assist others in silencing survivors and creating vulnerable people through bullying and slut shaming. The ways that safety has traditionally been framed have placed a disproportionate amount of responsibility on women's shoulders warning them about dangerous places including "cars, predictable paths, parking lots, entryways, secluded areas, isolated roads, the internet, dates, men's bedrooms, anywhere with men, anywhere where a woman is alone, and anywhere public after nightfall, as well as the catch-all place of 'your surroundings'" (Bedera and Nordmeyer 2015, 538), and dangerous actions including drinking or using drugs, walking alone at night, living alone, hanging your laundry out to dry, using the internet, taking photographs of yourself, or working in certain industries. For women, "constant vigilance" is seen as necessary for any semblance of safety, but it is never suggested that, "men should make these spaces [or actions] safer for women" (Bedera and Nordmeyer 2015, 538). Male students need to take responsibility in creating some of that safety by both changing and reflecting on their own behaviours, but also by recognizing and interrupting the harmful behaviours of their peers.

However, in creating communities of accountability, it is also important that students are encouraged to reflect upon the ways that broader social power structures and inequalities are replicated in their communities (Rentschler 2017). For example, white privilege often plays out at the community level in insidious ways allowing certain people more access to peer-respect and support. In most cases when sexual violence is made known to a community, the community in question tends to side with the aggressor (Smith 2010). Community accountability can only work if there are enough community members united in their dedication to hold aggressors accountable (Smith 2010). This does not need to be a formal community group or organization, but it does require group discussion and planning. It also requires that communities learn to listen to survivors, either in their own words, or in the words of their friends speaking on their behalf. Survivor complaints should not be dismissed as "gossip" simply because the survivor themselves is unable to speak out openly. There are ways to stand on the side of survivors, to hear the whispers and second-hand stories that do not constitute gossip. These second hand stories are inadmissible as hearsay in courts, but our community interventions do not aim to imprison the perpetrator or take away their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and so do not need to live up to those same strict standards. We can increase survivor safety by taking these second-hand stories seriously and use them to make demands on aggressors to change their behaviour. Students should thus be warned against "romanticizing community" and should be given the tools necessary to hold formal and informal community discussions about

sexual violence in order to increase community consensus on the unacceptability of sexual violence and the acceptability of intervention (Rentschler 2017, 569). Another reason to be careful around community accountability is that sometimes this concept allows the diffusion of responsibility so that "ultimately nobody feels accountable…" (Hong 2017, 30). To overcome this, a "culture of care" must be fostered, moving beyond accountability to care about the dignity, safety, and support of all community members (Palacios and Aguilar 2017, 211).

What's missing from Existing Bystander Training Models?

LGBTQ Inclusion

One of the most frequently commented upon short-comings of existing Bystander Training programs is the reinforcement of heteronormativity through a lack a acknowledgment of sexual violence in same-sex contexts. As Worthen and Wallace (2017) demonstrate, gay and bisexual men are most often disappointed with Bystander Intervention training programs, reporting that they feel "invisible" in the programs' content (190). Lesbians and bisexual women are likely to relate slightly more to existing Bystander Intervention trainings because the majority of sexual assaults experienced by lesbian and bisexual women are perpetrated by men and not other women (Balsam et. al. 2005 quoted in Senn 2011). However, sexual assault perpetrated by women against other women does happen just far less frequently (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012). For women who do experience sexual assault at the hands of another woman, the myth that "same-sex relationship violence is less harmful than heterosexual violence" is something that they may face when reporting or disclosing (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012, 203).

This lack of representation is significant because LGBTQ persons often face increased levels of sexualized violence on campus (Worthen and Wallace 2017; Cantor et. al 2015; Krebs et. al 2016). Indeed, Canadian data from the 2004 General Social Survey reveals that lesbian and bisexual women face higher rates of violent victimization in general, including sexual assault (Benoit et. al, 2015 as cited in Government of Nova Scotia 2017). While there is evidence that same-sex partners practice more explicit and verbal models of consent in sexual relationships (Muelenhard, Humphreys, Jozkowski, and Peterson 2016), this does not mean that sexual violence does not occur in same-sex relationships. Indeed, LGBT students have the same or higher level of risk for sexual or relationship violence as their heterosexual peers (Potter, Fountain and Stapleton 2012).

LGBTQ identifying survivors face many additional challenges on campus. They may be reluctant to seek help or to report due to concerns that their sexual orientation may be exposed causing them to lose supports from friends and family (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012). This is especially true when sexual violence is experienced in the context of a same-sex relationship. On small campuses, the population of LGBTQ students is often a very small and tightly-knit group, making it extremely frightening and risky for students to speak out about experiencing violence in a same-sex relationship (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012). Speaking out about the violence they have experienced, LGBTQ survivors risk being ostracized from their

community, something which can be particularly distressing for those who have already been ostracized by their families (Baily, Dunn, and Msosa forthcoming). Furthermore, LGBTQ students often experience campuses as "hostile" spaces where they face discrimination, harassment and isolation (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012) meaning that their LGBTQ peer community may be a refuge from the broader campus, again making it difficult to speak out about sexual violence experienced in that same space. These students may also fear that reporting or disclosing what happened to them will add to negative stereotypes about LGBTQ people (Potter, Fountain, and Stapleton 2012), or that people they tell will explain their sexual orientation through their history of sexual assault (i.e. you are a lesbian because you were raped by a man or you are gay because you were molested as a child).

It is also important to note the ways that heterosexism is embedded in rape culture through promoting behaviours where men engage in "public posturing" of their sexuality, often through the objectification of women, in order to underscore their heterosexuality (Task Force on Misogyny, Sexism and Homophobia in Dalhousie Faculty of Dentistry 2015, 46). As Kimmel (2009) points out, another way that young men engage in this posturing of heterosexuality is by casting other men as "gay" through homophobic taunting and bullying. This bullying can often cross the line into acts of sexual violence particularly when used as a hazing ritual (Kimmel 2009, 112). Bystander Intervention training programs should include discussions of heterosexism and homophobia in broader discussions of rape culture. Furthermore, it is important to use examples of lesbian, gay and bisexual experiences with sexual violence so that these students can see themselves represented in the materials (Worthen and Wallace 2017).

Grounding in the Reconciliation Process

In the Nova Scotian and Canadian context it is particularly important to ground any of our efforts to address sexual violence in the Truth and Reconciliation process. This is particularly important since Canadian statistics demonstrate that Aboriginal women experience sexual victimization at rates three-times higher than non-Aboriginal women (Stevens and Chau 2016, 6). One third of indigenous women survivors also experience revictimization (Bourassa et. al. 2017, 47). Moreover, statistics also demonstrate that it is non-indigenous men who commit the majority of sexual assaults on indigenous women (Scott, Singh and Harris, 2017; Smith 2010), though assaults committed by indigenous men towards indigenous women and children do happen as well. It is also important to point out that Aboriginal men face much higher rates of sexual violence than non-aboriginal men (Du Mont, Macdonald, White & Turner, 2013; as cited in EVA BC 2016).

In addressing the realities of sexual violence faced by indigenous peoples in Canada it is important to take a broader historical view. The very roots of rape culture in the Canadian context stem from colonial relations where "a lack of consent and oppressive exploitative relationships to lands and its peoples" have been the norm (Anti-Violence Project n.d. cited in Government of Nova Scotia 2017, 22). Indeed, the ongoing project of settler-colonialism has created a "deep-seated sense of entitlement to take, use, dominate, and

intimidate anything we covet" (Anti-Violence Project n.d. cited in Government of Nova Scotia 2017, 22). From the very beginning of contact with indigenous peoples, European colonial administrators used patriarchal relations as a way to introduce hierarchy into the more egalitarian societies they found in "the new world" (Harris 2017). There is evidence that European settlers used rape as a tool of colonization (Linder 2017; Smith 2005). This history of settler-colonialism in Canada is replete with sexualized violence from the horrors of residential schools, to the high levels of abuse faced by indigenous children in foster care, to the ongoing issue of missing and murdered indigenous women, to the history and continued practice of forced or coerced sterilizations of indigenous women. These acts of violence clearly demonstrate that sexism is not the only oppression that drives sexualized violence, indeed sexualized violence in Canada is strongly rooted in colonialism. Because of this ongoing history, "the lines between survivor and perpetrator are not always necessarily exclusive" in indigenous communities (Stevens and Chau 2016, 15). Far from being irrelevant, the history detailed in this and the previous paragraph is important in bringing to light, "how this act of violence was always and continues to be about power, dominance, privilege, and colonization." (Harris and Linder 2017, 244-45).

So far on Canadian campuses, there has been little work and few discussions linking the issues of campus sexual violence and missing and murdered indigenous women.

This colonial relationship also means that the police are viewed as less trustworthy and the legal system as less viable an avenue for addressing sexual assault in indigenous communities (Fredericton Sexual Assault Crisis Centre n.d., 243). In recent history we need only look to the allegations of multiple sexual assaults against indigenous women by police in Val D'Or Quebec (Coon Come 2016) that surfaced in the news or the treatment of some indigenous women survivors by the Canadian Justice System, having been shackled, handcuffed and kept over-night in prison in order to secure their witness testimony in sexual assault cases (Craig 2018). Furthermore, the apathy with which the police treated the issues of Missing and Murdered indigenous women has also bread extensive distrust (Johnson 2012). Not surprisingly, this has created a situation where many indigenous women do not report violence to the police unless it is most severe (Bourassa et. al 2017).

So far on Canadian campuses there has been a disconnect between the issues of sexual violence on campus and the missing and murdered indigenous women (Bourassa et. al. 2017). This disconnect has falsely separated issues that stem from the same root problems. As discussed above sexual

violence stems from a colonial mentality as well as the privilege and entitlement that colonial masculinity often embodies. Furthermore, Bourassa et. al. (2017) argue that, "universities have been and still are to a significant extent largely white, colonial spaces…" (46). Moreover, if we continue, "failing to acknowledge Indigenous women as a part of campus violence, we risk perpetuating the same exclusion that places them at risk for violence in the first place" (Bourassa 2017, 48). A look at some prominent cases of missing and murdered indigenous women should demonstrate the explicit overlap with campus sexual violence. In one Nova Scotian case, St. Mary's graduate student and Inuk woman Loretta Saunders was murdered by her sub-letters in 2014 (Barrera 2017). In another case written about extensively by Canadian legal scholar Sherene Razack (2000), Pamela George, an Ojibway woman was raped and murdered in 1995 by two, white, male university athletes, whose social and economic privilege allowed them to use their parents' credit cards to flee the province by plane. The privilege of the perpetrators in this case was also apparent when police commented that the accused were merely, "boys who did pretty darn stupid things" (Razack 2000). Indeed, the interrelated issues of indigenous women's vulnerability to sexual violence on campus, as well as, the privilege and entitlement of white men on campus must be explored in detail if we want to end sexual violence in the Canadian context.

Much of broader Canadian society's attempts to address sexual violence have not only been exclusionary of indigenous people, but have also failed to be "culturally relevant, culturally revitalizing, or culturally safe" for indigenous people (Stevens and Chau 2016, 6). It is important that initiatives to address sexual violence faced by indigenous people be rooted in indigenous traditions of resiliency and respect for women (Smith 2010; Stevens and Chau 2016). In particular, Stevens and Chau (2016) detail the seven sacred teachings of the Mi'kmaw tradition that include, "wisdom, love, courage, humility, truth, respect, and honesty" (16). These traditional approaches to empowerment, healing and accountability must be incorporated into Bystander Intervention training if it is to be at all useful for indigenous participants.

Conclusion

In creating a "Made in Nova Scotia" Bystander Intervention training program, the above report provides us with a broad base of evidence to shape our work moving forward. Based upon the evidence detailed above, the new Bystander Intervention training program will be comprised of five different training modules each approaching the issue of sexual violence on campus from a nuanced, intersectional and feminist perspective. The trainings will be peer-led and developed through extensive gathering of student feedback. The curriculum materials will be provided free of charge to each campus with the hope that funds will be spent in order to institutionalize the program on each campus. This could be done by setting up a Sexual Assault Services Office on campus, by assigning a faculty position to the program, or hiring a Bystander Training coordinator – what works best will vary from campus to campus. It will also be necessary to garner support from the Provincial Government in order to facilitate the ongoing updates to the program, maintaining the quality and relevance of the curriculum materials. The

program Advisory Committee should continue to meet regularly through the piloting, evaluation, updating and official rollout stages of the program. Furthermore, each campus should be willing to share resources, tips on best practice regarding program delivery, and even partner in delivering the trainings cross-campus where applicable. The Antigonish Women's Resource Centre and Sexual Assault Services Association will continue to lead the project for as long as funding is available.

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